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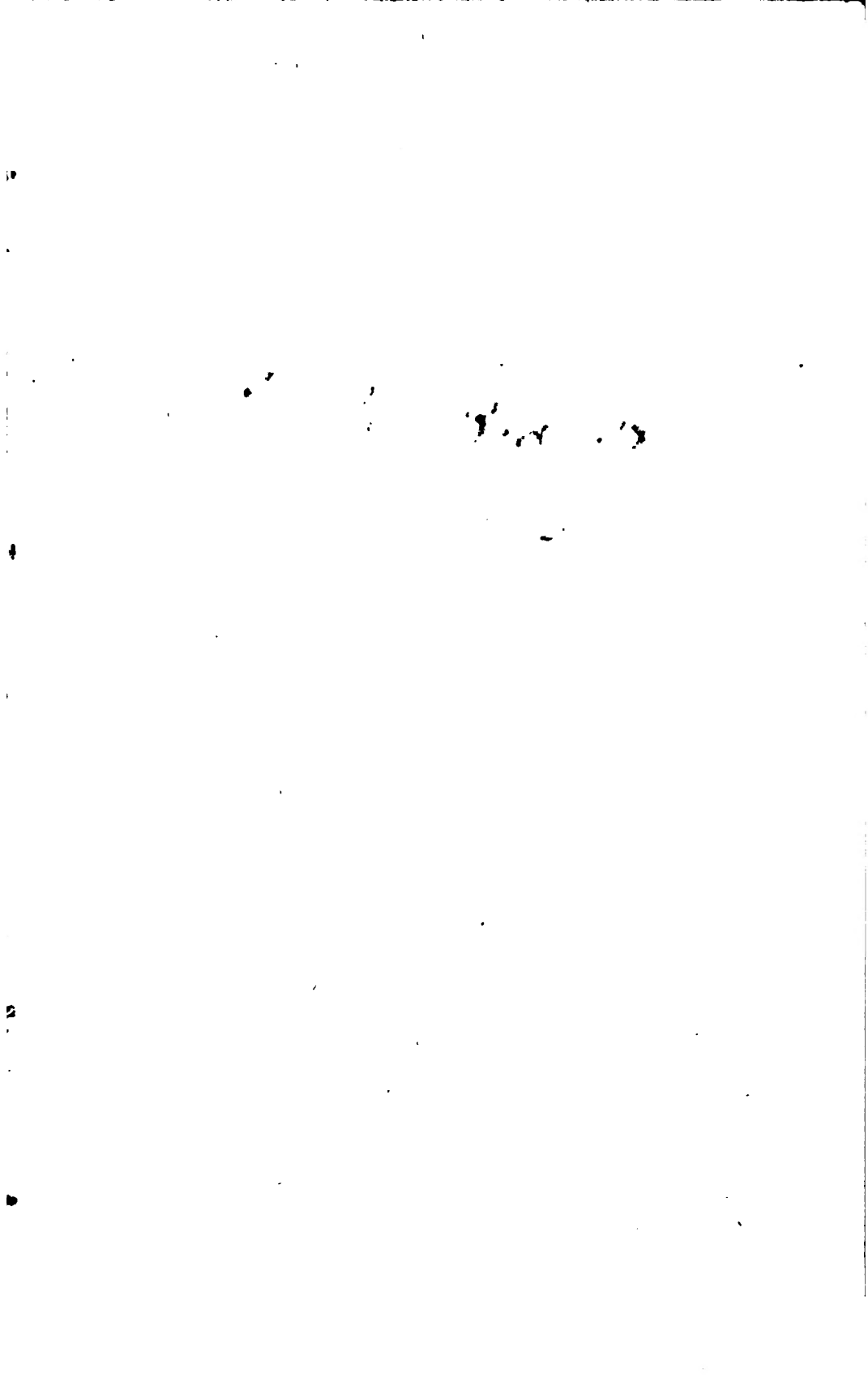
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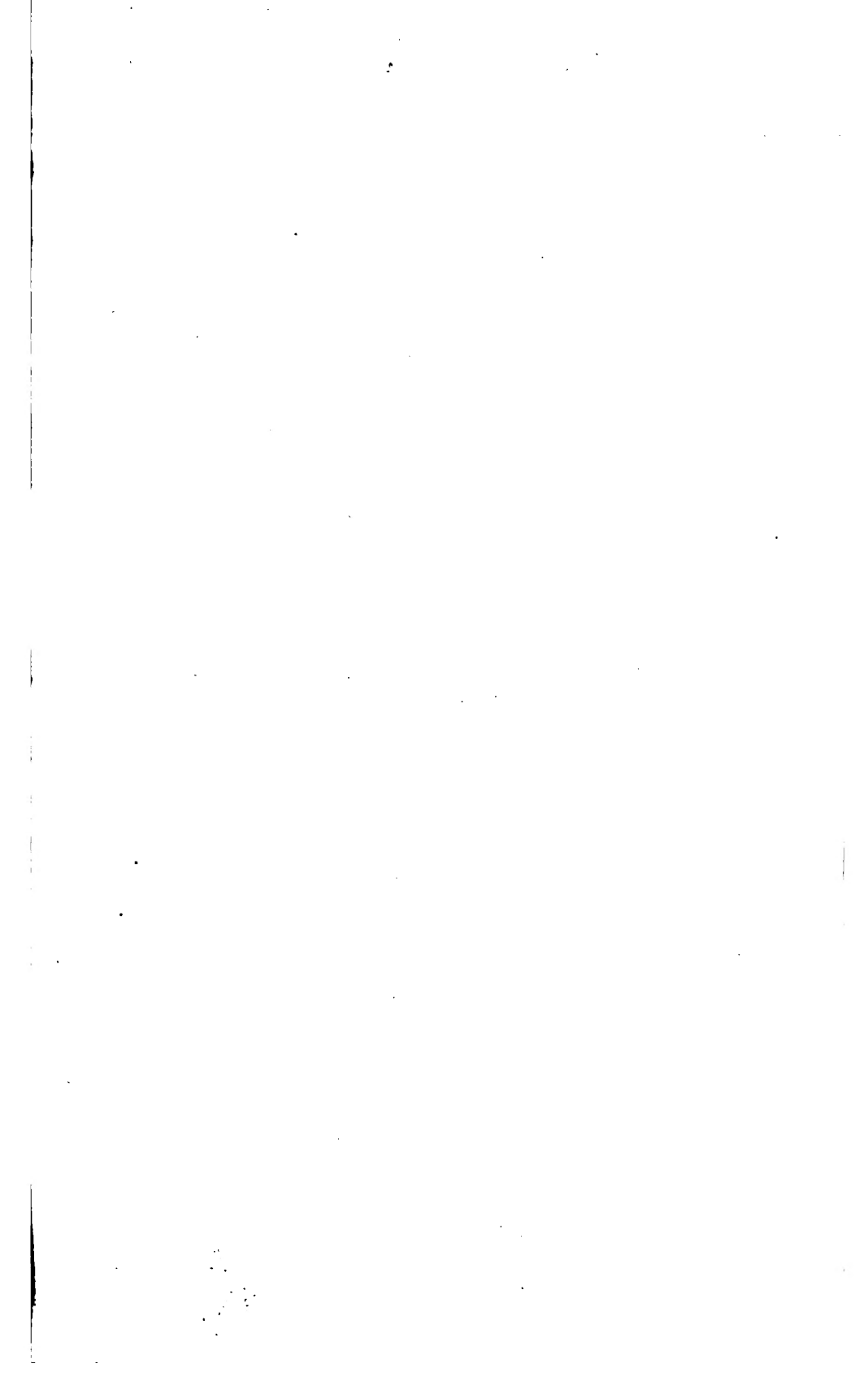
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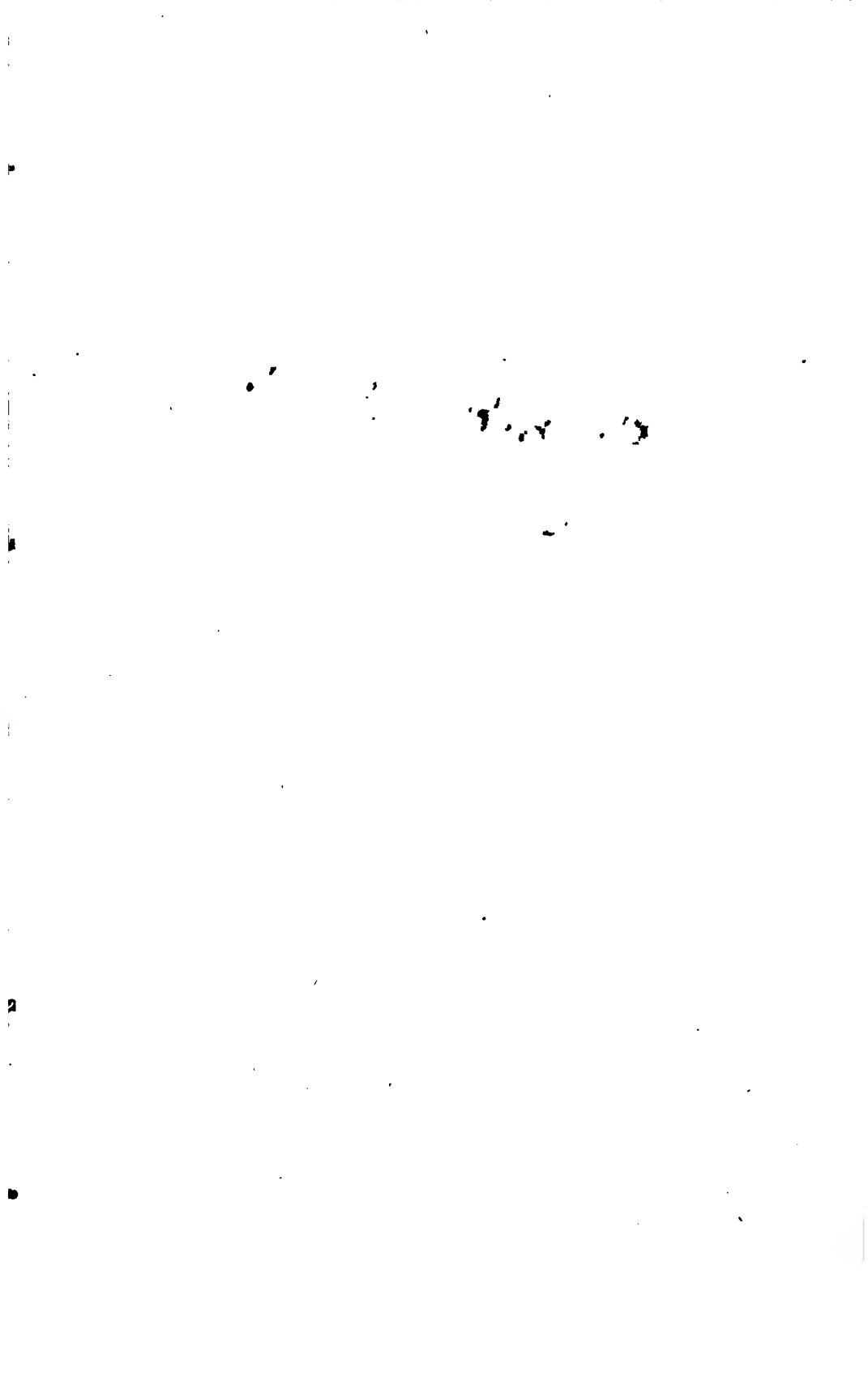


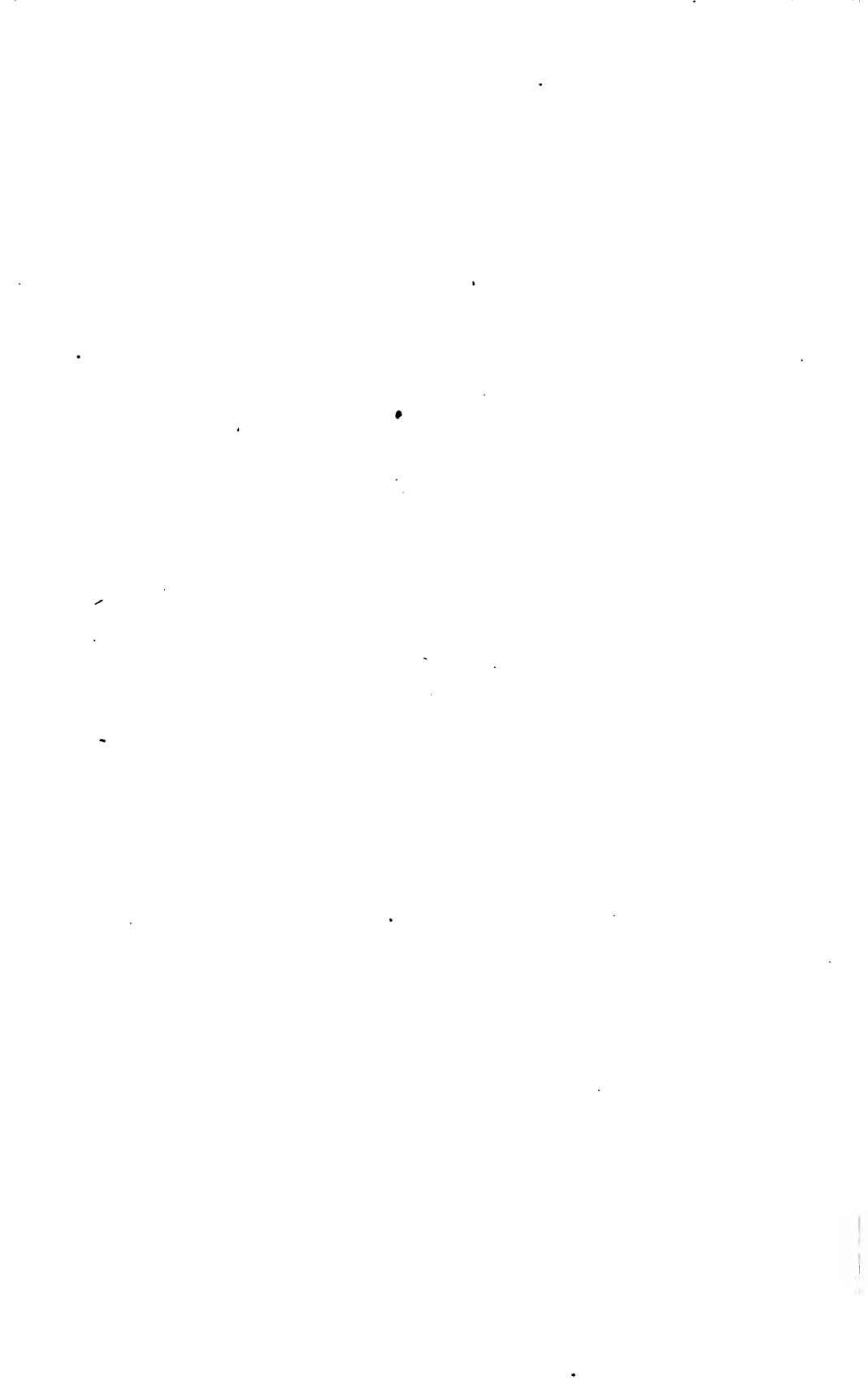


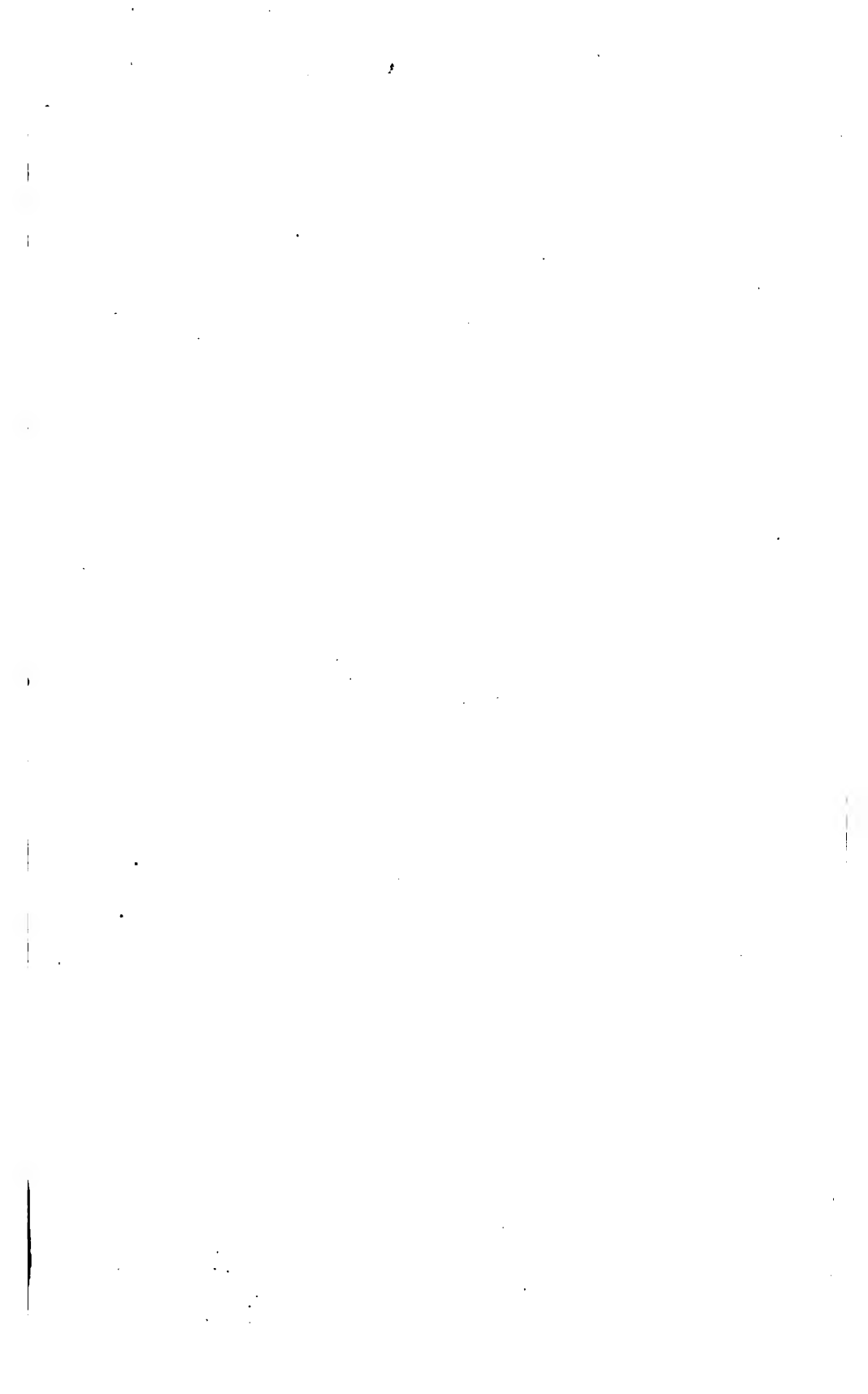


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HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT
OF
THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
BY
THE THREE GREAT EUROPEAN POWERS,
SPAIN, FRANCE, AND GREAT BRITAIN,
AND
THE SUBSEQUENT OCCUPATION, SETTLEMENT, AND EXTENSION OF
CIVIL GOVERNMENT BY
THE UNITED STATES,
UNTIL THE YEAR 1846.

BY
JOHN W. MONETTE, M.D.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way."

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

THE records of the first European colonies in the Valley of the Mississippi are distributed sparsely through the archives of foreign governments, and are to be found published only in fragments and hasty sketches, interspersed through miscellaneous works and periodicals, so that a connected and concise account of their rise and progress is not accessible to those who desire to trace their history. In like manner, the early records of the Anglo-American settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains, and their extension over the Valley of the Mississippi, are concealed chiefly among the archives of the several states and territories, or among the voluminous documents of the Federal government, thus placing any connected account of these infant colonies equally beyond the reach of common research. Other fragments, pertaining to the early history of the western settlements, are enveloped in private memoirs, narratives of individual observers loosely compiled, and meriting but slender claims to the confidence of the discerning reader.

Hence that portion of the reading public who are desirous of tracing the true history of past events in the rise and progress of the new states in the Valley of the Mississippi, free from the glosses and episodes of visionary writers, are excluded from any concise and connected history of the whole West, which discloses correctly the progressive changes, and notes the order in the chain of events, in their advance from isolated, feeble frontier colonies, to populous, wealthy, and enlightened states.

To supply this *desideratum*, and to present a concise and comprehensive detail, a complete but condensed narrative of American colonization west of the Alleghanies is the object of the present work. In this undertaking, the author has endeavored to connect the history of the French and Spanish colonies, which have had their important agency in the destiny of the American Republic, with those of the Anglo-Americans in their advance upon the tributaries of the Ohio River.

The blending of these three great branches of European emigration in North America has resulted in the formation of a great and powerful Republic, the wonder, if not the admiration, of the civilized world, teeming with an enterprising and ever-active population, proud of their origin from the three great nations that have successively held dominion in the Western World.

The advance of the Anglo-American population into the Valley of the Mississippi, its union with Gallic and Spanish colonies, the concurrent extension of Republican government over the subjects of absolute monarchies, and its benign influence upon the moral character and enlightened enterprise of mankind, afford a subject worthy the profound attention of the philosopher and the statesman. They present a new phenomenon in the science of human government, as to the development of human capabilities, when untrammelled by arbitrary power, and left free to the exercise of its own energies, under the fostering care of a free and liberal system of government. They exhibit the speedy and progressive conversion of a savage wilderness into a populous and highly-civilized country, inhabited by a people who have made all nature tributary to their aggrandizement as a nation, and in the promotion of domestic independence and social wealth, by the extension of navigation and commerce, and by the perfection of arts and sciences throughout the magnificent regions of central North America.

Such a result, heretofore, has been the work of many ages; and hence the early records of the rise and progress of most nations known to history have been lost in the uncertain mazes of tradition, until arms and commerce, arts and sciences, after the lapse of centuries, had given them renown and history. It has been left to the West to furnish the history of a new Republic, to present to the world the novel spectacle of a great nation formed by people coming from various portions of the globe, differing in manners, language, politics, and religion, and settling down quietly together, forming governments, constitutions, and laws, without bloodshed, violence, conquest, or invasion, and coalescing into one uniform, harmonious, and prosperous people. Never was there an experiment of greater moral grandeur, a more sublime spectacle of the harmonious development of the moral and political energies of a people

left free to the unrestrained operation of enlightened public opinion, the great regulator of their forms of government, laws, and religion.

The history of the early pioneers of the West is full of thrilling interest and incident connected with their struggles for the occupancy of this great and fertile region, which they have left as a rich inheritance to their posterity. The only requital they ask at our hands is the gratitude with which their names and their virtues are cherished by their posterity, and the fidelity with which they are transmitted, as models of enterprise and perseverance, to future ages.

The last participants in the great drama of western civilization will soon have passed from the stage of action; and the only voice heard in their praise, the only tribute of gratitude and admiration for their merits, will be the impartial records of history, which should embalm their deeds of valor, their patient endurance, and their active virtues in the grateful remembrance of posterity.

The general tenor of this history is to trace the gradual and steady advance of the European colonies and settlements by their various routes into the central part of North America, and the progressive extension of the Anglo-American population and Republican government throughout the great Valley of the Mississippi and the southwest; to illustrate the progressive changes, and the rapid advance of population and civil government, from the rude and half-civilized pioneer up to flourishing cities and powerful states, extending over regions which a few years previously had been savage solitudes.

The plan of the work is simple, and grows out of the order in which the different colonies advanced in the occupation of the regions now comprised in the United States.

The *Spaniards* were the first exploring pioneers in the Valley of the Mississippi, and their early explorations and settlements furnish the subject of the *First Book*, or "Early Spanish Explorations."

The *French* were the first peaceful explorers and permanent colonists who occupied and settled the banks of the Mississippi River, subsequent to the hostile explorations of the Spaniards. The French colonies and explorations therefore furnish the subject of the *Second Book*, or "France in the Valley of the Mississippi."

Great Britain, the jealous rival of France, next extended her colonies into the western country, encroaching upon the discoveries and possessions of France, until finally, by force of arms, she expelled the French power from Canada and the Mississippi, and appropriated to her own use the whole eastern half of the valley, including the Floridas.

The progress of her colonies west of the Alleghanies, her fierce contests with the French and their savage allies, and her subsequent occupancy of the country, furnish the subjects of the *Third Book*, or "Great Britain in the Valley."

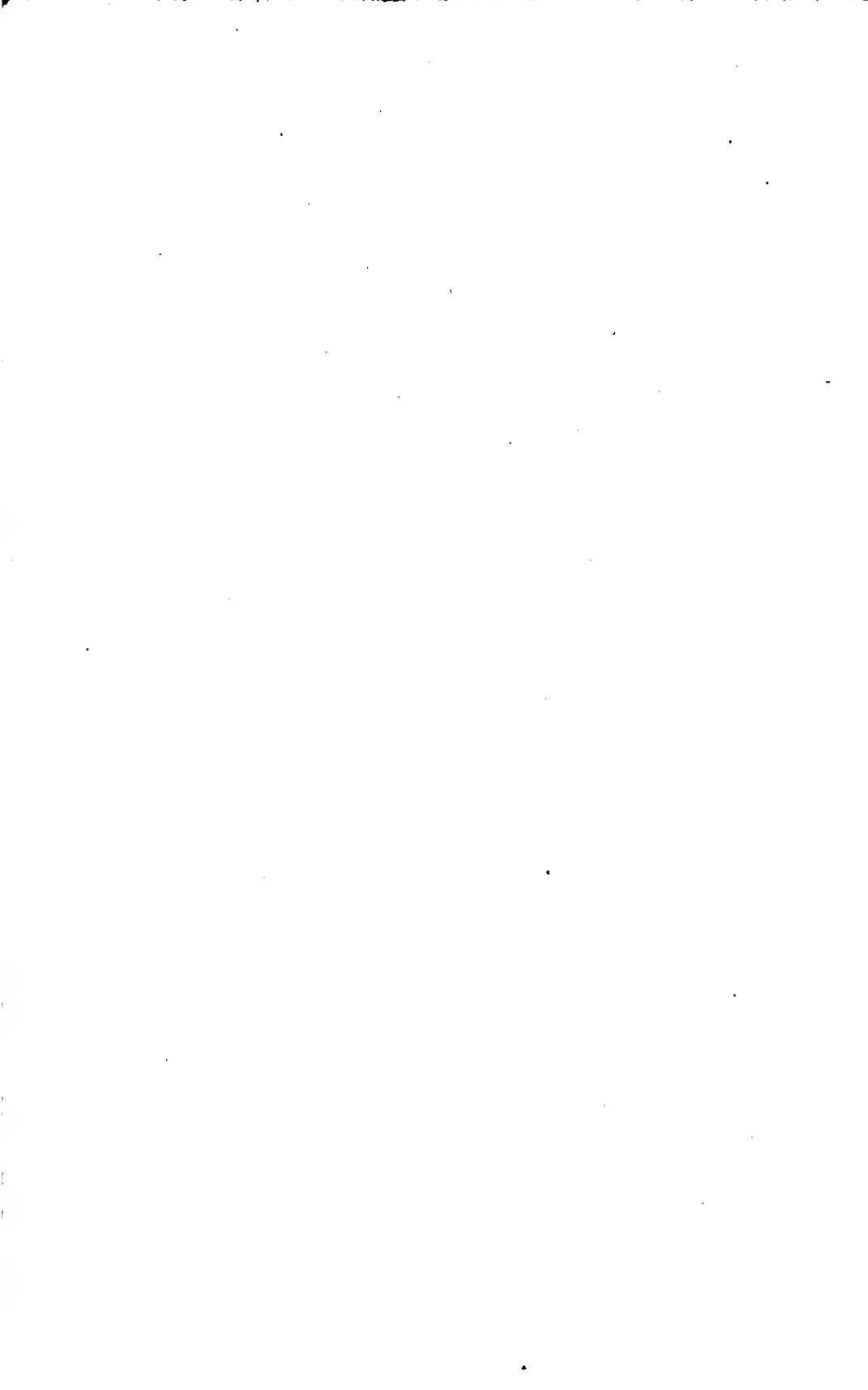
At the dismemberment of Louisiana in 1763, while Great Britain had secured the eastern portion of the province, except the Island of New Orleans, Spain had acquired all the western portion, including that island. Thus was Louisiana divided between Spain and Great Britain. Spain held dominion over the western portion of Louisiana and the Island of New Orleans, together with the Floridas, subsequent to 1763, until the close of the year 1803, when the Spanish dominion ceased in Louisiana. The acquisition, the occupancy, and the exercise of Spanish authority over this extensive province, until the final termination of the Spanish dominion on the Mississippi, furnish the subjects of the *Fourth Book*, or "Spain in the Valley."

Meantime, the "United States" on the Atlantic coast having declared their independence, which was recognized by Great Britain at the close of the Revolutionary war, succeeded to the territory claimed by Great Britain east of the Mississippi, as far south as the proper limits of Florida. The United States claimed dominion, and continued to extend civil jurisdiction in the formation of new states west of the Alleghany Mountains, gradually displacing the native savages from the country east of the Mississippi, and finally, by treaty negotiations, annexed all the Spanish provinces east and west of the Mississippi, as far as the Rio del Norte of Mexico.

The extension of settlements, the establishment of civil government, the increase of population, the wars and treaties with the native tribes, the acquisition of territory and the extension of dominion, the progress of agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce, aided by the potent influence of steam power, constitute the subjects comprised in the *Fifth Book*, or, "The United States in the Valley of the Mississippi."

Such is the general outline of the work which is now pre-

sented to the American public. For its completion and perfection, so far as the nature and extent of the plan will admit, and its faithful adherence to truth and accuracy, the author has spared neither labor nor expense, and he throws himself upon the generous approbation of the American people for the first systematic arrangement of this portion of the history of the United States.



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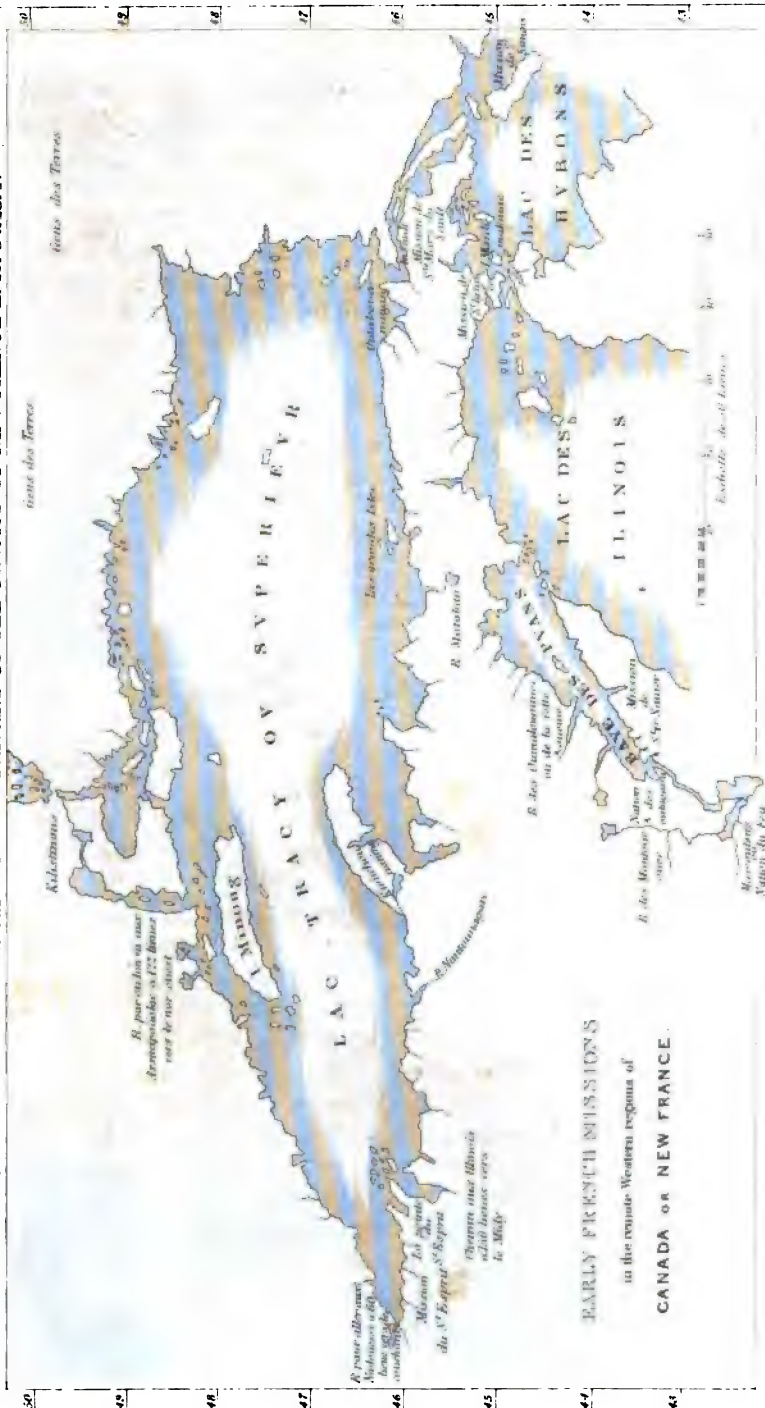
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COPY OF THE MAP ATTACHED TO THE RELATIONS OF THE JESUITS OF NEW FRANCE IN 1670 & 1671.



Author's address:

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18

HISTORY

OF THE

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

OF THE

VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

BOOK I.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF THE SPANIARDS IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST SPANISH DISCOVERIES IN FLORIDA.—A.D. 1512 TO 1538.

Argument.—The former undefined Extent of Florida.—Spirit of Enterprise and Discovery awakened in Europe by Spanish Conquests in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru.—The romantic and unfortunate Expedition of Ponce de Leon into East Florida.—The Expedition and Disasters of Vasquez de Ayllon; his Avarice, Cruelty, and Death.—The disastrous Expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez.—Preparations for the great and chivalrous Expedition, under Hernando de Soto, for the Conquest of Florida.—The Nature and Extent of this Enterprise.—De Soto's commanding Person and Influence.—The Expedition sails from Spain for the West Indies.—Other Arrangements and Preparations completed.—The Expedition sails from Havana, and arrives at the Bay of Espirita Santo late in May, 1539, A.D.—A Synopsis of the Marches, Disasters, and Fate of the Expedition.

[A.D. 1512.] In the first explorations of North America, Florida, as originally claimed by Spain, comprised all that portion of the present territory of the United States which lies south of the state of New York. At a later period, until the French discovered Canada, and the pilgrims settled in New England, it comprised all that portion of the United States south of the present state of Virginia, or south of the parallel of latitude 36° 30' north, and extending westward to the Spanish possessions of Mexico. These limits were successively restricted by other European powers, until Florida, early in the eighteenth century, comprised only a narrow strip of sea-coast on the northeast side of the Gulf of Mexico, chiefly south of

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latitude 31° north, and east of the Perdido River and Bay, and including the peninsula of East Florida.*

Within thirty years after the first discovery of America by Columbus, nearly all the great West India Islands, as well as the isthmus between North and South America, known as the Spanish Main, were explored and conquered by the Spaniards; yet, in that part of the Continent north of the Gulf of Mexico, few and imperfect discoveries had been made. During the early part of the sixteenth century, or between the years 1510 and 1540, numerous attempts had been made to explore, and some expeditions had been fitted out to conquer, the country lying east and north of the Mexican Gulf; but they had been disastrous and fruitless.

These expeditions generally set sail from Cuba, Hispaniola, or some of the larger islands, and, proceeding in a northward direction, touched upon the Bahama Isles, and upon the eastern coast of what is now East Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. The islands were populous and wealthy, while the country north of the Mexican Gulf was an immense wilderness, inhabited only by a few scattering and hostile savages. Yet the belief obtained among the Spaniards that in the interior of this vast region there existed great and powerful empires, far more wealthy than those of Mexico, and Peru. Those who had shared in the plunder of the latter countries, sighed for the still richer plunder which they believed to exist in Florida.† This belief was confirmed by the most incredible stories, told by navigators who, at different times, had touched upon those shores. Every disaster on that coast, and every failure of a new expedition, only served to inflame their avarice, and stimulate their spirit for adventure and wild enterprise. In Spain the enthusiasm of all classes for discovery and conquest was unbounded. In the beautiful language of Theodore Irving, "Never was the spirit of wild adventure more universally diffused than at the dawn of the sixteenth century. The won-

* See book i., chapter v., for the "Extent and Boundaries, &c., of Florida."

† See Irving's *Conquest of Florida*. This is an interesting work, in two vols., 12mo, written by Theodore Irving. It is handsomely devised and compiled from Spanish historians, and written in a most beautiful style. It treats chiefly of the explorations and adventures of Hernando de Soto, and his gallant band of cavaliers, who overran Florida, as known at that time, between the years 1539 and 1542. It is compiled from the narrative of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, and others. Many portions of the narrative may appear like romance, but the adventures of De Soto were only romance acted out in real life. See vol. i., chap. i. and ii.

drous discoveries of Columbus and his hardy companions and followers, the descriptions of beautiful summer isles of the west, and the tales of unexplored regions of wealth, locked up in an unbounded wilderness, had an effect upon the imaginations of the young and adventurous, not unlike the preaching of the chivalric crusades for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher. The gallant knight, the servile retainer, the soldier of fortune, the hooded friar, the pains-taking mechanic, the toilful husbandman, the loose profligate, and the hardy mariner, all were touched with the pervading passion; all left home, country, friends, wives, children, lovers, to seek some imaginary Eldorado, confidently expecting to return with countless treasure."

Fired with this enthusiasm, Spain and Portugal sent forth a continued succession of fleets and armies, led on by the proudest soldiers of the age. Every island in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Caribbean Sea, as well as Mexico, Peru, and Guatemala, were speedily explored, overrun, and plundered by their warlike and avaricious soldiers. The natives were consigned to every species of extortion, suffering, and cruel deaths, or to an ignominious slavery, worse to them than death itself. The immense riches accumulated by those who led on these conquests were such as to constrain belief in the most incredible tales of other lands. This state of mind prepared those of ardent and enthusiastic temperaments to receive as true the most extravagant tales of the unbounded wealth of the interior of Florida; while the dangers of the coast, and the terrible hostility of the natives, only served to confirm them in the belief of the immense wealth of that country, which was so strongly guarded by nature and so resolutely defended by man. The fortunate adventurer who had amassed unbounded wealth in Mexico and Peru, sighed for the transcendent riches of Florida. This delusion was not cured by twenty-five years of subsequent disaster and disappointment. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru vainly dreamed of new laurels to be gained in the wilds of Florida. Such was the state of feeling, and such the enthusiasm, which led to the disastrous attempts to explore and conquer a country which, until near the middle of the nineteenth century, was still in the possession of the indomitable savages.*

* The Indians were removed by the government of the United States, but not until

The following are some of the principal expeditions prepared and sent to these ill-fated shores in the first half of the sixteenth century.

1. *The Expedition of Ponce De Leon.*—The first adventurer who discovered the coast of Florida was Ponce de Leon, formerly a companion of Columbus, ex-governor of Porto Rico, and a gallant soldier of fortune. He sailed from Porto Rico on the 3d of March, 1512, upon a chimerical cruise, in search of the Fountain of Youth, whose waters, it was said, possessed the property of perpetuating youth beyond the power of time and disease. The Indian tradition placed this fountain in one of the Bahama Islands. After a long cruise in search of the island which contained the healing waters, he at length came upon the coast of a country of vast and unknown extent, which he supposed to be a large island. Land was seen on Palm Sunday (Pascha Florida), the 27th of March. From this circumstance, as well as the appearance of the forest, which was in full bloom, and brilliant with flowers, he called it *Florida*. The coast was dangerous and the weather tempestuous, and for many days he was compelled to avoid the shore. At length he effected a landing, which proved to be the east coast of Florida, a few miles north of the present site of St. Augustine. Having explored the dangerous and unknown shore and channels in the vicinity, and southward among the Bahama Islands, he returned to Porto Rico. Here he still burned with the desire of exploring and conquering his newly-discovered country. After a lapse of several years, and various delays, he received authority from the Emperor Charles V. to sail to Florida as the governor thereof, with the task of colonizing it, as the reward for his discovery, and other former services.

At length, in the year 1512, he set sail for Florida with two ships, to select a site for his new colony, and for the seat of his government. Where he landed is not known, but most probably somewhere in the vicinity of St. Augustine. Here he was soon attacked by the natives with the most implacable fury. Many of the Spaniards were killed; the remainder were driven to their vessels for safety. Among the latter was Ponce de

the year 1842, three hundred and three years after the invasion by De Soto. The Florida Indians were known in the nineteenth century as the "Seminoles" in East Florida, and the "Muskogees" in Northern Florida, and in the southern and western parts of Georgia.

Leon, mortally wounded by an Indian arrow. He returned with the wreck of his expedition to Cuba, where he shortly afterward died. As the eloquent Bancroft remarks, "So ended the adventurer who had coveted immeasurable wealth, and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained only its shadow."*

[A.D. 1520.] 2. *Expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon*.—While the conquest of the islands and Mexico was progressing, the rich mines discovered required numerous able hands to bring forth the precious metals. For this purpose, it was proposed to capture as many of the hardy natives of the islands and of Florida as might be requisite to supply the demand of the mines with slaves. For this purpose, some wealthy miners fitted out a fleet of two vessels under Vasquez de Ayllon, in the year 1520, to cruise among the islands in quest of Indian slaves. This expedition reached the eastern coast of Florida, a little north of the first landing of Ponce de Leon, where the vessels were anchored in a river, in latitude 32° north, in a country called by the natives Chicorea. The river was called Jordan, and is probably the same now called the Savannah, or, as some think, the Combahee, in South Carolina. At this place Europeans were unknown to the natives, who admired the fair skins, the long beards, the splendid clothing, and the brilliant armor, no less than the huge vessels in which they came. But they fled in terror to their forests. The Spaniards soon dispelled their fears, and enticed them on board the vessels, where they traded beads and trinkets for marten skins, pearl, and some gold and silver. While on board, the unsuspecting Indians thronged the decks, gazing with admiration on every thing around them. As soon as a sufficient number had been enticed below the decks, the perfidious Spaniards closed the hatches, and made all sail for St. Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, parents from their children. Storms arose on the voyage; they were overtaken by disasters, and one vessel, with all on board, was lost: the other arrived safe. But the Indians on board remained sullen and gloomy; and, refusing all food, most of them died of famine and melancholy.

This enterprise only stimulated the cupidity of Vasquez de Ayllon to further outrages. He repaired to Spain, and sought from the emperor the government of Chicorea, with authority

* Hist. of United States, vol. i.

to subdue it by conquest. He obtained his request, and wasted his whole fortune in the preparation of his fleet and troops. [A.D. 1525.] He arrived in the mouth of the Jordan, with his fleet, in the year 1525, but soon his largest ship was stranded and lost. The natives, fired with revenge for former wrongs, meditated the entire destruction of their invaders. They dissembled their resentment, and, by acts of hospitality and friendship, gained the confidence of the Spaniards, who hoped former wrongs were forgotten. Vasquez was completely deceived, and believed the country already subdued to his sway. The natives invited the Spaniards to visit their village, nine miles distant, for festive entertainment. They accepted the invitation, and Vasquez permitted two hundred of his men to visit the village, while he remained with a small force to guard the ships. The natives entertained their guests with feasting and mirth for three days, until they were placed completely off their guard. That night the Indians arose upon them and massacred every soul. At daybreak they repaired to the harbor, and surprised Vasquez and his handful of guards. Only a few of them escaped to the ships, wounded and dismayed, and with all speed hastened back to St. Domingo. According to some accounts, Vasquez remained among the slain; according to others, he returned among the wounded to St. Domingo, where mortified pride, and the ruin of his fortune, hurried him, broken-hearted, to his grave. Thus signally were the natives of Chicorea avenged upon their cruel and perfidious enemies.*

[A.D. 1528.] 3. *Expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez.*—Disasters from heaven, and hostility from men, were insufficient to deter the Spaniards from attempting the conquest of Florida. They still believed the interior was far more wealthy than Mexico. The next important expedition was conducted by Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of no great prudence or reputation for virtue. He was authorized to subdue the country, over which he was appointed governor, with the title of adelantado, or commander-in-chief. His authority extended over all the country of Florida, from Cape Sable as far as the River of Palms, probably the Colorado in the west of Texas. He at length equipped his fleet of four ships, and a strong military force of four hundred foot and eighty horse: with this complement he set sail from Cuba in March, and on the 12th of

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., p. 13-15.

April he anchored in an open bay in East Florida, called the Bay of Espiritu Santo, the modern Tampa Bay. Having lost some of his men by desertion among the islands, and some of his horses in a storm, he landed his forces for the conquest of the country, amounting to three hundred men and forty-five horses. He then formally took possession of the country in the name of his imperial master, and explored the region in the vicinity. Having found it barren, and but thinly inhabited, he determined to penetrate northwardly into the interior, in quest of some populous and wealthy empire like Mexico or Peru. The fleet was directed to seek some safe harbor and await his return, or to proceed to Havana and bring new supplies for the army. With these arrangements he plunged into the depths of an unknown and savage wilderness, blinded against the danger by the delusive hope of conquest and riches. At first he passed through an inhabited country, with fields of maize; afterward, for many days, they journeyed through desert solitudes, and often suffered the extremes of hunger, of exposure, and of despair. They crossed rapid rivers, on rafts and by swimming, exposed to frequent attacks from hordes of lurking savages. Their extreme cruelty to the Indians who fell into their hands secured to them the most implacable hostility. Some of their captives were compelled to act as guides; but they led the invaders through swamps and forests, through matted thickets and fallen trees, until their souls sickened at the idea of proceeding further. They were thus led on for many days by their treacherous and vindictive guides, who sought to bewilder them, and lead them beyond their own territory. Yet they were urged on by the hope of reaching the rich country, which, the guides declared, was still far ahead. This was the Appalachee country, which lay, probably, west of the head streams of the Suwanee River, in Georgia, between the Alapahaw and the Withlacoochy Rivers, and east of Flint River. This country was represented by the Indians as abounding in gold, and toward this the weary Spaniards bent their eager way. At length they arrived at the long-sought country, and in sight of the chief town; but, instead of a great city like Mexico, Narvaez was chagrined to find only a village of two hundred and forty huts and sheds. The natives fled at their approach, and with them, for a time, fled the delusion of gold. The Spaniards remained twenty-five days in the village,

and were compelled to forage and plunder the country for subsistence ; but they were harassed day and night, and numbers were cut off by the warlike natives, until despair began to brood over them. They now became more anxious for food than for gold ; and the captives directed them southward, to the village of Auté, near the sea, where they represented the country as abounding in corn, vegetables, and fish, and the natives as peaceable and kind. This was distant nine days' march, and thither they turned their weary course. They were led through dismal swamps with deep lagoons, with the water often up to their breasts, the passage frequently obstructed by fallen timber, and beset with hordes of hostile and fierce savages. These were armed with bows of an enormous size, and hung continually upon their flanks and rear. At length, after incredible difficulties, they reached the village of Auté, which was deserted and burned by the natives at their approach. Some corn, however, remained, and this was more acceptable than gold. They were now within a day's march of the sea, probably in the vicinity of the present site of St. Mark's ; their numbers were greatly reduced by disease, by privation, and by the savages. Only two thirds of their original number survived, and many of those were now ill, and disease was daily spreading among them. They had now traveled eight hundred miles of dismal wilderness from the point of their disembarkation, and knew not the part of the gulf upon which they had now arrived. Their hopes of conquest and wealth were at an end, and to retrace their steps in search of their ships would only be to hazard the lives of all the survivors. Having discovered an inlet one day's march from Auté, they determined to encamp there until they could construct a few rude barques, in which they might coast around in search of their ships. Desperation drove them to invention. A rude bellows and forge were constructed, and all the iron implements of every kind, even to their stirrups and spurs, were converted into nails, hatchets, and saws. Their shirts were made into sails, and cordage was made from palm bark and horse hair. They made pitch of pine rosin, and oakum of palm bark. Every man able to work joined in building the frail vessels ; a horse was killed every three days for the laborers and the sick.

At length, after great exertion, they completed five vessels

and embarked on the 22d of September, 1528, crowding their gunwales almost to the water's edge. They coasted along the unexplored shore for many days, suffering both with hunger and sickness. They were driven by storms on the water, and assailed by savages when they approached land, until they became wild and desperate. A storm sprung up in the night, and three vessels were dispersed and wrecked: only two remained. In one of these was Narvaez himself. After coasting the shore round for many days in the most forlorn condition, he landed, and sent all his men ashore in search of provisions, retaining with him only one sailor and a sick page. While they were on shore a severe gale sprang up from the north, and his vessel, without food or water, was driven out to sea, and never heard of afterward. Thus this ill-fated man reaped only suffering and privation, poverty and death, where he expected wealth, conquest, and glory; while the country of Florida, which he was to subdue and colonize, remained as inhospitable and unknown as before.

Out of the whole number who landed at the Bay of Espiritu Santo for this expedition, only five escaped, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, and four of his companions. They were in the other barque that remained after the night storm, and were afterward cast upon the inhospitable shore; and, as Mr. Irving observes, "After the most singular and unparalleled hardships, they traversed the northern parts of Florida, crossed the Mississippi, the desert mountainous regions on the confines of Texas and the Rocky Mountains, passing from tribe to tribe of Indians, and often as slaves, until, at the end of several years, they succeeded in reaching the Spanish settlement of Compostella. From thence Alvar Nunez proceeded to Mexico, and ultimately arrived at Lisbon in 1537, nearly ten years after his embarkation with Pamphilo de Narvaez." The remainder of the crew, left on shore when Narvaez's barque was blown out to sea, were never heard of, and, in all probability, perished with hunger and by savage vengeance.*

Strange as it may appear, Alvar Nunez and his companions, after their forlorn wanderings and privations, and return to Europe, persisted in declaring Florida the richest country in the world; and their romantic narrations had the effect of still keeping alive the spirit of adventure for the conquest of

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., p. 16-23.

a country so much richer than Mexico. Encouraged by these declarations, a new and more extensive expedition was set on foot, during the following year, under Hernando de Soto, one of the most distinguished and wealthy cavaliers of that age. De Soto had been a companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, where he had amassed an immense fortune, and had won the most distinguished honors in the field of battle for his valor and his heroic achievements. Descended of noble blood, he maintained all the pomp and retinue of a Spanish nobleman of that day; his fame in the conquest of Peru had gained him a favorable standing with the Emperor Charles V., and he appeared at court with great pomp and splendor.

Fired with the enthusiasm which he had contributed to inspire, Alvar Nunez determined to join the contemplated expedition, and again to enter upon the conquest of Florida. A few months sufficed to light up all Spain with the enthusiasm of the enterprise.

The history of this expedition contains so much of romance and adventure, that it can hardly be believed by some as serious matter of fact. Yet this expedition for gold and conquest was unquestionably made; and it affords a sad proof of the proneness of human nature, under certain circumstances, to be carried away by the enthusiasm of the times, as if in expectation that the laws of nature, in the physical as well as the moral world, would be changed or subverted to subserve the imaginary wants of man.

Of all the enterprises undertaken in the spirit of wild adventure, none has surpassed, for hardihood and variety of incident, that of the renowned Hernando de Soto and his band of cavaliers. As Mr. Irving observes, "It was poetry put into action; it was the knight-errantry of the Old World carried into the depths of the American wilderness. The personal adventures, the feats of individual prowess, the picturesque descriptions of steel-clad cavaliers with lance and helm, and prancing steed, glittering through the wildernesses of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and the prairies of the *Far West*, would seem to us mere fictions of romance, did they not come to us in the matter-of-fact narratives of those who were eye-witnesses, and who recorded minute memoranda of every day's incidents."*

The sixteenth century was an age of adventure, and all

* Conquest of Florida, vol. I., p. 24-36.

Europe was fired with the enthusiasm of American discovery and conquest. The populous islands of the West Indies, and the powerful and wealthy empires of Mexico and Peru, were early subdued and plundered of their immense riches by small but gallant bands of Spaniards. The whole of Europe resounded with the fame of Cortez and Pizarro, and those who had followed their standards had amassed riches and honors without number. The ambition of the young and chivalrous was inflamed to deeds of daring.

[A.D. 1538.] De Soto burned with ambition to signalize himself equally with Cortez and Pizarro, to whose fame his was only inferior. The only field for his enterprise was the rich and powerful countries supposed to exist in the interior of Florida, north of the Mexican Gulf. This country was still believed to abound in silver and gold, and to be extremely fertile in all the products of agriculture. Several expeditions had formerly failed to subdue its inhabitants and to possess its wealth: but chivalric adventurers were still ready to enter a crusade again into these regions for the sake of gaining wealth and honors, and to stake their lives and fortunes on the issue. A man suitable to lead and command such an expedition was all they required. De Soto was in every way qualified. In fame he almost equalled the conquerors of Mexico and Peru themselves; in courage and perseverance he was not less. He was in the prime of manhood, and only waited some fit opportunity to signalize himself, and hand down his fame to posterity equally brilliant with that of Cortez and Pizarro. About this time Alvar Nunez returned to Spain, with the tidings of the unfortunate fate of Pamphilo Narvaez and his followers. All the vague reports of the immense riches and fertility of Florida, which had been greedily received and accredited, were confirmed in glowing colors by Alvar Nunez. In his miraculous wanderings through the country for many years, he had explored the whole region, had become acquainted with the language, customs, and resources of the natives. He therefore would be the most valuable acquisition to the contemplated expedition.

The imagination and enthusiasm of De Soto took fire at the glowing representations of Alvar Nunez, and he determined to lead an expedition which should eclipse the fame of the great captains who had preceded him, and yield the immense

riches which he so much coveted. The fate of all former expeditions to that inhospitable land only served to stimulate his ambition. He conceived that he possessed the energy and firmness to overcome all the obstacles and dangers which had caused the failure and destruction of former expeditions. He believed, too, that the barren coast, and the fierce hostility of the native tribes, were only so many obstacles placed by nature to protect and conceal the immense riches of the interior.

De Soto accordingly obtained permission and authority from the Emperor Charles to undertake the conquest of Florida at his own risk and expense. The emperor conferred upon him the title and office of governor and captain-general for life of Cuba and Florida. In the country of Florida which he should conquer he was appointed adelantado, an office comprising the whole civil and military authority, with a marquesite, and an estate in the country of thirty leagues in length and fifteen in breadth. A more splendid field of action, and a brighter prospect, presented to those who should engage in this expedition than any yet undertaken on the Continent. De Soto himself was transported with enthusiasm in the cause, and his enthusiasm and ardor were infused into all about him. So soon as it was announced that Hernando de Soto, one of the conquerors of Peru, was about to undertake the conquest of Florida, men of rank and wealth were foremost in offering the aid, not only of their personal services, but also of their money and fortunes. Soldiers of fortune, who had served with distinction in the wars against the Moors as well as in distant portions of the globe, were eager to join his standard in so splendid an undertaking. Young nobles, ambitious of distinction and wealth, cavaliers of experience, men of fortune, all volunteered in the intended conquest: some sold their whole estates to invest the proceeds in equipments for the expedition. None were more liberal in their contributions than De Soto himself, who exhausted his whole means in equipping the fleet, and in other requisites for the invasion. A troop of Portuguese cavaliers were among the volunteers for the enterprise; the whole of Spain was anxiously looking on the preparations for the expedition, and all was a brilliant display of arms and wealth. The number who presented themselves for the enterprise was far greater than could be received. From all the applicants De Soto selected the choicest spirits for his companions.

Many of the aspirants for fame and wealth, even those who had sacrificed their estates in preparing the expedition, were compelled to remain.

After nearly fourteen months spent in preparation for this enterprise, De Soto set sail from Spain on the 6th of April, 1538. His expedition consisted of nine hundred and fifty chosen Spaniards and Portuguese. A more gallant band had never been seen; scarcely one with gray hairs was among them. All were young and vigorous, and well fitted for the toils, hardships, and dangers of so adventurous an undertaking. In the enterprise, also, were enlisted twelve priests, eight clergymen of inferior rank, and four monks, most of them being relatives of the superior officers. This magnificent armament sailed from Spain in ten vessels, and in company with a fleet of twenty-six sail, bound for Mexico. They left the port amid the sounds of music, the blasts of trumpets, and the roar of artillery.*

After a prosperous voyage of near seven weeks, the expedition arrived at St. Jago de Cuba about the last of May. Their arrival spread general joy and rejoicing throughout the island, and for several days it was one scene of balls, masquerades, tilting-matches, bull-fights, contests of skill in horsemanship, and other chivalrous amusements. These being over, De Soto spent three months in a tour around the island, visiting the principal towns, and appointing officers of justice to rule in his absence. Most of the wealthy cavaliers were likewise furnishing themselves with the choicest horses and the most splendid trappings. The enthusiasm which prevailed in Spain spread likewise in Cuba, and many more of the wealthy and ambitious joined the expedition, and aided in furnishing every thing necessary for conquest and comfort. Late in August, the governor, De Soto, arrived at Havana, where he was joined by his family and all his troops. He continued here, engaged in the duties of his station as governor, for several months. In the mean time, he had sent a brigantine, manned with picked sailors and a trusty commander, to the coast of Florida, in search of a safe and commodious harbor, to which the expedition might sail direct on leaving Cuba. The object of this mission being accomplished, the brigantine returned, bringing four of the natives of Florida, who were detained to

* Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, vol. i., p. 35, 36.

learn the Spanish language, for the purpose of being employed as guides and interpreters. During this time the preparations for the expedition had been progressing with great diligence, and the number of additional volunteers had increased the whole force to one thousand men, including three hundred and fifty horsemen, besides the crews of the ships; the fleet consisted of eight large and three small vessels.

Every thing was provided that could possibly be necessary for conquest or for planting colonies. Artisans in wood and iron; iron in abundance, and a complete set of forging tools; men and apparatus for assaying gold and silver; a whip-saw and various tools for working in wood; live stock of different kinds, including three hundred head of swine for their colony, as well as food on their march, in case of emergency. Besides these, they provided every thing which the experience of former expeditions could suggest, or avarice and cruelty could dictate. Not only priests and learned men, but chemists and miners to procure and assay the precious metals. Chains and fetters for the captives, and even blood-hounds to assist in drawing them from their hiding-places, were among the articles provided for the conquest, while cards were supplied to amuse their leisure hours or to gratify their love of gaming. The fighting men were completely clad in steel armor glittering with gold; coats of mail, helmets, breast-plates, and shields for defense; and lances, broad-swords, and cimeters for offensive warfare. A few were armed with cross-bows, and eighteen with arquebuses; and one piece of ordnance was taken. Fire-arms were not then in general use; such as were used were imperfect, compared with those of modern times.

Thus provided and equipped, the expedition set sail from Havana on the 12th of May, 1539, as gayly as if it had been an excursion of a bridal party. Little did they dream of the dangers and hardships which they were about to encounter. In a fortnight the fleet arrived in the Bay of Espiritu Santo, which had been selected before. Here they cast anchor and prepared to disembark.*

The whole was a roving band of gallant freebooters in quest of plunder and of fortune; an army rendered cruel and ferocious by avarice, and ready to march to any point with slaughter where they might suppose an Indian village was stored with

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., p. 54.

gold or other riches. Stimulated by the love of fame, and still more by the love of gold, they plunged into the savage wilds of East Florida, and thence northward into the southwest section of Georgia, through the country of the Seminoles, who were as warlike and ferocious then as at the present time. They marched and wandered for the first year in East Florida and in Georgia, east of Flint River, continually harassed and cut off by the natives. The Indians captured for guides led them through dismal forests and impassable swamps until they reached the Appalachee country, where they spent the first winter, about one hundred and thirty miles north of St. Mark's. The next year they traversed the State of Georgia northeastward, and north of the Altamaha River; thence they were led northwestward, in search of gold, to the barren regions of the Cherokees; thence down the valley of the Coosa River; and thence southwestward, down the Alabama Valley toward its junction with the Tombigby, where they met with the most terrible disaster from a desperate attack by an immense Indian host, in which many were killed, and nearly all their baggage was destroyed by fire. From this they marched northward, or, rather, northwestward, in the midst of winter, and spent the remainder of their second winter in the upper part of the State of Mississippi, near the Yalobusha, or Tallahatchy River. During the winter they were attacked by a large body of Indians in the Chickasâ country, and again burned out. In this attack many were killed, and nearly every thing in the way of clothing and armor was destroyed by fire. Many of their horses likewise were killed or burned to death. The hostile savages harassed them incessantly in all their marches and encampments, and every day diminished the numbers of this gallant band. They next bent their course north of west, until they struck the Mississippi River. They crossed it, and extended their march with the wreck of their army in a northwestern direction to the mountainous region north of the Arkansas, where they spent their third winter. Thence they returned to the Mississippi, where De Soto died from disease brought-on by constant hardships, fatigue, and disappointed ambition. The remnant of the army again set out westward in hopes of reaching Mexico; and their fourth summer was spent in traversing the regions north of Red River. They finally returned to the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Ar-

kansas River, where the remnant of three hundred and fifty men, worn down with privations, hardships, and savage warfare in body, and depressed in mind by anxiety, disappointments, and despair, finally constructed rude vessels, and, pursued by hostile Indians, floated down the Mississippi to the gulf; and thence coasting around toward Mexico, only two hundred and fifty men finally reached the Spanish settlements. During the whole of nearly four years, while they were in quest of gold east and west of the Mississippi, their sufferings were indescribable. They encountered one continued and successive scene of privations, toils, dangers, disasters, and despair. I have not enumerated sickness and death among their sufferings, for these were the only comforts to their spirits, which sickened at the very thoughts of life.

CHAPTER II.

INVASION OF FLORIDA BY HERNANDO DE SOTO.—A.D. 1539 TO 1540.

Argument.—The Spanish Expedition at the Bay of Espirita Santo.—Disasters commence.—De Soto invades the Territory of Hiribigaa.—Invades the Territories of Acuera; of Ocall; of Vitachaco.—Invades Osachile; the Cacique's Castle upon a fortified Mound.—Invasion of Appalache.—The Expedition winters in Appalache.—Various Incidents while here.—The Expedition marches in the Spring toward Western Georgia.—Invasion of the Territories of Copafi.—Capture of the Cacique.—His Person and Character.—His miraculous Escape.—Invasion of the Territory of Cofachiqui.—De Soto's Disappointment at the Poverty of the Natives.—Captures a Queen Regent.—Detains her as a Hostage, and carries her Westward in his March.—She effects her Escape near the eastern Limits of the Cherokee Country.—The Expedition upon the Sources of the Chattahoochy River.—Arrives on the head Waters of the Coosa River.

[A.D. 1539.] *De Soto in East Florida.*—The splendid expedition under De Soto arrived in the bay of Espiritu Santo on the 25th of May. As the fleet approached the coast, the Spaniards beheld the shore lighted up with alarm fires of the natives, who had perceived their approach; but as it entered the bay the Indians disappeared, and not one was seen for several days. These circumstances excited suspicion in the mind of De Soto, and caused him to be extremely cautious in his movements. After four days of delay and observation, he landed a body of three hundred men, most probably on the shore

of that portion of the Bay of Espiritu Santo known as Hillsborough Bay. Here, with great pomp, he formally took possession of the country in the name of his imperial master, Charles V.; after which the detachment, in the joyful expectation of conquest and riches, encamped for the night in a state of careless security. Next morning, just before the dawn of day, the Indians, who had been secretly observing all their movements, assaulted the camp in vast numbers and with terrific yells. Unacquainted with such warfare, the whole detachment, panic-stricken, fled in great confusion toward the shipping. Many were wounded by arrows, and some were killed before they could reach the vessels. The Indians having dispersed, De Soto soon afterward disembarked the whole of his troops, and began his march into the interior by slow and cautious advances. The army had not proceeded more than six miles, when they came in sight of an Indian village governed by a chief named Hirihigua, who entertained for the Spaniards the most implacable hostility; the Indians fled at their approach; and the Spaniards, finding the town deserted, entered and plundered it of all that was left. Here De Soto remained with his army until he had somewhat explored the country, and completed his arrangements for advancing into the interior.

During the stay of the Spaniards at this post, Hirihigua and his warriors lost no opportunity of harassing them by day and by night. The savages burned with revenge against their invaders; yet they dreaded the terrible arms and horses of their enemies. De Soto, as a measure of policy, used every exertion and entreaty to appease the wrath of the vindictive chief, but all in vain. He endeavored by his interpreters, and by prisoners, discharged loaded with presents and favors, to gain his confidence and friendship. But to all their entreaties he answered scornfully, and upbraided his warriors for their intercession. His indignant reply in all cases was, "I want none of their speeches and promises; bring me their heads, and I will receive them joyfully." Ten years before, this chief had been treated with great cruelty and treachery by Pamphilo de Narvaez, after having shown great kindness to him and his army. Among other outrages, Narvaez had caused the mother of Hirihigua to be torn to pieces before his eyes by bloodhounds; after which he caused his own nose to be cut off or otherwise mutilated. The remembrance of these wrongs and

cruelties was fresh in his mind. De Soto and his army were countrymen of Narvaez, and he held them answerable for the treachery of their predecessors.

Before advancing further into the country, De Soto determined to provide himself with guides and interpreters who were acquainted with the country. Having learned that a Spaniard by the name of Juan Ortiz, who had been left by the fleet of Narvaez nearly eleven years before, remained a prisoner and slave in a neighboring tribe, he determined to obtain possession of him; for he would understand both the Spanish and Indian languages; besides, he would be able to give much valuable information relative to the country, the number, and the customs of the Indians. After a hazardous enterprise by some of his bravest troopers, he obtained possession of this individual, and soon afterward took up his line of march toward the northeast, having left a garrison to hold the post of Hiri-gua.

During their stay at the latter place, they had succeeded in capturing a number of Indians, who were chained and made to serve as guides, and porters of the baggage.

The army pursued an Indian trace, which traversed the low, marshy region south and east of the Hillsborough River, toward the northeast. Their guides led them through thick woods, with tangled vines and undergrowth, through swamps, marshes, and deep morasses, almost impassable for man or horse. Sometimes they passed over small quaking prairies, with a thick vegetable soil, and with water beneath. At first it would bear the horses, and then, yielding, leave them in a suffocating bog. When the woods were thick, and the path intricate, they were beset by hordes of savages lurking in ambush, who poured showers of arrows upon them, where neither cavalry nor foot could follow to attack. After several days of severe toil, and great perplexity in threading their way through almost impassable swamps and bogs, they at length came to a deep river, which was out of its banks from recent rains. On each side of the stream, for a mile and a half in width, was a low swamp, which was excessively boggy when not completely covered with water. Three days were spent in continued and fruitless attempts to find a firm crossing-place.* During the whole of this time, they were sorely harassed by continued

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., chap. vii.-xiv.

assaults from hostile Indians, with terrific yells. They became impatient, and, in despair, suspecting their Indian guides of treachery, caused four of them to be torn to death by bloodhounds. The guides atoned with their lives for the errors of their enemies, and for the impassable nature of the country. Yet no obstacles could turn their course; other guides were selected, who finally led them across, where the bottom of the swamp was firm, but covered with water up to the knees, and often to the armpits. Still they pressed on, and at length reached the channel of the river, which was swarming with Indians in their canoes, darting through the inundated swamp and trees, and sending forth showers of arrows upon them. A rude Indian bridge, made by a tree felled in from each bank, and joined by a floating raft, enabled them to cross, while the horses were obliged to swim.

They were now, in all probability, on the Withlacoochy River, which has been made memorable in modern times by the disasters of the bravest troops of the United States.* They were probably in the region of the Wahoo Swamp, and, pursuing their route, they crossed from the south to the north side, and continued their march toward the north.

After almost incredible difficulties and perplexities, and after having lost several of their brave companions, the army arrived at the village of Acuera, a hostile and warlike cacique. This village was about thirty miles north of the Withlacoochy, or Amaxura River, situated in a beautiful and fertile bottom, environed by extensive fields of corn, and by gardens abounding in pumpkins, squashes, and other vines; besides beautiful copses of fruit-trees close at hand.

The Cacique Acuera and all his people fled to the forests, and would hold no intercourse with De Soto, who, by interpreters and captured Indians, with every token of peace and friendship, endeavored to gain a friendly interview. But the implacable chieftain returned only the most haughty and vaunting reproaches for the cruelty and treachery of his countrymen, Pamphilo de Narvaez and De Ayllon, in former times.

Near the village of Acuera, De Soto remained for twenty days, to recruit his men and horses after their perilous marches.

* It was on this ill-fated stream where the brave but unfortunate Major Dade, with his detachment of United States troops, was inhumanly butchered by the Seminoles and negroes on the 28th of December, 1835. — See Williams's Florida, p. 217, 218.

They found abundance of corn and other culinary vegetables in the adjoining fields, which were numerous and extensive. The camp was securely fortified, so as to prevent sudden surprise; yet the Indians ceased not, day or night, to harass them in every form of savage warfare. Small parties dared not leave the camp; for whoever loitered a hundred yards from it was picked off by the arrows of the Indians, concealed in the adjoining thickets. Those who were thus killed were beheaded, and their heads presented to their chief; and next morning the Spaniards would find the bodies quartered and hung upon trees, or stuck upon stakes in sight of their camp. Fourteen Spaniards thus lost their lives while encamped at Acuera; yet the Indians were so wary, that they were seldom taken or killed; the whole loss of the savages in twenty days did not exceed fifty warriors.

The Spaniards were now about seventy or eighty miles distant from Hillsborough Bay, in a due north direction, and about twelve miles southwest from Orange Lake. Having explored the country for many miles around, by detachments and foraging parties, De Soto determined to march for the country of Ocali, about forty miles further north. In the first thirty miles they passed over a thin, barren region, and some pine forests, probably northwest of the present site of Fort Micanopy, before they entered the fertile region of Ocali. For twenty miles further, they passed through a fruitful valley, thickly inhabited, and abounding in fields. At length they arrived at the chief town, called, after the country, Ocali. This was one of the most extensive towns in Florida, and contained six hundred houses. It was situated upon the south side of a river, in all probability the Suwanee, or the Santa Fé branch.

Here the Spaniards remained several days, finding plenty of corn, fruits, and other vegetables. The Indians were less hostile than most of those they had seen; but living in a fertile and open country, where the cavalry could act, the Spaniards had nothing to fear from their hostility, had they been otherwise. Having constructed a bridge across the river, and having captured about thirty Indians to serve as guides, De Soto set out northward with his army for the great country of Vitachuco, about forty miles distant, and called in the Portuguese narrative the Province of *Palache*.*

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., chap. xv.-xviii.

The country of Vitachuco was a large territory, one hundred and fifty miles across, under the government of three brothers, but called after the eldest, who was cacique, or king. This country, no doubt, extended from the tribe last named to what is now the southern limit of Hamilton county, Florida. After three days' march through a more open country than that formerly traversed, they arrived at the frontier settlements of Vitachuco, and approached the first town, which was that of Ochile, one of the younger brothers. This town De Soto surprised at daybreak, and secured the chief and some of his principal warriors and attendants as prisoners. These were treated with every kindness and attention, for the purpose of securing, through them, a peaceable passage through the country of the other two brothers. This village was strongly fortified, and contained about fifty large houses.

After some days of delay they marched to the town of the second brother, and, through the messages and influence of the first, De Soto obtained a friendly reception. After this they marched toward the town of the cacique, or oldest brother, interpreters and messengers having been sent in advance. Vitachuco, however, was displeased with the kind reception given to the Spaniards by the younger brothers; he detained the messengers, and returned no answer. This haughty chieftain, during eight days, would receive no messenger nor compromise from the Spanish governor, but returned the most insulting and menacing messages. He warned him against the danger of violating his territory, and upbraided them with the treachery and cruelty of Narvaez. Finally, after great hostility and menaces, he appeared to have become reconciled to the Spaniards, and professed great friendship. He appeared anxious to atone for his former hostility by acts of kindness, in supplying their necessities; and accompanied them with professions of friendship, and unqualified submission to the wishes of De Soto. The latter, however, began to suspect a plot of treachery; and his suspicions, whether just or unfounded, terminated in the most dreadful slaughter of the natives.

Among the demonstrations of friendship and esteem toward De Soto, the cacique proposed, probably in the spirit of generous rivalry, to make a display before him of his power, and the number of warriors under his command, as well as the excellence of his tactics and evolutions, in a grand review. On a

given day the whole of his warriors were assembled, to the number of several thousands, including nearly all his tribe. During the parade, De Soto desired that his warriors too should display; the chief assented, and the Spaniards marched out with glittering arms and flying banners to the sound of martial music. They marched before the Indians, the infantry and cavalry duly arranged, when, upon a signal given by a blast of trumpets, they fell, sword in hand, upon the terrified and unsuspecting Indians. In three hours not less than five hundred of the warriors were numbered with the dead, and nine hundred were secured as prisoners and slaves. The remainder escaped to the woods, thickets, and a lake, which was near the town. Among the prisoners was Vitachuco himself, and many of his choicest warriors.

The town of Vitachuco was situated upon a lake, probably about twelve miles southeast of Suwanee River, where it forms the southern limit of Hamilton county. In this massacre the Indians defended themselves with great courage against the superior arms of the Spaniards and the terrible charges of their cavalry; but flight was their only safety.

A few days afterward, the captive Indians rose upon their treacherous invaders, preferring death to an ignominious slavery. This gave the Spaniards a pretext for putting to death, in cold blood, the whole of their prisoners. Some were tied to stakes and shot with arrows; others were cut to pieces, or torn with dogs.

Whether De Soto was justifiable in this atrocious act, must ever remain unknown. He justified himself by a belief that the chief intended to play the same treachery upon him, and that he saved the lives of his men only by anticipating him in his cruel purpose. In favor of the Indian, it may be said, that his conduct in this case was only a specimen of the policy and conduct of the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, where De Soto learned his Indian morality. Pretexts were not wanting in other instances, when he wished to gratify his desire of pomp and power, or, it may be, to give his troops an easy revenge for all the toils, hardships, and conflicts they had encountered since their disembarkation. In favor of the Indians, it may be asked, if they came there prepared to exterminate their invaders, why were they unable to defend themselves against their attack? The Indian princes were always anxious

to impress Europeans with their strength and power ; and if, in this case, the cacique designed treachery, his designs have been forever concealed by the known and terrible designs of his antagonist.

Five days after the massacre of Vitachuco, the Spaniards resumed their march northward, to a country called Osachile, after the name of its chief town, which was situated thirty miles north of Vitachuco. The fame of their treachery and cruelty, however, had preceded them, and had roused the savages to the most determined resistance. They had not marched more than twelve miles before they came to a large and deep river, which formed the boundary between the two countries. Here the Indians contested the passage ; but the country being open, so that the cavalry could move, the savages were soon dispersed, and the army crossed at their leisure upon rafts constructed for the occasion. They marched partly through an open country, and at length arrived at the village of Osachile, containing about two hundred houses. The river crossed in this march was doubtless the Suwanee River. The Indians of this village having heard of the approach of the Spaniards, and knowing the terror of their arms, and the still greater terror of their warlike animals, had fled, and left the town, as usual, an easy capture. This village resembled most of those in Florida in the manner of its construction. The house of the chief was built upon a high artificial mound, or eminence, in a level country. The mound was large enough to contain on its level summit from five to ten houses for the chief and his family, with their attendants. Around the base of this eminence were the houses of the other chiefs and warriors of most distinction, and others successively in the order of their respective rank. The margin of the mound was fortified by pickets and other wooden barriers. The ascent was an avenue about fifteen feet wide, inclosed on each side by strong pickets made of trunks of trees, set deep into the ground. Within this passage were rude steps made of logs laid transversely, and partly buried in the ground. The other sides of the mound were steep, and inaccessible below the pickets on the margin.*

De Soto remained in this town only two days, as it was now getting late in the season, and he wished to reach the country

* Conquest of Florida, chap. XL-XXI.

of Appalaché before winter. He learned at Osachile that a few days' march would bring him to that country, of which he had heard so much during his whole march. The natives always referred to it as the most fertile and populous of all countries, and as inhabited by the most warlike nation on the Continent. Besides, it was supposed to be near the gold region, where they were to reap the wealth for which they had undertaken their adventurous campaign. Only forty miles now intervened between the two countries; but nearly the whole of the intervening region was uninhabited. On the fourth day they arrived at the "*Great Morass.*" This was a wide swamp, covered with lofty trees, with a dense undergrowth of thorns, brambles, and vines, so interwoven as to form a perfect barrier to man or horse. In the center, or lowest part of this morass, was a large shallow lake, or sheet of water, more than a mile in width, and several miles in length. The trace led through this dismal region, scarcely wide enough for two to pass abreast, between two walls of matted vines and thorns nearly a hundred feet high. The advanced guard, in single file, penetrated but a small distance into this forest, when they were met by a band of hostile Indians. These defended the pass every step to the central lake, although only two or three of the front rank on each side could engage at one time. When they reached the lake, both parties having room to spread and form for action, the contest became general. The governor sent forward a re-enforcement, and attended it in person; for he was always in the hottest part of a battle. Still the Indians made a bold stand; and they also having received a strong re-enforcement, made the battle long and bloody. Both parties gradually spread out into the lake, and fought with great courage, nearly up to their waists in water. The lake abounded with a vast quantity of roots, cypress knees, bushes, briars, and fallen trees, over which they were liable to stumble at every step. It was the design of the Indians to check the progress of the Spaniards at this point, and prevent their further march into their country. The path led through the water to the opposite side of the lake, and here they might be embarrassed, and made to lose their way. But the courage of De Soto and his perseverance were equal to any obstacle that could be opposed, and he finally succeeded in driving off the Indians and passing the morass, which was altogether more

than five miles across, being about two miles on each side of the lake. About forty yards in the middle of the lake was too deep to be forded without swimming. The Indians still met them in the narrow trace, or defile, on the other side of the lake, and resolutely defended every inch of the path until they emerged into more open and higher ground. Here likewise they made an obstinate resistance. Fearing the action of the cavalry, which would have more room for operating, they had obstructed the woods with fallen trees, and by vines and branches tied from one tree to another; and sheltering themselves among the trees, they plied the Spaniards with showers of arrows. The Indians, concealed among thickets, would spring forth as the enemy advanced, and rapidly discharge six or seven arrows each while a Spaniard could fire and re-load his arquebuse once. For six long miles were the Spaniards compelled here to toil and fight their way, without a possibility of taking vengeance until they should reach the open country. Two days were occupied in this perilous passage; but so soon as they did reach the open country they gave loose reins to their vengeance, pursued the Indians wherever they could be seen, cutting them down, or lancing them to death.

In this same morass Narvaez, in his expedition, was defeated by the Indians, and compelled to retreat toward the sea with the wreck of his army. Many of De Soto's brave men lost their lives here too, and many of them were severely wounded.

De Soto continued his march, and passed through many miles of inhabited country with numerous fields; at length he came to a deep river bordered by dense forests, which was the boundary between Osachile and Appalaché. This was, in all probability, the Oscilla River of the present day. This was the last difficult barrier against their advance; the Indians had assembled in large numbers to dispute the passage of the river. They strongly barricaded the road and banks of the river with palisades to prevent the passage of the cavalry, and here they fought with the fury of desperation; but at length were defeated by the intrepid Spaniards, who entered Palaché, or the Appalaché country, victoriously.

Having crossed the river, they pursued their march, with but little interruption, for nearly twelve miles, through alternate level lands and fertile fields, until they reached the chief town, Anhayca, which they found deserted. As usual, the Spaniards

took possession, De Soto himself occupying the house of the cacique as his headquarters.*

Having found the province of Appalaché fruitful, and abounding with the most necessary articles for the sustenance and comfort of man and beast, De Soto determined to remain encamped at Anhayca until the severity of winter should be over. His army, accordingly, went into winter-quarters about the last of November.

The province of Palaché, or Appalaché, was extensive, and probably embraced a confederacy of tribes. According to the best authorities, it extended from the Appalachicola River around the north and northwest of Appalaché Bay; but as to its precise limits on the north and east, there is much uncertainty. In all their marches the Spaniards had no other mode of ascertaining the distances traveled over than by rough estimate; and often the difficulties of the route may have caused the distance to appear much greater than it was in reality. Besides, in passing over an unknown wilderness, inhabited by savages in open hostility, it is not likely that they could ascertain the boundaries and extent of any country or tribe, or even get the exact pronunciation of the names, where all were harsh, guttural sounds to them. That part of the province in which the town of Anhayca was situated is, by general assent, placed from about one hundred to one hundred and thirty miles north of the present site of St. Mark's. As to the immediate site of this town, nothing definite can be ascertained; but it was probably in the vicinity of some of the tributaries of the Suwanee River, or nearer the Flint. The Spaniards, pursuing their circuitous marches, considered it nine days' march from the sea, and near one hundred leagues north from the Bay of Espiritu Santo.

The province was populous, and had numerous villages and extensive fields. There was no gold in the country, and this was a sore disappointment to the Spaniards; but the former accounts continually given them of its fertility, and the extreme hostility and fierceness of the natives, were not exaggerated. Indeed, they were without doubt the most fierce and implacable of all the tribes they had yet seen. During their whole stay in this town, which was nearly four months, they were harassed with constant attacks, by day and by

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., p. 159-162.

night, in the open woods, and in thick ambuscades. The Indians here, too, were in the habit of taking the scalps of those they killed, a custom not observed among the tribes in the latitude of Tampa Bay at that time. They ambuscaded foraging parties, harassed the encampment with nightly attacks and terrific yells, and also lay in wait continually to seize or shoot down with arrows any that ventured from the camp. The chief, whose name was Capafi, remained concealed in some strong-hold or fastness, from which he directed his plans against the Spaniards; but no intelligence of him could be obtained, nor would he receive any friendly overtures made to him.

While in winter-quarters at Anhayca, De Soto repeatedly sent out strong detachments through the surrounding country, to the distance of forty or fifty miles, to explore the country and inquire for the gold region. Some of these detachments were out as long as a week or ten days, and returned and reported the country on the north fertile, populous, and free from marshes. At length one of the most intrepid and persevering captains was dispatched southward with a strong detachment of horse and foot to reach the sea, which they had not seen since they left the Bay of Espiritu Santo. This detachment, after incredible difficulties and perplexities in deep swamps, marshes, &c., came to the village of Auté, and thence to the sea, at the place where Pamphilo de Narvaez made his last encampment, while building his rude brigantines to tempt the watery deep.

Here they were shown by the Indian guides the remains of his camp, of the forge, the troughs hewed out of trees for feeding their horses, the skeletons of the horses that died or were killed for food, and also the spot where ten of his men had been surprised and killed, besides many other melancholy mementoes.

[A.D. 1540.] De Soto being highly pleased at having found a harbor so convenient, sent the same intrepid Captain Juan de Anasco, with a detachment of thirty lancers, on the perilous route by land, back to the post of Hirihigua, to order on the garrison to headquarters, and the ships around to the Bay of Auté. All this was effected with much better success than might have been expected, considering the great distance, the impassable nature of the route, and the fierce hostility of the savages. The ships also arrived at the newly-discovered bay in safety.

Soon after the vessels arrived at this bay, De Soto dispatched an able officer with some of the smaller vessels to explore the coast westward for another convenient harbor, to which supplies and re-enforcements might be brought from Havana in the fall, when he would be further westward. This officer accomplished his mission by exploring the coast around for more than two hundred miles to the Bay of Achusi, which afforded a spacious, deep, and secure harbor. This bay is now known as Pensacola Bay. Here the fleet was directed to await his arrival in the fall, after having brought supplies from Havana.

While wintering at Anhayca, De Soto, being harassed by continual attacks from the fierce natives by day and by night, determined that the most effectual way to restrain their hostilities, and secure the lives of his men and horses, which were daily diminished, was to obtain possession of the person of their cacique, through whom he might control their hostile operations. It was the policy of the Spaniards—fully tested in Mexico—to obtain possession of the person of the king, or cacique, as a hostage, through whose authority they could restrain the Indians and effect other objects. De Soto was well aware of this fact, and in most cases, his first object in entering the territory of any tribe was to secure the chief, on account of the profound obedience and respect paid to him. Hence this was always a matter of first importance, whether accomplished by force, or by artifice and treachery. In most tribes through which they had yet passed, the terror of their cruelty had preceded them, and the chiefs and all their people fled from their villages to avoid Spanish treachery; for, although the sole object of the Spaniards was conquest and plunder, they were not averse to obtaining these upon as easy terms as possible; hence De Soto had made every effort and inquiry to discover where the chief, Capafi, concealed himself. At length he ascertained that the place of his retreat was in a dense and almost inaccessible forest, about twenty miles distant. De Soto, placing himself at the head of a strong detachment of horse and foot, set out to surprise and capture the cacique in his strong-hold. This was an enterprise of peculiar peril: the road lay through tangled thickets and treacherous morasses, which rendered it almost impassable to cavalry. At the end of three days, and after great difficulties, they reached this formidable retreat of the savage king. It consisted of a cleared space, in the midst

of the almost impervious forest, which they had prepared for their camp. All around this space it was fortified in the strongest Indian manner. The only avenue to it was by one narrow path cut through the forest, and lined on both sides with dense thickets of vines, thorns, and undergrowth. About every hundred yards this path was strongly barricaded by trees, palisades, and vines, and at each barricade was posted a guard of the bravest warriors. Beyond these sat Capafi, strongly ensconced in the midst of his devoted warriors.*

De Soto commenced the attack; and, after acts of the most daring intrepidity by himself and his troop, they forced the narrow passage, and gained one barrier after another, amid the most galling showers of arrows from every quarter. Many of the Spaniards were severely wounded; but at length they gained the open space of the fort, where the cacique and his chief warriors were assembled. Here was the severest fight and the greatest havoc. The Indians seemed to offer themselves a willing sacrifice to the Spanish sabres for the protection of their chief; but at length, being overpowered by the superiority of the Spanish arms, they were mostly killed, and the remainder were taken prisoners. Among the latter was the cacique himself.

This chief, one of the most powerful of all the native princes, was an object of great curiosity to the Spaniards. He was so remarkably fat and unwieldy that he could not walk, but was carried by his attendants upon a litter wherever he desired to go. This was, however, probably more a matter of form than necessity; for, after several days of captivity, he effected his escape from the midst of his guards, as they alleged, by crawling off on his hands and knees while they were asleep. His devoted warriors, being concealed around the camp, soon carried him to a place of safety. The guards had undergone severe fatigue, and, overcome with sleep, had given way to slumber, believing it impossible for their unwieldy prisoner to escape; but when they awoke he was gone, and never seen again by them. To appease the anger of De Soto, and to excuse their own negligence, they invented and told some marvellous tales of his having been spirited away by magic.

De Soto in Georgia.—Early in March, 1540, De Soto broke up his winter-quarters, and set out for the northeast in search

* Conquest of Florida, vol. I., p. 182-185.

of the province of Cofachiqui, which was supposed, from Indian accounts, to be the rich country for which he was in search. He had been informed by the guides and other Indians that it lay a long distance off, toward the northeast, and that it abounded in gold, silver, and pearls. The expectation of these anticipated riches buoyed up the spirits of his troops, and led them cheerfully onward. They passed alternately through fertile fields and barren forests; through inhabited regions and deep wildernesses; through open, high woods, and deep, gloomy swamps; and often were in danger of starvation in remote and desolate forests. In their route, after the first few days, they found the tribes through which they passed friendly, hospitable, and confiding. The natives of these remote regions were unacquainted with the former cruelties and treachery of Pamphilo de Narvaez; hence they were less suspicious of the strange warriors. From Anhayca they passed northward, probably crossing the Flint River, and pursuing their march in the valley on the west side for nearly twenty days, until they reached the southern part of the Cherokee country, called Achalaque. Then they directed their route to the northeast, crossing, in the course of the next twenty days' march, two large rivers, in all probability the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers, not far from the vicinity of Macon and Milledgeville, in Georgia. As they passed up on the west side of the Flint River, De Soto had been informed by some Indian chief of a great and rich country to the west, called Cosa; but he determined to pursue his march to the northeast, in search of the province of Cofachiqui. In the remainder of this march he received every kindness and hospitality from the Indians that could be expected from unsophisticated human nature. The Spaniards, too, had learned, by their first year in Florida, that every encounter with the savages only increased the difficulties of their march, and reduced the number of their men and horses; hence they were careful to give as little offense to the natives as possible, and to commit fewer depredations upon their property.

At length, after an entire march and sojourn of more than two months, the Spanish army arrived in the province of Cofachiqui about the middle of May. This province was situated on the head waters of the Savannah River, and the chief town, probably, in the peninsula at the junction of the Broad and Savannah Rivers. They had, in their march, encountered many severe

difficulties and hardships ; and, having missed their way, they were lost three days in a desolate, uninhabited region, their guides bewildered, their provisions exhausted, and starvation staring them in the face. But they had now reached the termination of their perilous march. They found the country ruled by a beautiful Indian queen, or female cacique. She entertained the Spanish governor and his army with great ceremony, kindness, and even generosity. But the proud spirit of De Soto could not brook the mortification of finding the country inhabited by savages, and they destitute of gems and precious metals. He brooded over his disappointment, but concealed it from his troops ; yet it was discernible in his morose conduct, and in his increased sternness to his men. Among the latter the disappointment was equally great, and showed itself in murmurs and acts of marauding upon the kind and hospitable Indians. They plundered their sacred depositories for the bones of their ancestors, and especially of the "illustrious dead." In the latter were deposited the most costly riches they possessed, which were numerous valuable pearls. These sacred relics were plundered for the jewels found, and for others which they hoped to find. These were the only riches to be found, and, although many and valuable, were to be obtained in large quantities only by plundering the vaults of the dead. The Indians abhorred the sacrilege, but were unable to punish the perpetrators. They began, however, to withhold the usual supplies of food and corn. The troops began to find new difficulties, and became more dissatisfied ; they found, among the spoils of the cemetery of the chiefs, several old coats of mail and a dagger, which they learned had been obtained from the expedition of the cruel and unfortunate De Ayllon. They also learned that the sea-coast where he had landed was only ten or twelve days' journey distant, and that they were then upon the head streams of a river which was probably the Jordan, which entered the sea not far from Point St. Helena, the place selected by that unfortunate man for his colony. They therefore desired to form a colony here, and here to end their toils and their wars. But "De Soto was a man of few words and stern," and he determined to march toward the northwest, along the base of the mountain ranges, and thence proceed toward the Bay of Achusi, where he expected to meet his fleet with supplies.*

* Conquest of Florida, vol. i., p. 245-253.

HAVING refreshed his army and horses by a sojourn of a few weeks, he determined to set out for the northwest about the latter part of May. A difficulty having occurred between some of the soldiers and the Indians while he remained in this country, and the Indians having become distrustful and unfriendly, De Soto determined to adopt the policy found so successful in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, which was to obtain possession of the sovereign, and insure the friendship or forbearance of the subjects. He therefore obtained possession of the queen, and carried her upon his march through her dominions, as a hostage for the security of his men against any hostile designs of the Indians. All due respect and ceremony were extended to her, and she was surrounded by a numerous guard to prevent her escape or capture by her people. Through this means the Spaniards procured a safe march through the territory of Cofachiqui to the country of the Cherokees, called the province of Chalaque. Near the borders of this country the young queen effected her escape from the Spaniards, and returned to her own people. The Spaniards passed through the country of the Cherokees, and found them peaceable, domestic, and hospitable, and inhabiting rather a sterile region.

At first they feared and fled from the Spaniards; but, finding them friendly, they came forward and supplied them with every thing in their power for food. But they knew nothing of gold and silver. Passing westward over the head branches of the Chattahoochy River, after a march of about twenty-two days, the Spaniards arrived, about the 25th of June, at a village called Ichiaha, situated on the Etowee branch of the Coosa River, probably in that part of Georgia now designated as Floyd county. While here, the usual inquiries for gold and silver were made, and, having learned that yellow metal was found in a region forty or fifty miles to the north, De Soto remained here, and sent couriers in quest of the region supposed by Indian accounts to yield gold. At the end of ten days they returned without any intelligence of gold, and with no other booty than a buffalo rug. Having secured the friendship of this tribe, De Soto continued his march toward the southwest along the valley, and on the north side of the Coosa River nearly fifty miles, within the limits of the present state of Alabama.*

* Conquest of Florida, vol. II., chap. IV.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANISH EXPEDITION EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—A.D. 1540
TO 1541.

Argument.—De Soto marches down the Coosa River.—The King, or Cacique, of Coosa.—De Soto enters the Territory of Tuscalusa.—Noble Person and lofty Bearing of Tuscalusa.—He is inveigled into De Soto's Train.—The Army marches through the Dominions of Tuscalusa.—The captive King is impatient and indignant at his Detention.—Resolves to secure his Liberty or die.—Reaches Mauville with the Army.—De Soto apprehends Danger from the Native Warriors.—The severe and disastrous Battle of Mauville.—Indian Courage and Desperation.—Deplorable Condition of the Spanish Army after the Battle.—De Soto resolves to advance to the Northwest.—Crosses the Tombigby River in the Face of an Indian Army.—Passes the Head Waters of Pearl River.—Enters the Chickasaw Country.—Takes Possession of a large Indian Town for his Winter-quarters.—The great Battle and Conflagration of Chickasaw.—Great Losses of the Spaniards.—The Army marches Westward to Chickasaw, where they spend the remainder of the Winter.—They march Northwest to Alibamo.—Severe Battle of Alibamo.—They approach the Mississippi, or Rio Grande.—Preparations for crossing the great River.—Indian Hostilities and Opposition to their crossing.—The Army at length reach the western Side of the Rio Grande.—The probable Crossing-place.

[A.D. 1540.] *De Soto in Alabama.*—The Spanish army now crossed to the south side of the river, and pursued their march toward the province of Coosa. After easy marches for twenty-four days through the fertile regions and fields of this extensive province, they came, about the first of August, to the chief town, named Coosa, which, as well as the province, was called by the Spaniards after the Cacique Coosa. This town was delightfully situated upon a noble river, supposed to be the Coosa. It contained five hundred dwellings, some of which were spacious. The cacique, a noble-looking young Indian, borne upon a kind of litter by four attendants, and attended by one thousand warriors, came out to meet De Soto. The chief and his retinue, all adorned with lofty plumes, with mantles of marten-skins over their shoulders, and preceded by a band of music, presented a splendid and imposing appearance. The chief received De Soto with marks of great respect and with much ceremony; gave him a residence in a part of his own house, and quartered his soldiers in the town. Great kindness and friendship were shown by the Indians, and the whole army were abundantly supplied with every thing requisite for com-

fort and convenience. The fields in the vicinity were numerous and extensive, and the Spaniards spent several weeks in the neighborhood. Late in August, De Soto set out on his march southward. He was attended by a large number of the Cosa Indians, for the purpose of carrying the baggage, and accompanied by the cacique, who was taken, attended by a Spanish guard, under the guise of special honor, but, in fact, as a guarantee for the safety of the Spaniards against any treachery or hostile attack from the Indians. As usual, every attention was paid to the chief; a splendid mantle and a horse were allowed him; but still he was, in fact, a prisoner. The Indians, perceiving that their king was not at liberty to depart from his escort if he desired, had seriously meditated his release by the massacre of his detainers. Several acts indicative of hostile intentions had been committed by some of the Indians, who had been punished by De Soto, and put in chains. At the intercession of Cosa, they had been released, and a state of amicable feeling and confidence was restored. At the extreme of Cosa's dominions, De Soto dismissed the cacique with much profession of friendship and with presents.

Proceeding southward, he reached the confines of the territory of Tuscaluza, one of the most potent, proud, and warlike chieftains of the South. His sway, probably, extended over a large portion of South Alabama and Mississippi. "Tuscaluza had heard with solicitude of the approach of the Spaniards to his territories, and probably feared some hostility on their part, in combination with his rival, the Cacique of Cosa. He sent, therefore, his son, a youth eighteen years old, attended by a train of warriors, on an embassy to De Soto, proffering his friendship and services, and inviting him to his residence, which was only forty miles from the frontiers of Cosa." De Soto gladly accepted the offer. When he had advanced within five or six miles of the town where Tuscaluza was, he halted the army, and proceeded, in company with his staff, toward the town, where he found Tuscaluza prepared to receive him in great state. Posted upon the crest of a hill, which commanded a view of a rich and beautiful valley, he was seated on a kind of throne, or wooden stool, used by the caciques of the country. Around him stood one hundred of his principal men, dressed in rich mantles and plumes. Beside him was his standard-bearer, who bore, on the end of a lance, a dressed

deer-skin, stretched out to the size of a buckler. It was of a yellow color, traversed by blue stripes. This was the great banner of this warrior chieftain, and the only military standard that the Spaniards met with throughout the whole expedition.*

This celebrated chieftain, who has given his name to a noble river, as well as the capital of Alabama, may claim a few words more. He was of extraordinary stature, being a foot taller than any of his attendants; he was about forty years of age; "his countenance was handsome, though severe, showing the loftiness and ferocity of his spirit, for which he was celebrated throughout all the country; he was broad across the shoulders, and small at the waist, and so admirably formed that the Spaniards declared him altogether the finest-looking Indian they had yet beheld."†

When De Soto approached, Tuscaluza rose and advanced twenty paces to receive him, although he took not the least notice of the officers and cavaliers who preceded him. The chieftain extended great kindness and friendship to De Soto and his troops. De Soto, as usual, suspected treachery from the cacique, and got possession of his person under the guise of honor and respect. He surrounded him with a guard; clothed him in a splendid scarlet robe, glittering with gold. After a few days, the Spaniards continued their march toward the Bay of Achusi. They desired Tuscaluza to accompany them through his dominions, for which purpose he was furnished with a horse to ride. Only one horse in the troop was found large enough for his use, and when seated upon this one his feet almost touched the ground. Proceeding southward, at the end of three days they arrived at the town of Tuscaluza, about forty miles from the point of his first interview. There the march assumed a northwestern direction, and crossed to the west side of the Alabama River. A few days afterward De Soto took up his line of march toward the southeast, until he arrived at the town of Mauvile, in company with the distinguished chief and his attendants.

The indignant savage, perceiving that he was detained a prisoner under the guise of friendship and pompous ceremony, burned with secret revenge; yet, like his European rival, dis-

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., ch. v. and vi.

† Ibid, vol. ii., p. 31.

sembling the greatest solicitude for the welfare of the Spaniards, Tuscaluza dispatched some of his attendants in advance to Mauville, above the junction of the Alabama and Tombigby Rivers, under the pretext of ordering supplies and attendants for his Spanish friends; but instead of ordering supplies for the invaders, he summoned his warriors to rally to his rescue, for the expulsion or destruction of their enemies.

De Soto continued his march, and at length arrived in the vicinity of Mauville, which was found to be a strongly-fortified town, on an extensive plain, and swarming with Indian warriors. From various incidents on the way, De Soto began seriously to suspect danger, and accordingly kept the cacique well guarded with twenty soldiers; yet the soldiers had seen so little danger from Indians for several months, that they could not be made to apprehend any then. The town of Mauville, from which the modern name Mobile is derived, is situated on the north side of the Alabama River, in a fine plain, surrounded by a bend of the river, not a great distance above the junction of the Tombigby. This was the principal town in the dominions of Tuscaluza, and was strongly fortified. Here he and his chief warriors resided. The town contained eighty large houses, which were different from those of other towns. They were large sheds of reeds and straw, set upon posts, and covering a large surface of ground, inclosed by pickets; and some of them were large enough to accommodate from five hundred to a thousand persons. The whole was surrounded by a strong wall, made of a double row of large pickets, deeply set in the ground, bound together by ties, vines, and reeds, and cemented with mud and moss, and plastered over, so as to be impervious to arrows or darts, except at the port-holes left at proper distances. Every fifty yards around the wall was a kind of wooden tower, capable of containing six or seven warriors; there were only two gates or entrances, one on the east and one on the west extremity. Many of the pickets had taken root, and were growing with a profusion of branches and foliage. Such was the ancient town of Mauville, or Mobile, where De Soto met his severest disaster, and where was fought the hardest Indian battle on record.

The Disastrous Battle of Mauville.—During more than four weeks, while De Soto had been leisurely marching through the

dominions of Tuscaluza, the latter was secretly maturing the plan which, as it appeared, he had previously conceived, for the entire destruction of the Spanish army. The van-guard, consisting of about half the cavalry and near two hundred infantry, under De Soto in person, reached the strong post of Mauvile at eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of October, having left the main body of the army following slowly a few miles behind, under Luis de Moscoso. At the town, De Soto was met by a large body of warriors, painted, and splendidly dressed and equipped, preceded by a band of young females, with music, songs, and dancing. The governor and the cacique entered on horseback, side by side, and were received with great parade and respect. So soon as De Soto and his chief officers were provided with rooms, and the baggage was stowed away, Tuscaluza informed the governor that he wished to retire a short time to see his people, and make further arrangement for the remainder of the army. De Soto began to apprehend treachery, but was unable to detain the cacique. After an absence of an hour, De Soto sent a messenger to invite him to breakfast, as they had been in the habit of eating together. This finesse, used to obtain possession of the chief, was without success. Circumstances became more suspicious; some of De Soto's spies, who had been sent before him, came to him and informed him that there were a great many choice warriors concealed, perfectly armed, in large houses in remote parts of the town; and that the women were concealed in other large houses, remote from these. De Soto, certain that mischief was brewing, sent a messenger back to Luis de Moscoso, ordering him to advance rapidly with the main body of the army. At length, several messages having been sent to Tuscaluza without his notice, the messenger, who was not permitted to enter the house where he was, called out aloud from the door for the cacique. This was deemed disrespectful by his attendants, and was resented accordingly. Weapons were drawn by some of the Spaniards, and an Indian chief gave the war-whoop, which rang through the village. The warriors poured out from every house and from the plain around the town. In a short time the Spaniards and Indians were engaged in one general and deathly *melée* through the principal streets. The Spaniards fought with great courage and vigor against overpowering numbers. At length, finding

themselves greatly annoyed by missiles of every kind from the house-tops, as well as from behind the houses; they fell back, disputing every inch of ground, until they reached the plain outside of the walls, where the cavalry, also, could act with more effect. So soon as they left the town the Indians plundered the baggage, and, releasing and unchaining the captives brought from Appalaché, furnished them with arms to assist in destroying their oppressors.

Swarms of warriors pressed upon the Spaniards in the plain with the utmost fury, discharging showers of arrows pointed with flint with great execution, notwithstanding their defensive armor. The battle raged with great fury backward and forward from the walls to the plain for several hours, when many of the Indians were disposed to shelter themselves from the furious charges of the cavalry by retreating within the walls. De Soto determined to break down the gates, and secure admission to his cavalry; this was soon done with axes, and the cavalry charged through, followed by a part of the infantry. The battle now raged fiercely within the walls, and the Spaniards set fire to the combustible houses covered with reeds and straw. These were soon wrapped in flames, and the town presented a scene of horrid carnage, smoke, and flame. The wind drove the flames and smoke furiously along the narrow streets, where hundreds were blinded or suffocated by the smoke, and burned to death. The fire spread to one large building in which were a thousand females, most of whom were consumed with it.

The battle still raged with great fury through the burning town and in the surrounding plain. The Indians disdained to yield or ask for quarter, although slaughtered in hundreds by the keen sabres of the Spaniards. Repeatedly repulsed, they as often renewed the attack, although certain to die in the charge.

This terrible strife and carnage had continued for near five hours. The gallant band of Spaniards were diminished in number, and those remaining were almost exhausted with fatigue, heat, and thirst. Scarcely able to attack, they collected together to stand and resist only the attacks of the numerous host of savages still swarming around them. At length they were relieved by the approach of De Moscoso with the main army, near the middle of the afternoon. The fresh troops attacked

the Indians on all sides with great fury, and strewed the ground with piles of their dead bodies, while the fresh cavalry cut hideous lanes through their crowded masses. Toward the evening the females joined in the contest with the most determined fury, and threw themselves fearlessly upon the swords and spears of the Spaniards. The carnage ceased only with the setting sun; and every where the intrepid De Soto was in the hottest of the battle, always leading on the impetuous charges of the cavalry. This he continued to do even after he had been severely wounded by an arrow in the thigh.

"Such," says Theodore Irving, "was the deadly battle of Mauville, one of the most sanguinary, considering the number of combatants, that had occurred among the discoverers of the New World. Forty-two Spaniards fell dead in the conflict; eighteen of them received their fatal wounds either in the eyes or in the mouth; for the Indians, finding their bodies cased in armor, aimed at their faces. Scarce one of the Spaniards but was more or less wounded, some of them in many places. Thirteen of the wounded died before their wounds could be dressed, and twenty-two afterward, so that in all eighty-two Spaniards were slain. To this loss must be added that of forty-two horses, killed by the Indians, and mourned as if they had been so many fellow-soldiers."*

The havoc among the Indians was almost incredible. Several thousands are said to have perished by fire and sword. The plain around the village was strewed with more than twenty-five hundred bodies. Within the walls the streets were blockaded up by the dead. A great number were consumed in the burning houses. In one large building a thousand persons perished, the flames having entered by the door, and prevented their escape, so that all were either burned or suffocated. The greater part of these were females.

The Indians fought with desperate courage. They had vowed to expel the invaders, or die in the attempt. Often, during the day, victory seemed certain in their favor; but it was as often snatched from them by the terrific charges of the cavalry. Still, their assaults were renewed with fresh ardor, until the whole field around, as well as the streets of the town, were covered with their dead bodies. The Spaniards fought like men who knew that they must conquer or die. Had it not

* Conquest of Florida, vol. II., chap. vii.-ix. See, also, Williams's Florida, p. 106-70.

been for their superior arms and their defensive armor, as well as their excellent cavalry, not one Spaniard would have lived to witness the setting sun.

The number of wounds in all amounted to seventeen hundred that required a surgeon's care, being those about the joints and other parts attended with danger, besides many slighter ones left to the care of the common soldiers.

It is worthy of remark that the Indians used bows of great size and strength. So heavy were they, that often, when closely pressed, they would use their bows as clubs over the heads of the Spaniards, with such effect as to cause the blood to flow freely through their casques. The arrows were driven with great force, so as often to inflict severe wounds through their coats of mail, and in some instances to penetrate through the eyes and mouth, and out at the back of the head. Horses that were unprotected were covered with wounds, and many of them pierced through the body or to the heart.

It may appear strange that the Indians engaged around the strong-hold of Mauville were so numerous; but these warriors were collected from all the confederated tribes of South Alabama and Mississippi, as well as Florida, and at a time when those tribes were far more populous than they have been within the past century. The occasion, too, was one of the most momentous which had occurred in their history, and which called the warriors from the most distant nations to make common cause against a common enemy.

"The situation of the Spaniards after the battle was truly deplorable. Most of them were severely wounded; all were exhausted by fatigue and hunger. The village was reduced to ashes around them, and all the baggage of the army, with its supplies of food and medicine, had been consumed in the houses." Not even a house or shed remained to shelter the wounded from the cold and dew of the night. Temporary sheds were erected against the remaining walls of the town, and covered with branches of trees and bushes, while straw was placed for their beds. Those who were least injured exerted themselves to attend and relieve those who were severely wounded. "Those who were able to bear arms patrolled as sentinels, and maintained a vigilant watch, expecting to be assailed" again in the night. "Thus they passed that wretched night, amid bitter lamentations and dying groans."

After eight days they were able to move into such of the Indian hamlets as were found in the vicinity, where they continued until the wounded men and horses were able to march. During this time, those that were able were obliged to forage in the vicinity to procure sustenance for the men and horses. In every direction they found dead and wounded Indians, who had escaped thus far after the carnage of the eighteenth of October. But they were not interrupted again by the savages while they remained in this region. The whole confederated tribes, having lost most of their choice warriors at Mauville, dared not attempt to renew the contest.

Previous to the battle of Mauville, De Soto was advancing toward the south to meet his ships with stores and provisions at the Bay of Achusi, now known as Pensacola Bay. But the disaster of Mauville wrought deeply upon his pride and ambition; his troops were becoming discontented and mutinous. They were disappointed, because, instead of conquering rich kingdoms and regions abounding in gold mines, they had met with nothing in Florida but one privation and disaster after another, and found nothing but savage wilds, inhabited by the most fierce and unconquerable tribes. They had now been near eighteen months in quest of gold, and yet they were solaced by the sight of no such metal. Their numbers had been greatly diminished by hardships, privation, and by savage foes, in all their marches; and for a month before they reached Mauville a malignant disease had made its appearance among them, and many fell victims to its ravages. The elements, the country, and the natives all seemed combined against them, and they sighed to reach the ships, which were now known to have arrived at the Bay of Achusi, only seven days' march distant, by which they hoped to effect their escape from this inhospitable land. De Soto, learning all this, and knowing that his followers would desert him in hopes of obtaining a safe passage to Mexico or to the islands, and that he should be left blasted in reputation and fortune, determined to frustrate all such calculations by speedily plunging into the depths of the forest toward the north. He became morose, irritable, and discontented, and seemed anxious to finish his existence far from the reach of his friends in Havana, unless, by persevering, he might yet discover the object of his ambition. Accordingly, about one month after the great disaster of Mauville, finding

that his horses and men were now sufficiently recovered from their wounds to travel, he set out on his march toward the north near the last of November. He thus determined to silence all murmuring and complaint, and sternly gave orders to prepare to march northwardly, and punished all who dared to speak of the sea or the ships.

After five days' march they arrived at "a deep and wide river," which was in all probability the Tombigby, below the mouth of the Black Warrior. This they crossed after much delay and hard fighting with a large body of Indians, who disputed the passage for twelve days, until large boats were constructed to ferry the army across. This was probably in Marengo county, Alabama, not far from Chickasâ Creek. After this they marched on toward the northwest for five days more, when they came to another river, probably the Pearl, which was not so large as the first. Here they met with some opposition from the natives, and passed on in the province of Chicassâ, within the state of Mississippi.

De Soto in Mississippi.—The first river crossed by De Soto and his army after leaving Mauville was "a deep and wide river," where they were vigorously opposed by a large body of Indians, who, stationed for six miles on the western bank, defeated every attempt to cross for twelve days, until the Spaniards had completed a very large scow, or ferry-boat, in which many of the infantry and cavalry could cross at each load. Some have erroneously supposed this was the Black Warrior itself; but De Soto directed his general course west of north from Mauville, and, of course, he would not reach the Black Warrior, which was toward the northeast; besides, the latter river does not answer to the size and depth of the first river crossed in their march for Chicassâ.

The second river crossed in this march was probably the main Pearl River, somewhere in Leake county. Thence the course was more toward the north; and after eight or ten days' march in that direction, they came to the village of Chicassâ, situated in a beautiful plain, fertile and well watered, probably in the valley of the Yalobusha, and in that portion embraced in Yalobusha county. The expedition arrived at this village late in December, about one month after its departure from Mauville. It was composed of about two hundred small houses or wigwams, which were abandoned by the Indians on

the approach of the Spaniards. The winter had now set in, and the weather was extremely cold, attended with snow and ice. De Soto determined to remain in the village until spring. He accordingly built other houses, as the number then existing were insufficient to accommodate all his men, and inclosed the whole with strong pickets and other means of defense against any sudden attack from the Indians. The neighboring fields were extensive, and there was no scarcity of corn for the support of the army and horses. This was supposed by the Spaniards to have been the chief town of the Chicasa Indians, whose territory extended to the first river they crossed after leaving Mauville.

[A.D. 1541.] For several weeks the Spaniards enjoyed comparative quiet from Indian hostility, as the savages appeared friendly, and did not venture to make any regular attacks or ambuscades. At length the continued aggressions from the troops in their foraging excursions, and the cruelties inflicted on those captured, impelled them to hostilities, for the purpose of expelling their insolent invaders. Several Indians, who had attempted to pillage about the camp, were shot to death; others had their hands cut off by De Soto's order, and were thus dismissed as warnings to their countrymen. The Spaniards, also, were now endeavoring to secure captives to serve as slaves, and to carry the baggage in their further march, instead of those they had lost at Mauville. The forbearance of the savages was at length exhausted, and they determined to punish their oppressors at the peril of their lives. They began to make frequent false attacks at night, with terrific yells, to harass the Spaniards, as well as to place them off their guard when the intended main attack should be made. Finally, late in February, on a dark, cold, and windy night, the real attack was made, as usual, with terrific yells, the blowing of conchs and horns, and the war-whoop on every side of the encampment. Although the Spaniards were not taken by surprise, still it proved to them the severest disaster which had yet befallen them.*

Battle and Conflagration of Chicasa.—It was at a late hour of the night, only a few hours before day, when the Indians advanced in three divisions, and commenced the attack on all sides, having reached the inclosure unperceived. By means

* Conquest of Florida, vol. II., p. 82-87.

of lighted matches attached to the arrows shot from their bows, and by ropes of hay set on fire and hurled on the combustible roofs made of reeds and straw, the whole village was soon on fire. The flames were spread with great rapidity by the wind, and in a short time the whole encampment was one scene of flame and confusion. The Spaniards were mostly roused from their slumbers by the war-whoops of the savages, and by the flames which were consuming the frail tenements over them. Many barely escaped with their lives, and without their clothes or armor. Bewildered by the spreading flames and the horrid yells and assaults of the savages, the first object was self-preservation, without system or order. As soon as they could prepare to act on the defensive, they made a most desperate resistance, every man doing his utmost to repel the hosts of savages which were pressing on all sides. At the first onset, many of the horses took fright and escaped into the plain, and others could not be released from the burning stables in which they were haltered. At length about one half of the cavalry was ready for action, and commenced the most desperate charges upon the thickest bodies of the Indians, until they were dispersed. But several hours elapsed before they were entirely repulsed, and the Spaniards suffered severely in every charge. On the morning their whole encampment was a scene of desolate confusion, and they themselves were in the most deplorable condition.

This night was more disastrous to the Spaniards than even the battle of Mauvile. For now, not only their baggage and clothing were destroyed, but their arms were burned or injured, and they had inflicted less injury upon the savages than at Mauvile, while they suffered almost as much themselves.

In this engagement and conflagration, the Spaniards lost forty men killed, besides some burned to death; fifty horses, also, were killed or burned to death. Those who survived this terrible night were mostly wounded and destitute of the necessary clothing for the season. The greater part of their herd of swine which they had taken with them were consumed in the flames of a large shed, covered with thatching, in which they had been inclosed. Their condition was truly deplorable. They were now nearly three hundred miles from their ships, with impassable rivers, swamps, and savage tribes intervening, destitute of clothing, half armed, and surrounded by hostile

savages who desired their extermination. Their courage and fortitude in all these disasters and misfortunes are probably without a parallel in history. But it was chiefly to the bold, adventurous, and unconquerable spirit of Hernando de Soto that they were conducted through all these difficulties and sustained in all their privations.

After this disaster, the army soon removed to another village about three miles distant, called Chicaçilla, where they fortified themselves and remained until the last of March. Here they employed themselves in repairing and making saddles, re-tempering their swords which had been injured by the fire, in making lances, and shields of hides, and also in manufacturing a coarse fabric for clothing; for many were almost naked, and others had only skins and other garments taken from the Indians. During the whole time they remained in Chicaçilla, they were harassed with continual attacks by the Indians, and were obliged to keep out a strong guard all night to prevent another conflagration of their camp.

About the first of April, De Soto broke up his winter-quarters, and set out again toward the northwest. The first day's march westward brought them to the vicinity of a strongly fortified town called Alibamo, or, as the Portuguese narrator writes it, Alimamu. This is the town from which the River Alabama takes its name. It was situated on the east bank of a deep but narrow river, with high banks, in all probability the same now known as the Tallahatchy, and probably not far above the junction of the Yalobusha. This fortress was surrounded by a triple wall of pickets and earth, in a quadrangular form, about four hundred yards on each side, and intersected by other strong picket walls on the inside. The whole was a very strong post, and so constructed as to prevent the free operation of the cavalry should they once gain an entrance.

The next day this post was regularly attacked and carried by storm, with the slaughter of a large proportion of the garrison. The Indians, as usual, fought with great courage to the last; but when the Spaniards gained admission, they hewed down the savages with the most dreadful carnage, taking ample vengeance for their sufferings at Chicasá. Vast numbers were likewise slain by the cavalry in the pursuit. The Spaniards lost fifteen men killed, besides many who were severely wounded.

The Spaniards remained in camp four days to recruit their strength and for the recovery of the wounded. Their next march was westward; and crossing the river at an easy ford, they left the province of Chicasa. "For seven days they traversed an uninhabited country, abounding in swamps and forests, where they were often compelled to swim their horses in the route. At length, they came in sight of a village called Chisca, seated near a wide river. As this was the largest river they had yet seen, they called it the 'Rio Grande.' It was the same now called the Mississippi."

De Soto may be said to have been the first European who beheld the magnificent river which rolled its waters through the unbroken forest and splendid vegetation of a wide and deep alluvial soil. The lapse of three centuries has not changed the character of the stream. It was then described, as it now is, as more than a mile in width, flowing with a strong current, and by the weight of its waters forcing a channel of great depth. The water was described as being always muddy, and trees and timber were continually floating down the stream.*

Since their departure from the fortress of Alibamo, the Spaniards had traversed a vast and dense forest, "intersected by numerous streams;" doubtless the creeks and bayous of the Tallahatchy region. Wearied in the toilsome march, they remained several days in camp at the village of Chisca, near the Great River. "The river was low, and both banks were high." Incessantly harassed by the hostility of the natives, they resumed the line of march up the eastern bank, during four days; yet such was the tangled nature of the wooded country, that they advanced only twelve leagues in four days. Having found an open region, they encamped until boats should be built for crossing to the western side. Twenty days were required to build them in sufficient size and number to transport the army and horses. No sooner were the boats completed than De Soto began to cross his army to the western shore. Here new troubles were encountered. By this time a large body of savages had assembled on the opposite bank, while others swarmed upon the water in their war canoes to dispute the passage. The neighboring streams and bayous communicating with the river were covered with the savage fleet, and afforded to them secure retreats. The courage and en-

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 98, 99.

terprise of De Soto did not desert him here. He at length succeeded, with the aid of a friendly chief, in obtaining for his whole army a safe passage.

"At this place," says the Portuguese historian, "the river was half a league from one shore to the other, so that a man standing still could not be seen from the opposite shore. It was of great depth, and of wonderful rapidity. It was very muddy, and was always filled with floating trees and timber, carried down by the force of the current."

Much doubt and uncertainty has obtained as to the precise point at which De Soto reached the Mississippi. It was evidently much below the latitude of Memphis, where he was toiling four days in advancing twelve leagues up the river, and seven days in his westward march, through swamps and deep forests, from the uplands east of the Tallahatchy. At no point above Helena are the highlands, on the east side of the river, more than ten or fifteen miles distant. The point where De Soto crossed the river was probably within thirty miles of Helena. The changes of the channel in the lapse of three hundred years may have been such as to defy identification now.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPANISH EXPEDITION WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—A.D. 1541 TO 1543.

Argument.—De Soto arrives upon the Banks of White River.—Incidents and Religious Ceremonies.—De Soto joins an Indian King in a hostile Expedition.—Marches with him Northeast to the Mississippi, near Helena.—Arrives at the Town of Capahá.—Present Remains of Capahá.—He returns to White River, and thence resumes his March to the West.—Winters high up the Arkansas in a cold Latitude.—Difficulties and Disasters there.—Returns to the Mississippi in the Spring.—Disasters begin to multiply.—He determines to leave the Country by descending the River.—New Hostilities by the Natives.—Difficulties increase, and Perplexities prey upon the iron Soul of De Soto.—He sickens and dies.—Affecting Scene before his Death.—He is finally deposited in the Mississippi, near the Mouth of the Arkansas.—His Eulogium.—Louis de Moscoso succeeds to the Command.—He marches Westward in search of the Mexican Settlements.—His fruitless Search.—Returns to the Mississippi.—Spends the Winter and Spring in Preparations for a Departure down the River.—Commences building Brigantines for descending the River.—He is greatly annoyed by hostile Indians.—Perilous Descent of the River in Boats and Brigantines.—Dangerous Voyage in the Gulf of Mexico.—The Remnant of the Expedition reach the Spanish Settlements of Mexico.—Reflections.

[A.D. 1541.] *De Soto in Arkansas.*—The whole expedition having safely crossed to the west side of the river, the boats

were broken up for the nails and iron, and the army prepared to advance northwestward into the interior of what is now the State of Arkansas. After nearly five days' march through a level wilderness country, intersected in many places with streams, bayous, and lakes, many of which were not fordable, they descried a large Indian village containing about four hundred dwellings. It was situated on the banks of a river, bordered, as far as the eye could reach, with luxuriant fields of corn, and fruit-trees of different kinds.* This town was occupied by the tribe of Casqui, or Casquin; and the river upon which it was situated, in all probability, was White River, about one hundred and fifty miles above its junction with the Mississippi. They remained at this place six days, during which they were kindly supplied by the natives with all kinds of food. They then set out for the chief town, or residence, of the cacique, which was situated upon the same side of the river, about two days' march above the first town. In this distance, they passed through a beautiful rolling country, which was less alluvial than any they had passed since they left the highlands east of the Tallahatchy. They were received by the cacique and all his people with much ceremony and kindness. It was late in the month of May, and the weather was fine, but very warm. There had been no rain for many weeks, and the corn in the fields was beginning to suffer from drought. After several days, the cacique, with his attendants, came to De Soto with great solemnity, and desired him to pray to *his God* that he would send rain upon their parching fields, as they had entreated the Great Spirit in vain. De Soto promised to intercede in their favor for rain. He accordingly directed his carpenters to construct a very large cross; and, at the end of two days and much labor, a cross fifty feet high, and made from a pine-tree, was erected. The next morning the formal ceremony of intercession was to take place. The whole tribe was to be assembled to witness the ceremony from the opposite side of the river.

On the morning of the third day, the Spaniards formed a great and solemn procession, with the priests in front, chanting psalms and hymns. The most profound silence and solemnity pervaded the whole Indian hosts, as well as those who joined in the procession. The procession, consisting of more

* Conquest of Florida, vol. II., p. 104-110.

than a thousand persons, including many Indians, advanced slowly in front of the cross, and there all silently knelt upon the ground, while two or three fervent prayers were offered up by the priests. After which the whole procession arose, two and two at a time, advanced to the foot of the cross, bowed the knee, and kissed the holy emblem. In returning, the same order was preserved, and the ceremonies closed with chanting a "*Te Deum Laudamus*."

It so happened that on the following night the rain poured down abundantly; as the Spanish historian says, "To show those heathen that God doth hearken to those who call on him in truth." Next day the savages, to the number of thousands, moved by fervent gratitude to God for this favor, formed themselves into a procession before the cross in token of their gratitude, and the cacique expressed his grateful feelings to De Soto for his kind intercession. De Soto, in the true spirit of Christianity, directed him to "thank God, who had created the heavens and the earth, and who was the bestower of these and other far greater mercies."*

Having remained nine or ten days, enjoying the bountiful hospitality of this noble savage, De Soto set out toward the north and east, escorted by the cacique and several thousand of his warriors. After marching three days through open lands, "they came to a great swamp, rising on the borders, with a lake in the center too deep to be forded, and which formed a kind of gulf on the Mississippi, into which it emptied itself." Two days more brought them to some elevated ridges, beyond which they beheld the chief town of the Capahâ tribe. This town, which contained five hundred houses, was situated on an elevated piece of land, nearly surrounded by a deep bayou, which communicated with the Mississippi, or "Rio Grande," nine miles distant from the town. Here the Cacique Casqui and his warriors, who were in advance of the Spaniards, by committing the most inhuman cruelties involved the Spaniards in the most dangerous hostility with the tribe of Capahâ. After narrowly escaping utter destruction from this warlike tribe, it required the utmost of De Soto's tact and finesse to bring about a reconciliation with the chief and his warriors. Having finally succeeded, the army was hospitably received and entertained by the cacique for several days.

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 111-115.

The town of Capahá, in all probability, was situated a few miles south of the present town of Helena, in Arkansas, upon the west bank of the Mississippi.* The changes in the river channel since that time may have obliterated the ancient landmarks, and have thrown the river several miles further west at this particular point. The numerous old river lakes on the east side of the river are facts which corroborate the inference. The low grounds west of the Mississippi, which were traversed by De Soto in this portion of his marches, correspond well with the present region of the White River delta, and its tributary Big Creek.

In further confirmation of the inference that De Soto crossed the Mississippi near this point, the reader is referred to the present geography of the country in the vicinity of Helena, which will abundantly satisfy him of its correctness. Helena is on the west side of the river, ten miles by the river below the mouth of the St. Francis River, and twenty miles above the "Horse-shoe Bend," or eighty miles above the mouth of White River. It is situated on alluvial ground, which descends gently back to a low, boggy, cypress bayou, which meanders within a few rods of the town, and near the base of the uplands, which rise fifty or sixty feet above the alluvion. This bayou takes its origin from an old river-lake near the bluffs, a few miles above Helena, and winds on about fifteen miles below the town, where it unites with the river at "Horse-shoe Bend." Upon this bayou, which is called "Old-town Bayou," about eight miles below Helena, are found the remains of a large Indian town. These remains consist of mounds, embankments, and bricks of antique appearance and form. They are doubtless the remains of the old Indian town *Capahá*.

The striking resemblance in the general features of the country about the Arkansas, White River, and the St. Francis, compared with that on Red River, the Washita, and the River au Bœuf, or the Tensas, as regards the general description of rivers, swamps, and high, rolling lands, has been the cause of much doubt and uncertainty among those who have attempted to trace the route of the Spanish army. Some have supposed that their first sojourning and marches west of the Mississippi was principally in the vicinity of New Madrid; some that it was near the Arkansas; and others that it must have

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 115-124.

been as low down as Red River. This latter opinion is maintained by Judge Martin in his "History of Louisiana." In this he is most probably in error.

While in the territory of Capahá, De Soto, having heard of a region to the north where salt abounded, and where, probably, gold might be found, sent two Spaniards with Indian guides to ascertain the prospects. After eleven days they returned, having been about one hundred leagues northwest, through a barren and hilly region abounding in buffaloes. They brought a supply of rock salt and some copper, but found no gold. Discouraged by this intelligence, De Soto determined to bear more toward the west. He finally returned to the village of Casqui, probably on White River, and thence, after a few days' rest, they advanced down the river, marching through a fertile and populous country for several days, or about one hundred miles, to the principal town of Quigate, where he arrived on the 4th of August. This town must have been on White River, about forty or fifty miles above its mouth.

Mr. Irving says, "From Quigate De Soto shaped his course to the northwest, in search of a province called Coligoa, lying at the foot of mountains, beyond which he thought there might be a gold region. After a march of several days through dreary forests and frequent marshes, they came to the village of Coligoa, on the margin of a small river." This must have been the Big Meto Creek, about fifty miles southeast of Little Rock.

At Coligoa, De Soto learned that the country to the north was thinly inhabited by Indians, but that vast herds of buffaloes ranged the country, and that toward the south there was a populous and fertile country called Cayas. Toward this country his march was next directed. After nine days' march, having passed a large river, he came to a village called Tanico, in the Cayas country. Here he found salt springs, and remained some days making salt, for want of which both men and horses had been suffering much. He was now probably on the head waters of Saline River, a branch of the Washita. From Tanico their march was next directed westward, and after several days' march through a wilderness country, they reached the chief town of the Tula tribe, situated between two streams, probably the Upper Ouachita and Little Missouri. Here the Spaniards were severely handled by the natives, who proved the fiercest tribe they had yet seen, for even the wom-

en fought as fiercely as the men. Some of their men having been killed, and many severely wounded, they were obliged to remain here twenty days, until the wounded were able to march. In the mean time, several exploring parties were sent in different directions; the country was populous, and the buffaloes were plenty.*

Having heard of the country of Autiamque, or Utiangue, toward the north, or northwest, the march was next thither. The distance was about two hundred and thirty or forty miles by the route marched over. "Five days of their journey was over a rough, mountainous country, closely wooded." At length they reached the chief town of Utiangue, after almost incessant skirmishes and ambuscades on the march. The town "contained numerous well-built houses, and was situated in a fine plain, watered by a wide, running river, the same that passed through the province of Cayas."

This "*wide, running river*" was doubtless the Arkansas, the same river crossed by them in their march southward three months before; and the portion of the river upon which this village was situated most likely was not more than fifty miles below Crawford court-house, in the State of Arkansas.

The town of Utiangue was found deserted by the Indians; but they had left it well supplied with corn, beans, dried fruit, and nuts. The country in the vicinity was fertile and well cultivated, and the forest abounded in game; yet the winter had already set in with great severity. The expedition was now on the north side of the Arkansas River, not far from the western boundary of the present State of Arkansas, in latitude about 36° north; they were exposed to the full force of the bleak winds which swept down from the great western desert. De Soto determined to take up his winter-quarters, and fortify the village against the inroads of the savages.

[A.D. 1542.] The winter continued to increase in severity, and the earth was covered with heavy falls of snow. "At one time the Spaniards were blocked up for more than a month, until at last fire-wood began to fail them," and all hands, with the horses, were compelled to turn out to open the way, and beat a path through the snow to a neighboring forest for a supply of fuel.

While in this country, they were exceedingly harassed by

* Conquest of Florida, vol. II., p. 126-130.

the fierce natives, who would entertain no friendship, nor make any compromise with them. During the winter the chief interpreter, Juan Ortis, who had been obtained in Florida, died. This was a severe loss to the army, as he had been the only means by which any thing like an intelligible communication could be had with the native chiefs. Now this imperfect communication was destroyed; the Indian interpreters were comparatively ignorant of the Spanish language; hence, in their subsequent marches, they were led into many errors and misunderstandings with the Indians, not only as to countries, distances, routes, and rivers, but into many serious difficulties of another nature. De Soto began to despair of finding gold; he saw the difficulties that were gathering about him, and disasters had broken down his spirits. Bitterly did he repent having left the region near the sea-coast, of which none of the tribes he had seen for the last ten months could give any information. He was now in the midst of a vast wilderness, surrounded by hostile tribes; he had lost nearly half his men from war, or they had perished from hardships, disease, and accident of various kinds; the greater part of his horses had been killed, or had perished from the same causes; and the remainder were, many of them, lame and unfit for service, and had been without shoes for more than a year. "He was now too far from the sea to attempt reaching it by a direct march; but he determined to give over his wanderings in the interior, and make the best of his way back to the Rio Grande, or Mississippi. Here he would choose some suitable village on its banks for a fortified post, and establish himself, until he could build vessels to descend the river, and in these send some of his most trusty men to Cuba with tidings of his discoveries, and who should return with re-enforcements of men and horses, as well as of every thing necessary to establish a colony, and secure possession of the vast country they had discovered."*

As soon, therefore, as the winter was sufficiently over, he broke up his winter-quarters at Utiangué, and marched toward the Mississippi. After several days' march along the river on the south side, they halted ten days at an Indian town, until they built boats, and crossed the whole army over to the north or east side. This, probably, he did to reach the Mississippi near the point where he had left it. Their advance thence

* Conquest of Florida, vol ii., chap. xxv. and xxvi.

was "through a low region, and perplexed with swamps," so that the troops were often to the stirrups in mud and water, and sometimes were obliged to swim their horses. At length, after several days' march, they came to the village of Anilco, situated on "the same river that passed through the provinces of Cayas and Utiangue." There, learning that there was a populous and fertile country not far below the junction of these two great rivers, he determined to proceed toward it, in hopes the sea might be at no great distance. The chief town, Guachoya, he learned, was situated on the banks of the Mississippi, and this would be a suitable place for him to remain while building his vessels. He accordingly crossed the river at Anilco to the south side, and, after a march of four days over a hilly, uninhabited country, arrived at the village of Guachoya, on the Mississippi, about twenty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas. It was situated on two hills, one or two hundred yards from the river, and contained about three hundred houses, and was fortified around with strong palisades. De Soto took possession of the town, and finally succeeded in establishing terms of amity with the chief. Here he made diligent inquiry for the sea, but could gain no information. He at length sent an exploring party down the river to seek tidings of the sea; but after eight days' absence they returned, having advanced only forty-five miles, "on account of the great windings of the river, and the swamps and torrents with which it was bordered." Thus it seems that the river was full, and many sluices were putting out into the swamps and filling the bayous. It was now about the last of May, 1542.

Death of De Soto.—While at Guachoya, De Soto was indefatigable in urging preparations for fitting out his brigantines with dispatches to Cuba for supplies and re-enforcements. To sustain his army during this time, it was requisite he should find some country which had not been exhausted by them. For this purpose, one of his detachments crossed to the east side of the Mississippi, to a province which was said to be fertile and populous, and inhabited by a warlike tribe. They found it even so; the chief village contained five hundred houses; the cacique was exceedingly hostile, and threatened destruction to the Spaniards if they presumed to violate his territory. The Spaniards, knowing their own weakness and defenseless condition, used every effort to conciliate him and

gain his friendship ; but all in vain. In return for all his entreaties and proffers of friendship, De Soto was compelled to submit to taunts and gross insults, which, two years before, would have been resented by the most active warfare. Finding that the tribe, of which this cacique was chief, worshiped the sun, De Soto, anxious to avoid hostilities, and to receive their aid, sent a message to the cacique, and informed him that he and the Spaniards were children of the sun, and desired from him a visit as from a brother. But the haughty chief returned the scornful answer, "*Tell him, if he be the child of the sun, to dry up the river, and I will come over and do homage to him.*"—"But De Soto's spirits were failing him ; he had brooded over his past error, in abandoning the sea-coast, until he was sick at heart ; and, as he saw the perils of his situation increasing, new and powerful enemies springing up around him, while his scanty force was daily diminishing, he became anxious for the preservation of the residue of his followers, and desired to avoid all further warfare." A melancholy had seized upon his spirits, while the incessant fatigue of body and anxiety of mind, together with the influence of the climate, brought on a slow, wasting fever, which at length confined him to his bed. Still, De Soto was the vigilant commander, and from his sick-bed gave all the necessary orders, and directed all the plans of movement. But his labors and anxieties were fast coming to a close ; and being conscious of the near approach of death, he prepared himself to die like a soldier and a devout Catholic. Having made his will, and with great solemnity appointed and installed Luis de Moscoso as his successor, he called all his faithful officers to him, two and two, and bade them an affectionate farewell ; begged forgiveness if at any time, in the discharge of his duty, he had been harsh toward them ; and exhorted them to remain true to the king, courageous and affectionate to one another ; he thanked them for the fidelity and constancy with which they adhered to his fortunes, and expressed deep regret that it was not in his power to reward them according to their merits.

He next called to him his soldiers, according to their rank, by twenties, and in like manner bade them adieu, with his blessing. He expired the next day, being about the fifth of June.

"Thus died Hernando De Soto, one of the bravest of the

many brave leaders who figured in the first discoveries, and distinguished themselves in the wild warfare of the Western World. How proud and promising had been the commencement of his career! How humble and hapless its close! Cut off in the very vigor and manhood of his days, at the age of forty-two years; perishing in a strange and savage land, amid the din and tumult of a camp, and with merely a few rough soldiers to attend him," while all were anxiously engaged in devising means of escape from their perilous condition in those inhospitable wilds.*

The death of De Soto overwhelmed his hardy veterans with sorrow; they had followed him nearly four years; and in all their sufferings he had suffered with them, and led them on through dangers which he equally shared. They mourned for him as for a father; and so much the more, because they could not give him a burial and such obsequies as were due his birth and rank: they also feared lest his remains should be insulted by the Indians after he was buried. The hostile Indians had been in the habit of searching for the bodies of Spaniards who had been buried; and when found, they would quarter them, and set them upon posts and trees as trophies. How much more eager would they be for the governor's body? To prevent this, they sought a retired spot near the village, where many pits and holes rendered the ground uneven; there they buried him secretly at the dead hour of the night. To conceal his grave from the Indians, they prepared the ground as if for a place of parade, and gave out word to the Indians that the governor was fast recovering from his illness. Finding, however, that the Indians suspected not only the death, but the burial-place of the governor, they determined to remove the body to a place of greater security: accordingly, the next night they disinterred it, and placed it in a strong and heavy coffin, made by excavating a cut of green oak, over the aperture of which they nailed a strong plank. The body, thus inclosed, was taken with great secrecy to the middle of the Mississippi, or "Rio Grande," and sunk in nineteen fathoms of water. Thus the first discoverer of the Mississippi made his grave in the bosom of its waters.†

No one was better qualified than De Soto to rule the hardy spirits under him. He was stern in command; agreeable in

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., chap. xxvii.

† Idem, p. 170.

his common intercourse; lenient to mild offenses; gentle and courteous in his manners; patient and persevering under difficulties; and encouraging to those inclined to despond. Personally, he was valiant in the extreme, and with such a vigorous arm, that he is said to have hewn for himself a lane whenever he was pressed in battle. He became severe with the Indians; but a sense of necessity and danger caused him to be such. Under the influence and operation of those feelings, which were entertained by the Spaniards no less than by the "Pilgrims" of New England, more than a hundred years afterward, the poor savages were considered as scarcely entitled to the rights of humanity.*

The March of Moscoso West of the Mississippi.—Luis de Moscoso, having succeeded to the command of the remnant of De Soto's army, soon called a council of his officers to deliberate upon the best course to be pursued. Having received vague rumors from the Indians that, far to the west, there were other Spaniards roving from country to country, fighting and conquering the Indians, he concluded that they were his countrymen in Mexico, which might not be very remote. He accordingly abandoned the plan of De Soto, of descending the river to the sea, and determined to reach Mexico by land.

The expedition accordingly set out for the west about the middle of June. They passed near the salines of the Wachita River, where they tarried and supplied themselves with salt. Leaving this region, they pushed their march forward, and passed through the country of the Naguatax, now written Natchitoches, and which appears to have been high up Red River, in the southwest corner of the State of Arkansas. At length, after nearly three months, they came upon Red River, in the barrens north of the present country of Texas. In their marches, they were often misled and lost, and frequently were involved in bloody skirmishes.†

Continuing the march south of De Soto's route, they passed through a country abounding in buffaloes; beyond which they passed a sterile region, and came in sight of mountains, where the country was almost uninhabited. Here they halted, and sent light exploring parties, who penetrated in every direction nearly ninety miles further, and returned with information that

* See New England Wars with Indians; King Philip's War; Mather's *Magnalia*; General Church's Campaigns.

† Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 183-188.

the country grew worse as they advanced. In this region the natives lived in camps, scattered over the country, and depended upon hunting, fishing, and upon fruits, roots, and herbs, for their precarious subsistence. These were evidently the early ancestors of the Pawnees, Camanches, and other roving tribes of the West, who are the Tartars of North America.*

It was now late in October, and they had been nearly five months making their way across from the Mississippi, and had traversed regions which are unknown; and still they knew not where they were. Moscoso called a council of his officers to determine what was best to be done: much debate arose; many proud and high-minded cavaliers declared they would prefer perishing in the wilderness to returning to their friends in Europe and the West Indies, beggared and miserable, from an expedition undertaken with such high and vaunting anticipations. It was, however, determined at length to return, and retrace their steps to the Mississippi. Yet their return to the Mississippi presented only a dreary prospect to the wearied and forlorn adventurers, without the relief of novelty. The savage tribes, numerous and hostile, were chafed by former wrongs, and sought the opportunity for ample revenge. The country, exhausted and devastated in their advance, could afford them but little succor in their retreat. They returned by forced marches, in order to avoid preconcerted attacks by savages apprised of their approach. To avoid these attacks, and the danger of ambuscades, they were induced to march all day and a great portion of the night. Still they encountered almost daily attacks, in open skirmishes or in ambuscades. The Indians would waylay the road, and infest the rear; at night they would lurk about the camp, and shoot down, with their arrows, every soldier that chanced to leave the lines; and often, under the darkness of night, they would creep upon their hands and knees, and shoot down the sentinels on their posts.

Before they reached the vicinity of the Arkansas (for they struck across to that river) the winter had set in, and the cold was severe; heavy drenching rains were frequent; the cold winds benumbed them; yet, in their eagerness to reach the Mississippi, they pushed forward in all kinds of weather, traveling all day, and encamping at night, often drenched with rain

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 198-200.

and covered with mud: still, they had afterward to sally forth in quest of food, at the imminent peril of their lives. At night, too, they often had no place to lie down, the ground being covered with mud and water from rains and the inundation of the streams, which were all full to overflowing. Sometimes, indeed, they were obliged to remain in low, wet places, where the infantry were nearly knee-deep in water, and the lancers remained upon their horses. With all this, they were nearly naked; all their European clothing had been burned or lost at the two great fires and battles of Mauville and Chicasa, except the tattered garments on their backs. Their clothing now consisted principally of skins belted around their bodies and over their shoulders; they were mostly bare-legged, and without shoes or sandals; sometimes they had made moccasins of skins after the manner of the Indians.

Besides all these sufferings and privations, they were often detained on the bank of a bayou, or river, for several days before they could pass. The streams being full, they had to make rafts and floats, upon which to cross, during the whole time harassed by swarms of Indians on both sides. Under these privations and sufferings, together with hearts and spirits broken with fatigue and disappointments, both men and horses began to sicken and die. Every day two, three, and at one time seven, Spaniards fell victims to the hardships of the journey. There were no means of carrying the sick and dying, for many of the horses were infirm, and those that were well were reserved to repel the constant attacks of the enemy. The sick and exhausted, therefore, dragged their steps forward as long as they could, and often died by the wayside; while the survivors, in their haste to press onward, scarce paused to give them burial, leaving them half covered with earth, and sometimes entirely unburied.

At length they reached the Mississippi, not far from the mouth of the Arkansas. At the sight of it the hearts of the poor wayworn Spaniards leaped within them for joy, for they considered it the highway by which they were to escape out of this land of disappointment, privation, and disaster. They determined to winter here, and make preparation to descend the Mississippi to the sea, in order to reach Mexico or some of the West India Islands.

Here they took possession of an Indian fortified town, more

by the good will of the Indians than by their own strength. The noble and chivalrous army of De Soto had been reduced, by war, disease, and famine, from one thousand to about three hundred and fifty men, in less than three years and a half of wandering over the unknown regions of the southwest. They had set out with high expectations in search of gold, of riches, and fame, and had found disasters, privations, and, most of them, a grave, in a savage land, as their only reward.

[A.D. 1543.] *Departure of the Spanish Expedition.*—As has been remarked before, Moscoso, in his retrograde march from the west, reached the Mississippi River not far above the mouth of the Arkansas. His men, worn out with privations and fatigue, rejoiced that they had reached the vicinity of the village of Aminoya, where they had expected to enjoy the comforts of peace and plenty. This hope had cheered up the last days of their march, although human nature had been almost exhausted with fatigue, famine, and privation. But many of them gained this place of refuge only to rest and die. The stimulus of anxiety, hope, and active life being remitted, they sunk into a state of lethargy and slow fever, of which nearly fifty died in a few days. Afterward, having become comfortably situated, the remainder began to recover their strength and spirits. They soon began to make preparations for finally leaving the country, where they had found nothing but disaster and death. Moscoso determined to build seven brigantines, during the winter and spring, and in them to descend the Mississippi to the sea, and thence seek the Spanish settlements in Cuba or Mexico. There remained among the remnant of the expedition one ship-carpenter and several other mechanics. These were employed in getting out timber for the vessels, and every soldier assisted in one capacity or another. Two large sheds were first erected to protect the workmen from rain, cold, and storms. Iron of every kind was gathered up to make nails; the fire-arms, which had become useless for want of powder, and even the iron stirrups of the troopers, were given up; the captives were released, and their chains and fetters were wrought into nails. Ropes were made from grass and bark furnished by the Indians. Other materials were prepared and wrought by others, and each man seemed emulous to excel in the aid he should contribute to the completion of the vessels. The Indians among whom they were sojourning

were hospitable and kind, and furnished every thing which they could toward their support and comfort.*

But the hostile chief on the east side of the river, who conducted himself so haughtily toward De Soto in the previous spring, still maintained his hostile attitude. His fears were excited by the large vessels which his enemies were building so near his dominions, and which he readily supposed were intended to operate against his little fleet of pirogues. He accordingly used great exertion to form an extensive league with the neighboring tribes, with the design of exterminating their common enemy at one decisive blow. The Spaniards, apprised of the designs of the natives, doubled their industry and vigilance to avoid surprise and massacre. A sudden rise in the river, however, by inundating the low grounds, prevented the attack of the savages at the appointed time. After two months, the river having slowly subsided within its banks, the Indians again prepared to put their plans into execution. Moscoso having detected the treachery, as he supposed, inflicted great cruelties upon such of the hostile Indians as fell into his hands. On one occasion he caused the right hands of thirty to be cut off, and sent them back to their chief with this mutilation for their supposed treachery. The Indians continued their preparations for the extermination of their cruel invaders with unabated ardor.

Moscoso, finding his situation becoming daily more perilous, urged on the completion of his vessels, and made every preparation for a speedy departure. All the remaining hogs were killed and made into bacon, and twenty of the least valuable of the horses were slaughtered for the voyage. The vessels being nearly completed, a sudden rise of the river greatly facilitated the launching. The vessels were merely large open barques, with bulwarks of plank and hides around the gunwales, to protect the men from the Indian arrows. The horses, of which only thirty remained, were likewise protected in boats, alongside the brigantines, with similar bulwarks. All things being ready, the Indian captives, to the number of thirty, were discharged; the remainder had perished in the toilsome marches from exposure, fatigue, and hunger.

Having taken an affectionate leave of the friendly chiefs and their people, Moscoso and his companions embarked, and com-

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 217-218.

mitted themselves to the Mississippi on the second of July, 1543.

The numerous and gallant host of De Soto had dwindled down to less than three hundred and fifty men; their armor, once brilliant, was now battered and rusty; their rich, silken garments were now reduced to rags and tatters; and some were covered with skins like the native savages; with hopes once so buoyant, they were now forlorn, and despair was depicted in every countenance. This was the concluding piece of the great drama in which they had been engaged. Having wandered long in unknown lands, and among savage tribes, "they now were about to exchange the dangers of the wilderness for the dangers of the world of waters. They were now embarking upon a vast and unknown river, leading they knew not whither; they were to traverse, in frail barques, without chart or compass, great wastes of ocean to which they were strangers, bordered by savage coasts, in the vague hope of reaching some Christian shore, on which they would land as beggars."*

They at length were under weigh, but had not floated far, when they ascertained that the hostile chiefs had assembled all their forces some distance below to dispute the passage down the river. This was a new source of anxiety. They, however, proceeded, and were soon engaged in skirmishes with parties of the Indian canoes. Two days after they embarked, they came in sight of the combined Indian fleet, consisting of a great number of canoes, having from fourteen to twenty-four paddles each, and carrying from thirty to seventy men. The warriors were painted in the fantastic colors so common among Indians, and the pirogues carried them with great rapidity through the waters. For nearly two days they followed and hovered near the Spanish brigantines, with war songs and deafening yells. About noon, the second day, the Indian fleet made a disposition to attack, and formed themselves into three divisions, the van, center, and rear. One division at a time would glide rapidly past the brigantines, discharging, as they passed, a shower of arrows, by which many of the Spaniards were wounded, in spite of their breast-work of hides and boards. Each division, in like manner, made their successive charges, amid the terrific sound of their yells and war songs. They continued to hang upon the Spaniards, harassing them in this

* Conquest of Florida, vol. ii., p. 234-235.

manner, with continual attacks, during the evening and the greater part of the night. The attacks were renewed next day, and continued at intervals for several days and nights, until the Spaniards were worn out with fatigue and anxiety. During this time, although protected by the breast-work of boards and skins, and by shields made of skins and double mats, to resist the arrows, yet nearly every one was wounded. The horses, so well protected, were all killed but eight.

At length the Indians desisted from their attacks, and hovered along at the distance of a mile and a half or two miles in the rear. The Spaniards, supposing they had given up the contest, drew up to shore, and landed one hundred men at an Indian village to forage. No sooner had they entered the village with the eight horses, than the Indian fleet began to advance rapidly, and a host of savages from the woods rushed toward the village, so that they were barely able to escape to their vessels, leaving the horses on shore, where they were soon shot to death by Indian arrows. When the Spaniards saw them thus slaughtered before their eyes, they wept as for their own children.

On the sixteenth day of their voyage, while the Indian fleet was still hovering in sight, an unfortunate freak in five fool-hardy young men caused the loss of forty-eight men, slain by the savages. These five men, without authority, and unknown to the governor, manned a pirogue and put off rapidly toward the enemy, in order to taunt and defy them. The fact being known to Moscoso, he immediately dispatched fifty men in three pirogues to bring them back, with a full determination to hang the leader as soon as he came on board. But the latter, supposing his daring had been approved, and that the detachment was sent to support his daring enterprise, pressed forward with all might to the Indian fleet. The Indians fell back, in order to draw them further from the brigantines; when, suddenly advancing in three divisions, they made a furious attack, and in a few minutes the whole detachment was surrounded and completely cut off by the savages; only seven escaped to the brigantines. Thus Fate seemed still to pursue the unfortunate adventurers with unnecessary disasters, resulting alone from their own rashness and folly.

At the end of twenty days from their embarkation on the river, they arrived in sight of the open sea; and, after coasting westward for fifty days, amid perils by sea and by land, they

arrived at the town of Panuco, on the coast of Mexico. Here they were kindly received by the Spanish inhabitants, who were touched with pity at beholding this forlorn remnant of the gallant armament which had caused so much joy in its departure from Cuba.

They remained twenty-five days at Panuco; but the soldiers became gloomy and despondent at their situation; their proud hearts revolted at the idea of being objects of charity, and many affected a desire to return to Florida, which now, out of sight, presented itself to their imaginations as the most fertile country on earth, and possessed of many advantages not less valuable than gold itself. In the contemplation of these, for a time their sufferings and misfortunes were forgotten.

The viceroy sent for them to Mexico, where they were treated with great kindness and attention by the people; yet they became morose, despondent; and, as disappointed men do, they entertained much ill will, and mostly entered the armies of Mexico and Peru, hoping there to retrieve their fortunes.

Such was the end of the romantic and chivalrous expedition of Hernando de Soto within the early limits of Florida.

We have given more in detail the expedition and invasion of De Soto, because it was decidedly the most extensive, as well as the first exploration of the Valley of the Mississippi. Some have affected to consider the whole expedition too much characterized by romance and fiction to merit entire belief; but, independent of the internal evidence which abounds in the narrative, it is corroborated and sustained by the same weight of testimony which we have in the account of the conquest of Mexico and Peru by Cortez and Pizarro.

In all the devious marches and wanderings of the chivalrous band of De Soto, for nearly four years, through the vast regions east and west of the Mississippi, they exhibited the same unfeeling cruelty to the natives, and the same insatiable thirst for gold and plunder, which so strongly marked the conquerors of Mexico and Peru. When they found the savages poor or destitute, they plundered them of their little all, and then tortured them because they had no gold. The natives, at first friendly and hospitable, and comparatively unarmed, were compelled, by their exactions and cruelty, to make common cause against their proud invaders, although clothed in steel, and apparently armed with the thunderbolts of Jove.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY EXTENT AND SETTLEMENTS, WITH THE SUBSEQUENT BOUNDARIES AND SOVEREIGNTY OF FLORIDA.—A.D. 1544 TO 1845.

Argument.—Extent of Florida in 1560.—Spanish Missions and Settlements.—Ribault's French Colony in 1562.—Its Location on the Combahee River.—Destruction of the Colony.—Laudonniere's French Colony in 1564.—"Fort Carolina" built on the St. Mary's.—Destitute Condition of this Colony.—Timely Relief by Ribault.—Melendez is Adelantado of Florida in 1565.—He exterminates the French Colony.—St. Augustine founded.—Degourges ravages the Spanish Colony and captures the Forts.—Jesuit Missionaries introduced by Melendez.—Missions established in 1584.—St. Augustine plundered by Sir Francis Drake.—First Attempts at English Settlement, in 1585 and 1608.—English Colony of Virginia.—Carolina granted to Lord Clarendon and others.—St. Augustine plundered in 1665 by Captain Davis, an English Pirate.—English Settlement at "Charlestown," in 1679.—French Colonists arrive in Carolina, 1785-6.—Restricted Limits of Florida.—Spanish Settlements invaded by the English from Carolina.—Partisan Warfare continued.—Pensacola settled in 1696.—Boundary between Florida and Louisiana.—English Boundaries of Florida in 1764.—English Settlements in Florida.—Turnbull's Colony of New Smyrna.—His inhuman Tyranny.—Wretched Condition, and subsequent Liberation of his white Slaves.—English Agriculture in Florida.—Florida retroceded to Spain in 1783.—Extent of Florida claimed by Spain.—Extent claimed by the United States.—Claim of United States under the Purchase of Louisiana.—Baton Rouge District annexed to the State of Louisiana.—Fort Charlotte and Mobile District surrendered in 1813.—Florida restricted to the Perdido on the West.—Revolt and Occupancy of East Florida by "Patriots" in 1812.—Spain fails to preserve the Neutrality of Florida during the War with Great Britain.—Woodbine's Operations among the Seminoles of Florida after the War.—He builds a Negro Fort on the Apalachicola.—Negroes, Arms, Munitions, and Military Stores furnished from the British Fleet.—The Patriots of South America occupy Amelia Island in 1817.—The Seminole War commences.—General Jackson prosecutes it successfully.—Captures St. Mark's.—Arbuthnot and Ambrister condemned and executed.—Their righteous Sentence and deserved Fate.—Jackson marches to Pensacola and expels the perfidious Spaniards.—He retires to private Life.—His Traits of Character.—Florida ceded to the United States in 1819.—Terms of Cession.—General Jackson is first American Governor, civil and military, of the Province.—Collision with Governor Calhoun.—The first Grade of Territorial Government organized in 1822.—Indians removed from Middle Florida in 1824.—The second Grade organized in 1825.—Advance of white Population until 1835.—Hostilities by the Micasukie Indians.—Military Movements and Operations.—Horrible Massacre of Major Dade's Detachment.—Indian Murders at Fort King.—Commencement of the "Florida War."—Gradual Removal of the Seminoles West of the Mississippi.—Increase of white Population until 1844.—State Constitution formed.—The State of Florida admitted into the Union in 1845.

[A.D. 1544.] FROM the close of the disastrous expedition of De Soto, Florida for many years, as claimed by Spain, embraced all the Atlantic coast as far north as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where the French had made some unsuccessful attempts to plant colonies. No other European power pretended to claim the coast from Cape Sable on the south, to the

Bay of Fundy on the north; nor did they attempt to establish colonies within these boundaries. For more than twenty years after the death of De Soto, Florida was abandoned by the crown of Spain as a vast wilderness province, too poor for conquest, and therefore unworthy of her arms. The fate of De Soto and his gallant army had convinced all that it was idle to dream of rich empires in the interior, where gold and silver were the plunder, and where fame and conquest were the rewards of the ambitious brave. The dread instilled by the fierce natives, and the insalubrity of the climate, had cooled the ardor of those who aspired to honor and wealth in Florida.

[A.D. 1560.] Nearly twenty years after De Soto traversed Eastern Florida, a few zealous Catholic missionaries attempted to plant the cross at several points along the Atlantic coast of the peninsula of Eastern Florida. They formed missionary settlements at St. Augustine and at other points on the St. John's River. The attempt, although hazardous, was not altogether in vain. Some lost their lives by disease; but others braved the inhospitable climate, and refused to abandon the holy undertaking, willing to sacrifice their lives in extending the kingdom of Christ.

[A.D. 1562.] Next, by necessity, a portion of the same vast region became the refuge of those who fled from the persecution and intolerance of the Catholic Church. Calvinism had spread widely in Europe, and had threatened the universal power of the pope. To check the spread of Calvin's heresy and the light of the Reformation, an unrelenting persecution was urged, with all the power and influence of the See of Rome. None distinguished themselves more by their unchristian and intemperate zeal in a rigorous persecution of the Calvinists than the bishops of France. Thousands of the best citizens and most enlightened men were compelled to abjure Calvinism or leave the country, in order to avoid persecution unto death.

Under these circumstances, Admiral Coligny, a patron of the French Calvinists, undertook to establish a colony of refugees upon the coast of Florida, north of any Spanish settlement. The colony embarked under the command of John Ribault, an experienced mariner. They set sail on the 18th day of February, 1562, in two of the king's ships, and first made land in the latitude of St. Augustine.* Advancing northwardly, they dis-

* See Williams's *Florida*, p. 169; also, Marshall's *Life of Washington*, *Introduction*.

covered the River St. Mary's, and, having spent a portion of the month of May on its banks, they called it the "River of May." It was not until nearly two centuries afterward that this river was recognized by Spain as the northern limit of Florida upon the Atlantic coast.

After a short stay, finding themselves within the limits of the Spanish missionary settlements, they determined to sail further north. Their next settlement was made a few miles above the St. Helena Sound, south of the Combahee River, and within the present limits of South Carolina. Here Ribault erected a fort, which he called Fort Carolana, in honor of Charles IX. of France. Having organized the colony and made suitable preparation for their safety and comfort, he set sail about the 15th of July for France, to report his success. He left M. Albert as his lieutenant, and twenty-six of his crew to keep possession of the fort. Political confusion and distraction in France withdrew his attention from the colony for near two years. During this time, the lieutenant, Albert, cultivated the friendship of the natives, who supplied the colony liberally with such articles as they possessed. Every exertion was used by him to restrain the avarice and licentiousness of the people. In his efforts to enforce justice to the Indians, he was met by a mutiny, in which he lost his life. Lachan, a turbulent demagogue, the author of the mutiny, assumed the command of the colony, which began rapidly to decline. Insubordination and want succeeded; the friendship and supplies of the natives were withheld, and the settlement was finally abandoned. They set sail for France, and after being becalmed at sea and reduced to the point of starvation, the survivors, picked up by an English vessel, were landed on the coast of England, destitute and helpless. Thus terminated the first French settlement in Florida.

[A.D. 1564.] Soon after this disastrous issue, Admiral Coligny projected another settlement, and obtained permission to send three ships to Florida, with a new colony of emigrants. This colony, which contained six hundred emigrants and soldiers, among whom were many of the nobility and the best blood of France, was placed under the command and superintendence of M. Laudonniere, who was also an experienced mariner. This colony was well supplied with provisions, arms, and agricultural implements. After a long and disastrous voy-

age in the month of June, the colony arrived at Fort Carolana: but the fort was abandoned. Fearing the resentment of the natives, Laudonniere declined to remain. He sailed south, and landed in the "River of May." Six leagues above the mouth, upon the south bank, he erected a fort, and called it also "Fort Carolana." No opportunity was lost, and no kind offices were spared, for securing the good will and friendship of the natives.*

[A.D. 1565.] An enthusiastic phrensy was the vice of the age, and the individuals in the new colony were by no means exempt from its influence. Many were blinded with the passion for sudden wealth, which still lured the credulous to Florida. Others were avaricious and dissolute, despising subordination in the sands and swamps of a savage wilderness. Instead of a patient and frugal industry, with judicious tillage of the earth, they rambled over the country in search of gold, silver, and precious stones. In this search, some had penetrated west as far as the Mississippi River.†

At length, having forfeited the confidence and hospitality of the natives, they were reduced to want and suffering. Dissensions sprang up, and, while one half were in danger of destruction by the natives and by famine, another portion, including the mariners, formed a mutiny, and the mutineers engaged in a piratical expedition against the neighboring settlements of Spain, while others were preparing to abandon the settlement and return to France.

In time to prevent the total destruction of the colony and the abandonment of Florida, Ribault arrived with a large supply of provisions, and such implements as were requisite for a new settlement. He assumed the command, endeavored to restore harmony and order, and to introduce economy and industrious habits among the colonists.

But the jealousy of Spain and the bigotry of Rome were aroused when it was known that a colony of *heretics* was established within the limits of Florida, a province of Spain, and a bishopric of Rome. The true faith had been almost excluded by nature and the natives; and should Calvinism be established there by a rival power? The Spanish court determined at once to exterminate the heresy with the colony. An expedi-

* Williams's Florida, p. 170. Also, Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 21, 22.

† See Williams's Florida, p. 171.

tion was accordingly prepared in Spain, under Pedro Melendez de Avilés, for the conquest and colonization of Florida. In consideration of certain extensive grants and privileges, with the title of "Adelantado of Florida," he obligated himself to invade Florida with at least five hundred men, and to complete the conquest in three years; to explore the coast, harbors, and rivers; to establish a colony of five hundred souls, of whom one hundred should be married men; to introduce twelve ecclesiastics and four Jesuits, besides domestic animals and other supplies for a colony.

A direful destiny awaited the French Calvinists, and they had, through their predecessors, provoked the evil. Melendez was a man of cruel disposition, and accustomed to scenes of blood. The King of Spain was resolved to protect his Catholic subjects in his own dominions. The cause found no weak avenger in Melendez. He arrived on the coast on the twenty-eighth of August, 1565, and, having captured or dispersed the French cruisers off the coast, he landed near the present site of St. Augustine. Here, having ascertained the strength and position of the French colony on the south side of the St. Mary's River, a few miles from the coast, he deemed it his first duty to destroy the intruding heretics. After a rapid and secret march through the intervening woods and swamps, the colony was taken by surprise. The attack was made on the twenty-first of September, and, after a spirited resistance by the garrison, the fort was carried by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. During several days afterward the settlements were ravaged, and men, women, and children were put to death indiscriminately. The principal massacre occurred on St. Matthew's day, and the Spaniards commemorated it by naming the river St. Matheo.*

The whole number of French who fell in this carnage was about nine hundred. Many of the bodies were suspended from trees with this inscription, "*Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics!*"

After the destruction of the colony, Melendez returned to the present site of St. Augustine, where he built a town upon an inlet, to both of which he gave the name of St. Augustine. He

* The River St. Mary, the present northeastern boundary of East Florida, was doubtless the seat of the French settlements of this early period, and is the proper "River of May" of the French, and "St. Matheo" of the Spaniards. The settlements were chiefly on the south side, within ten miles of the river. Some have confounded the River of May with the St. John's. See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 19-23.

also built a fort for the protection of his colony[†]. Another fort was erected, and a colony planted upon the ruins of the late French colony, on the River of May. St. Augustine is, therefore, the oldest town in the United States, having been built fifty years before any other town now remaining.

[A.D. 1569.] To retaliate this outrage of the Spaniards, a strong expedition was prepared by Dominic de Gourges, a Catholic, a man of wealth, who had seen much service in the wars with Spain, and had no love for Spaniards, having once been their prisoner, and by them consigned to the galleys. He was a suitable person to revenge the outrage upon his countrymen. He equipped, at his own expense, a military expedition, enlisted men for a twelve months' cruise, and set sail for Florida, alleging Africa to be the object of his enterprise. His real purpose was kept a profound secret until he reached the coast of Florida; then, in an animated and thrilling speech, he disclosed to his men the object of his voyage, and infused into them the deep revenge he entertained against the disgraceful conduct of the Spaniards three years before. Filled with his spirit, they desired to be led to the revenge of their slaughtered countrymen. Unsuspected by the Spaniards, he ascended the River St. Mary's for many miles into the interior, observing the settlements and forts as he advanced. Three forts protected the settlements; two had been mounted with the cannon taken from the French forts, and the entire garrison consisted of four hundred men.

At length, having secured the aid of a numerous body of Indians, he descended the river, attacked the forts by surprise, and carried them all by storm. The garrisons were put to the sword, besides many of the settlers who could not escape his fury.*

Having demolished the forts, burned the houses, and ravaged the settlements with fire and sword on both sides of the River St. Mary, and being sensible of his inability, with his small force, to retain the country permanently, he retired to the coast and set sail for France.

In imitation of his Spanish rival, he had suspended the bodies of some of his victims on trees, with this inscription, "Not as Spaniards, but as murderers." The act was disavowed by the government of France, which laid no claim to the conquest

* Williams's Florida, p. 174. Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 24, 25.

of De Gourges, nor to the country occupied by the French refugees.

[A.D. 1580.] Melendez heard of the destruction of his garrisons with extreme indignation ; but the enemy had fled. He continued to govern the province for ten years, strengthened his position at St. Augustine, and used every effort to restore the colony to comfort and safety. He was also indefatigable in his exertions to conciliate the natives, and to reduce them to the Catholic faith. At his request, missionaries of every order were sent from Spain, but chiefly Franciscans. These men visited the remotest tribes, and, by their address, the mildness of their manners, and the simplicity of their lives, devoted to teaching the arts of civilization, obtained the entire ascendancy over the savages. The Catholic religion, in 1584, was acknowledged by most of the tribes north of the Gulf of Mexico and east of the Mississippi.

[A.D. 1584.] This year many missions were established, and convents were founded in Middle Florida, and as far westward as the Mississippi. The ruins of many of those in Middle Florida now excite the investigation of the curious. Here was a great religious province chartered by the See of Rome under the Franciscan order, and known by the name of "St. Helena," whose representative government was fixed at St. Augustine.*

[A.D. 1585.] English arrogance and love of dominion viewed with jealousy the peaceful settlements of Spain which were springing up in Florida. Sir Francis Drake, on the 8th of May, 1585, with a large fleet, after ravaging and plundering the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, and at Carthagená, in the true spirit of a pirate, sailed for the feeble settlements upon the St. John's, in Florida. He attacked the forts at St. Augustine, which were abandoned to his superior force after a feeble resistance. The terrified people of the settlements fled to the woods for safety ; and the English buccaneer, after ravaging the country, plundered Fort St. John of fourteen pieces of brass cannon, and the military chest, containing two thousand pounds sterling in money.†

Still the limits of Florida on the north were vague and undefined. Spain claimed all the coast northward indefinitely. St. Augustine is in latitude 29° 50' north ; but from the founding of this ancient town, the Spaniards made but little effort to

* Williams's Florida, p. 175.

† Idem, p. 176.

extend their settlements north of the St. Mary's River, which is in latitude $30^{\circ} 45'$ north. The first English settlement in Florida was attempted, unsuccessfully, in 1585, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert upon the Roanoke River, within the present limits of North Carolina. The second, equally unfortunate, was made by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1608, upon James's River, within the present limits of Virginia. About the same time the first French settlements were attempted, in Acadie, on the Bay of Fundy, at Port Royal, and upon the St. Lawrence below Montreal.

[A.D. 1651.] The English colony on James's River struggled against disasters and misfortunes for nearly twenty years; and in 1626, out of nine thousand emigrants sent from England, only eighteen hundred remained alive in the colony. Such was the first English colony, which began to encroach upon the undefined limits of Spanish Florida. In the next quarter of a century the population of the colony, supplied and sustained by religious and political persecution in the mother country, had augmented its numbers to more than twenty thousand souls, comprised within the royal province of Virginia, claiming the latitude of 36° as its southern boundary.

Spain, unable to oppose more than a feeble resistance to the encroachment of her powerful rival, acceded to the demands of England, and relinquished all claim to lands north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, the present southern boundary of Virginia.

Such was the first definite limit claimed by Spain as the northern boundary of Florida against the pretensions of rival powers. Yet the spirit for colonizing America having spread to England, she sought to establish other colonies upon the unappropriated coast of Florida, south of Virginia, as well as upon the coast north of the Chesapeake Bay. Disregarding any claim of Spain to the country north of her actual settlements, the English monarchs, after having established numerous colonies upon the coast north of Long Island Sound, resolved to occupy the unappropriated regions north of the Spanish settlements upon the River St. Matheo; nor was it long before the resolution was carried into effect.

[A.D. 1663.] The next English encroachment upon the limits of Florida was by Charles the Second, who granted to Lord Clarendon and others the absolute right and property in all lands from the thirty-sixth parallel of north latitude south-

ward to the River St. Matheo, by which he intended the present St. Mary's River, in latitude $30^{\circ} 45'$. A short time afterward the king extended the limits of their grant on the south to the parallel of 29° , of course embracing the coast for nearly fifty miles south of St. Augustine. This grant, like many of the early English grants, with an utter ignorance of the interior, extended, according to the royal charter, westward to the "South Sea," or the Pacific Ocean.* Such was the ignorance of Europe as to the actual extent of North America as late as the middle of the seventeenth century.

This grant, so far as it conferred any right, embraced all the immense territory north of the Gulf of Mexico, and would have restricted Spain to the southern half of the peninsula of East Florida. The proprietors, however, for more than half a century, were unable to extend their settlements further south than the parallel of 32° , or to the north bank of the Savannah River; and Spain continued to claim the unappropriated country.

[A.D. 1665.] In the year 1665, Captain Davis, an English buccaneer, sailed from the West Indies, and attacked the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. Meeting with no opposition, although the town was defended by an octagonal fort and two round towers, garrisoned by regular troops, he plundered the town, and retired with his booty.† No English settlement had then been made south of St. Helena Sound.

[A.D. 1679.] Fourteen years afterward, an English colony settled on Ashley River, and laid the foundation of a colonial capital, which was called "Charlestown," and the province was called Carolina, in honor of Charles II. of England, thus perpetuating the name of Fort *Carolana*, which had been named in honor of Charles IX. of France, one hundred years before.

[A.D. 1685.] The English colony of Carolina did not increase in population as was desired. In order to colonize the country more rapidly, the English crown permitted and encouraged the emigration of the French Calvinists, or "Huguenots," who were compelled to seek refuge out of France from the intolerance of Catholic persecution. The first emigration of these unfortunate people took place in the year 1685, when four hundred families arrived, consequent upon the revocation

* See Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. I., p. 180, 181, first edition.

† See Williams's *Florida*, p. 176.

of the "Edict of Nantz." Carolina subsequently received several other arrivals of these refugees from religious persecution, whose numbers served greatly to augment the population of the new English colony. The exiles from Catholic France were thus received under the protection of England, which had espoused the cause of the Reformers. Other colonies of French Calvinists arrived repeatedly in the next twenty years. Incorporated under English laws, with English subjects, they gave origin to some of the most intelligent, wealthy, and influential families which now adorn the State of South Carolina.

The Spaniards in vain remonstrated against encroachments upon their territory south of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. The British court refused to acknowledge their claim, and for years disregarded their remonstrances.

[A.D. 1690.] At length, to favor a peaceable adjustment of boundaries, Spain further relinquished all the territory north of latitude 33° , claiming only as far north as Cape Romain, or one degree north of the most southern settlements of the English.* Finally, exasperated at the persevering encroachments of their rival colony, and their intrigues with the native savages, the Spaniards resolved to imitate their example by exciting against the English settlements the hostility of the Indian tribes. Accordingly, until the close of the seventeenth century, mutual acts of partisan hostility and piratical war, aided by the Indian allies respectively, spread terror and desolation through the frontiers of the rival colonies. These expeditions were conducted by the English against the Spanish settlements on the St. Mary's and St. John's Rivers with great fury and destruction, and these beautiful regions again became a scene of blood and rapine.

[A.D. 1702.] At length, war having been declared between Spain and Great Britain, Governor Moore of Carolina, "thirsting for Spanish plunder," with an army of 1200 volunteers and Creek Indians, ravaged the whole settlements from the St. Mary to the St. John Rivers, and plundered St. Augustine itself.

[A.D. 1704.] Two years afterward, the same Governor Moore raised a force of one thousand Creek Indians and a few desperate white men, with whom he ravaged the Spanish settlements from Flint River to the Oklockony, and westward to the Appalachicola. A scene of general devastation mark-

* See Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. I., Introduction.

ed his route. The fort on the Oklockony, twenty miles from the sea, was captured with great slaughter. In the strife, the Governor of Appalachy, Don Juan Mexia, and the greater portion of the garrison, amounting to nearly four hundred men, were slain; the fort was burned to ashes; monasteries, convents, and missionary establishments alike sunk under the flames. Such of the inhabitants as escaped the tomahawk and scalping-knife were driven into a wretched captivity. Fourteen hundred Yamasses, who had been on friendly terms with the Spaniards, were driven into Georgia, and many of them were reduced to slavery.* Such have been the tender mercies of the English in all their conquests.

Meantime, Spain encountered another restriction upon the limits of Florida on the west. The French colonists from Canada on the extreme north had penetrated beyond the great lakes, and had explored the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico; a colony had been landed west of the Colorado, and the government of France had been actively engaged more than five years in establishing a permanent colony upon the Mississippi and upon the coast, more than fifty miles east of the great river.

Up to this time Spain had no rival in the west; and, fearing no opposition in that quarter, she had neglected to plant colonies west of the district of Appalachy. The whole coast, around the northern side of the Gulf of Mexico, from Tampico eastward to the Appalachicola River, nominally attached to the viceroyalty of Mexico, was in the sole occupancy of the Indian tribes, without a single Spanish settlement, except that of Pensacola, which had been established first in 1696, after the French had advanced upon the Mississippi.

The Spanish government, perceiving the advance of the French, had, in 1696, sent a colony of three hundred emigrants from Mexico to occupy the point; which subsequently, in 1699, was re-enforced, and placed in command of Don Andre de Riola, who proceeded to fortify the harbor and enlarge the settlement.

Meantime, after the arrangement of boundaries between the English and Spanish settlements on the Atlantic sea-board, a continual system of partisan and piratical warfare was maintained by the rival colonies, each instigating the numerous warlike savages in their vicinity to espouse their causes respectively. Hence, for nearly twenty years, these settlements, about

* Williams's Florida, p. 179.

three hundred miles asunder, were repeatedly ravaged by sword and fire.

At length the people of Carolina, dissatisfied with the proprietary government, and being again threatened with a formidable invasion from Havana, renounced all subjection to the proprietary government, and cast themselves upon the protection of the crown of Great Britain. Carolina was soon after annexed as the royal province of Carolina, extending from the Roanoke to the Savannah.

[A.D. 1732.] In the year 1732, for the convenience of the colonists, the province was divided into two governments, called North and South Carolina.* About this time, a new colony was projected in England for the settlement of the country south of the Savannah, as far as the Altamaha River. This region was to be called the province of "Georgia," in honor of George the Second. It was to be peopled chiefly by indigent but industrious families; and in the following year the town of Savannah was begun, soon after the arrival of the first emigrants, under the superintendence of General James Oglethorpe. The introduction of slaves was prohibited, in order to remove competition and to encourage free white labor.

[A.D. 1739.] The Spaniards persisted in their opposition to the English encroachments in Florida, and reciprocal partisan warfare again broke out between the rival colonies and their Indian allies.

Before the close of the year 1739, England and Spain were again involved in a general war, which extended to their American colonies in Florida. The following year an expedition under General Oglethorpe sailed from Georgia and South Carolina, for the invasion of the Spanish settlements near St. Augustine, in Florida. After partial success, the ultimate object of the expedition, the capture of St. Augustine, failed.

[A.D. 1742.] In 1742 a strong Spanish expedition, consisting of thirty-two sail, and conveying three thousand troops, invaded Georgia; and after producing great consternation and considerable ravages, they advanced up the Altamaha River, landed upon the island, and there erected fortifications, threatening the subjugation of the Carolinas and Virginia. But at the close of the war Georgia was still considered as extending southward to the River St. Mary.

* See Marshall's *Life of Washington*; vol. I., p. 308.

Meantime, on the west, as early as 1721, the Perdido River and Bay had been established as the eastern boundary of lower Louisiana; thus restricting the western limit of Florida to the same boundary which it now possesses as an independent state.

[A.D. 1763.] Such were the boundaries and sovereignty of Florida until the year 1763, when it fell under the dominion of the British crown, after the dismemberment of Louisiana. At the close of a protracted war, Great Britain, at the treaty of peace, became possessed of the whole of New France, and all that portion of the province of Louisiana lying upon the east side of the Mississippi, except the Island of New Orleans. At the same time, Spain, for valuable considerations, relinquished the province of Florida to the same power. Thus the dominion of Great Britain was extended over the whole territory east of the Mississippi, from its sources to the Gulf of Mexico, excepting only the Island of New Orleans.

[A.D. 1764.] The following year the British cabinet extended the limits of Florida on the west, by annexing to it all that part of Louisiana ceded by France on the east side of the Mississippi, and south of the Yazoo River. Thus Florida, under the English dominion, was again extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. The province was also then first divided into two portions, called East and West Florida. West Florida, agreeably to the king's proclamation, was bounded on the north by a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Chattahoochy River; the latter of which was made the boundary between East and West Florida. Each of these divisions was erected into a separate government, under different governors. Pensacola was the capital of West Florida, and St. Augustine of East Florida. This division, and these boundaries, remained unchanged for fifteen years, until West Florida was wrested from the British crown, in the years 1779 and 1781, by the victorious arms of Spain, under Don Galvez, from Louisiana.

English emigrants began to arrive in Florida; and several of the English nobility settled plantations on Hillsboro' River, on St. John's River, and on Amelia Island, in the peninsula of East Florida. Settlements were also made at Pensacola. Lord Rolle obtained a grant of land on St. John's River, to which he transported nearly three hundred miserable females,

who were picked up in the purlieus of London. He hoped to reform them, and make them good members of society in his new colony of "Charlotia;" but death, in a few years, removed them from his charge.*

[A.D. 1767.] Doctor Turnbull, of notorious memory, and Sir William Duncan, tried a different experiment for peopling Florida. The former sailed for the Peloponnesus, and for the sum of four hundred pounds sterling, obtained permission of the Governor of Modon to convey to Florida a large number of Greek families. In 1767, he arrived with one small vessel, and took as many Greeks as he could obtain: On his way from Modon, he put in at the islands of Corsica and Minorca, and there procured several vessels, and augmented the number of his settlers to fifteen hundred. He agreed to carry them free of expense, to furnish them with good provisions and clothing, and, at the end of three years, to give to each head of a family fifty acres, and to each child twenty-five acres of land. If they should be dissatisfied at the end of six months, he agreed to send them back to their native country. These were the terms promised, but never complied with.

They had a long and tedious voyage of four months, and many of the old people died on the voyage. Twenty-nine died in one vessel. They arrived in Florida in the fall season, and a grant of sixty thousand acres of land for the settlement was made by the Governor of Florida. To shelter them through the winter, they built huts of palmetto, and proceeded to prepare the fields for the opening spring. The settlement was designated "New Smyrna," and its location was about four miles west of Musqueto Inlet, and seventy-four miles south of St. Augustine.

After a sufficient quantity of provisions had been raised, Turnbull directed his attention to the cultivation and manufacture of indigo, and reduced his ignorant and helpless foreigners to the most abject and disgraceful slavery. In five years they had nearly three thousand acres of good land in a fine state of cultivation; and the nett value of the indigo crop, for one year, amounted to three thousand one hundred and seventy-four dollars.

[A.D. 1770.] Turnbull's avarice seemed to increase with his prosperity; but he failed to comply with his agreements, or

* Williams's Florida, p. 182.

to fulfill his contracts. From the colonists he selected a few Italians, whom he made overseers and drivers; and they exercised over the remainder such cruelty and oppression as is known only under English masters. Men, women, and children, indiscriminately, were subjected to the lash, and to the most inhuman treatment and privations.*

Tasks were assigned them for the week as large as they could possibly perform. The food allowed the laborers was seven quarts of shelled corn per week for the whites; to the negroes on the plantations ten quarts per week were allowed. Saturday and Sunday were allowed to supply themselves with meat by fishing and hunting. The sick and invalids were allowed only three and a half quarts of corn per week.

Most of the Minorcans and Corsicans had brought a good supply of clothing with them; when these were worn out, they were furnished with one suit of Osnaburgs each year. One blanket and one pair of shoes, for the whole term, were given to the men; but none were allowed to the women, although many of them had been accustomed to live in comparatively easy circumstances in their own country.

[A.D. 1774.] For nine years were this people kept in ignominious bondage, ground down by a tyranny unequalled by the relentless Spaniards of St. Domingo. During the last three years they were supplied with no clothing at all, but were permitted to buy on credit at a public store belonging to the company, thus creating a debt which served as a pretext for their detention. On the most trifling occasions, they were beaten without mercy; and negroes were usually chosen as the instruments of diabolical cruelty, they being often compelled to beat and lacerate those who failed to perform their tasks, until many of them died. Sometimes, after having the skin scourged from their backs, they were left tied to trees all night, naked and exposed, for swarms of mosquitoes to fatten on their blood and to aggravate their tortures. If induced by despair to run away, they were captured by the negroes of the neighboring plantations, who received a bounty for their apprehension and delivery. Some wandered off and sought an asylum in the woods, where they died of hunger and disease, or sought the protection of the Indians.

[A.D. 1776.] At the end of nine years, their number, including

* Williams's Florida, p. 188, 189.

the natural increase, was reduced to six hundred. These people, living under the protection of a nation which boasts its freedom, and that its very soil strips the shackles from the slave, were, by a mere accident, released from their cruel tyrant. Secluded, overtasked, and isolated, they knew not their rights, nor the means of obtaining them. In the summer of 1776, some English gentlemen from St. Augustine, making an excursion down the coast, called at "New Smyrna" to see the improvements, especially a spacious stone mansion-house which had been commenced for the proprietor. Seeing the wretched and degraded condition of these people, one of the gentlemen observed, in the hearing of an intelligent boy, "that if these people knew their rights," they would not submit to such slavery. The boy repeated the remark to his mother, and she took counsel with her friends at night, to gain more intelligence on the subject.*

A plan was devised to send three individuals ostensibly to the coast to obtain a supply of turtle, but, in fact, to St. Augustine. They arrived in safety, and soon had an interview with Mr. Younge, the attorney-general of the province. They made known their business, and he promised them the protection guarantied to them by the laws. Governor Grant, who is supposed to have been personally connected with Turnbull in the slavery of these Greeks and Minorcans, had been superseded by Governor Tonym, who sought to render himself popular by causing justice to be done to these long-injured people.

The messengers returned, after a few days, with the joyful intelligence that justice was in prospect; but the mission must be concealed, as well as the intelligence received. Although Turnbull was absent, they feared the overseers, and dreaded their cruelty. They met in secret, and chose M. Pallacier for their leader, and secretly arranged the plan of their departure. Upon a given day, formed into a phalanx, the armed and strong men guarding the women and children, they marched in a body toward St. Augustine. So secretly had the whole plan been concerted, that they were some miles on their way before the overseers discovered that the settlement was deserted.

Turnbull, their tyrannical master, having been informed of their departure, rode many miles after them, and overtook them before they reached St. Augustine; but his entreaties were unavailing to induce them to return. At St. Augustine they

* Williams's Florida, p. 188.

were supplied with provisions by the order of the governor; their case was tried before the judges, and their cause honestly advocated by the attorney-general. Turnbull could show no cause for their detention, and they were set at liberty;* but they had no redress for the wrongs which they had already endured upon British soil and under British jurisdiction.

To supply them with homes, they were offered lands for settlement near New Smyrna; but, fearing some treachery in Turnbull, they refused to return to that place. Grounds were, therefore, assigned them in the northern suburbs of St. Augustine, where they erected their houses, and cultivated gardens for the town supplies. The same grounds to this day are occupied by many of their descendants, who now constitute a respectable, and in some instances a wealthy and intelligent portion of the population of that city.†

[A.D. 1778.] During the occupancy of Florida by the English, under the fostering care of the government, agriculture made rapid progress. Sugar and rum became the staple products; sugar-cane was cultivated extensively both in East and in West Florida. The remains of the iron machinery and sugar furnaces may be seen to this day upon the old, deserted plantations. Indigo, protected by a bounty, was also a staple product of Florida.‡ Such was Florida under British dominion.

[A.D. 1783.] By the treaty of 1783, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States with the Mississippi for their boundary on the west, and Florida on the south. But Florida had been retroceded to his Catholic majesty without defining its limits on the north; and Spain, having acquired West Florida by conquest before the cession, claimed the northern boundary as it existed under the British authorities in 1779, that is, bounded by a line to be drawn from the mouth of the Yazoo, due east to the Chattahoochy. His Catholic majesty could not concede to Great Britain the right to restrict the limits of a province already conquered, and the right of possession to which was recognized by the consideration stipulated in the treaty. He contended that the treaty, which fixed the southern limits of the United States at the 31st parallel of latitude, virtually ceded to them territory rightfully belonging to Spain, and was consequently to that extent null and void. It was upon this ground that his Catholic majesty continued to

* Williams's Florida, p. 189, 190.

† Idem, p. 190.

‡ Idem, p. 191.

occupy and hold possession of the "Natchez district" for fifteen years after the treaty of 1763. But the United States persisted in their right to the limits specified in the treaty; and after ten years of fruitless negotiation, and a contemplated appeal to arms, when Spain was again at war with Great Britain, his Catholic majesty reluctantly consented to the treaty of Madrid, signed on the 20th day of October, 1795.

[A.D. 1795.] By this treaty the King of Spain, recognizing the claim of the United States to the 31st parallel of latitude as their southern boundary, entered into stipulations for the evacuation of the country and military posts situated north of that limit, so soon as the latitude should have been ascertained. For the purpose of ascertaining the proper boundary, commissioners on the part of each power were to meet within six months after the ratification of the treaty, to ascertain and mark out a proper line of demarkation. At length, after many vexatious delays, the Spanish authorities, in the spring of 1798, retired from the north side of this boundary, reluctantly yielding that which they found themselves unable to hold by force.*

The remainder of West Florida near the Mississippi, and south of the line of demarkation, continued under the Spanish dominion, and was organized into a government, known as "the District of Baton Rouge," under the administration of Don Carlos de Grandpré, lieutenant-governor, exercising the duties of civil and military commandant. These duties he continued to exercise for more than twelve years after the evacuation of the Natchez District, and until the expulsion of the Spanish authority from the banks of the Mississippi in December, 1810, and seven years after the province of Louisiana and the island of New Orleans had become the territory of the United States.†

[A.D. 1803.] Meantime the United States, having acquired from France the possession of the province of Louisiana, advanced a new claim to that portion of West Florida which extended westward from the Perdido River to the Mississippi, and north of the island of New Orleans. The boundaries of Louisiana, as received from France, were to be those which it possessed under the French crown in 1762, prior to the dismemberment, except such claim as might inure to Spain by the secret treaty of 1762, and to Great Britain by the treaty of

* See book iv., chap. iv., close of chapter.

† See book v., chap. xv., "Territory of Orleans."

1763. The Federal government never ceased to urge this claim with the Spanish crown as a valid reason for the restriction of the northern and western boundaries of West Florida.

[A.D. 1810.] In the mean time, the district of Baton Rouge had become settled by numerous emigrants from the western states and territories, in addition to a large number of Anglo-Americans, who had been grievously disappointed in finding themselves excluded from the jurisdiction of the United States, by the line of demarkation established under the treaty of Madrid. The whole population in the district, of Anglo-American descent, partial to the Federal government, and unwilling to submit to an absolute monarchy beyond the seas, was but little short of ten thousand persons. Surrounded as they were by Republican friends and Republican institutions, which they desired to enjoy, they could hardly be expected to remain loyal subjects of a foreign prince. At length the people revolted from their Spanish allegiance, and expelling their Spanish rulers, organized a provisional government, and claimed the protection of the United States. On the 7th of December, 1810, Governor Claiborne, of the territory of Orleans, by order of the President of the United States, took formal and peaceable possession of the country, with the troops of the Federal government. Soon afterward, all that portion of West Florida known as the Baton Rouge District, extending eastward to Pearl River, was, by act of Congress, annexed to the territory of Orleans, and finally became incorporated within the limits of the State of Louisiana.*

[A.D. 1813.] The residue of West Florida, eastward to the Perdido, remained under the Spanish jurisdiction, and in possession of the Spanish troops, until the spring of 1813. About this time war between the United States on one side, and Great Britain and her Indian allies on the other, was raging on the northern and southern frontiers of the United States. Apprehensive of the inability or the indisposition of the Spanish authorities to maintain a strict neutrality in the bays, inlets, and harbors west of Pensacola, Congress authorized the military occupation of the country, from the Pearl River to the Perdido, by the commander-in-chief of the seventh military district.†

By an order from the Secretary of War, and received by

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 299. See, also, book v., chap. xv. of this work, "Territory of Orleans."

† See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 315.

General Wilkinson early in the year 1813, he was directed to take possession of all that portion of Florida west of the Perdido river and bay, and to extend the Federal jurisdiction over the same. He accordingly prepared to concentrate his forces for the capture of Fort Charlotte at Mobile. The naval forces in the vicinity of New Orleans were ordered to concentrate in the Bay of Mobile, while, at the head of a strong land force, he in person proceeded across the country from the Mississippi. On the 12th day of April the army encamped before the town of Mobile, and the commander-in-chief immediately dispatched a summons to the commandant of Fort Charlotte, couched in courteous language, but in a positive tone, demanding the evacuation of the fort.* The Spanish commandant, Don Cayetano Perez, seeing he was completely surrounded by sea and land, made no delay to enter into negotiations for an honorable capitulation. The article of capitulation was signed on the 14th, stipulating for the evacuation of the fort on the following day, together with the surrender of all the military stores, artillery,

* The following is a copy of the summons sent by General Wilkinson, viz.:

"Camp near Mobile, April 12th, 1813.

"SIR,—The troops of the United States under my command do not approach you as the enemy of Spain; but, by the order of the President, they come to relieve the garrison which you command from the occupancy of a post within the legitimate limits of those states. I therefore hope, sir, that you may peacefully retire from Fort Charlotte and from the bounds of the Mississippi territory (east of the Perdido River), with the garrison you command, and the public and private property which may appertain thereunto.

"I flatter myself that you will meet a proposition so reasonable and so just in the spirit with which it is offered, and that no time may be unnecessarily lost in carrying it into execution. My aide-de-camp, Major H. D. Pierre, will present you this note, and, if convenient to you, will receive your answer. With due consideration and respect, I have the honor to be

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"JAMES WILKINSON.

"To the officer commanding Fort Charlotte."

The following reply was returned, viz.:

"Fort Charlotte, Mobile, April 13th, 1813.

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—I have marked the contents of your letter of yesterday, and I have commissioned Lieutenant Don Francisco Morrison to confer with your excellency on the points in dispute.

"God preserve your excellency many years.

"CAYETANO PEREZ.

"His excellency Don James Wilkinson."

In the subsequent negotiation it was deemed expedient to leave the fort, and all the munitions and public property remaining in the hands of the United States, the value to be settled by commissioners of the two governments. See Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 508-512.

ammunition, arms, and munitions, to be accounted for by the United States at a fair valuation.

Among the supplies of the fort left with the American commander were thirty-seven heavy pieces of ordnance, seventeen swivels, brass and iron, besides a large amount of munitions of war, comprising solid balls of different sizes, bombs of divers kinds, small arms, and every variety of apparatus, offensive and defensive.

The Spanish garrison retired quietly on board their vessels and set sail for Pensacola; and the American troops, agreeably to stipulations, deferred entering the fort until the Spanish troops had departed.*

A few days afterward, General Wilkinson advanced eastward to the Perdido, and established a small post on its western bank, while another detachment was sent to fortify Mobile Point, afterward known as Fort Boyer. Thus terminated the dominion of Spain over the western portion of Florida.

Florida, thus restricted, remained a loyal Spanish province, without any other change of boundary, until it was finally ceded to the United States by the treaty of Washington in 1819. Yet it was not exempt from the revolutionary designs and operations of the revolted Spanish provinces of South America. The Patriots of South America, being engaged in a sanguinary war with the mother country, aided by adventurers from the United States and from Europe, omitted no opportunity for effecting the expulsion of the regal domination from the loyal provinces of Florida and Texas. To accomplish this purpose, several expeditions were successively fitted out in the ports of South America and the West Indies, to operate against the Spanish authorities in these two provinces.

The first expedition against East Florida entered the country through the St. Mary's, occupying the Port of Fernandina and the Island of Amelia. From this point operations were extended until the Patriot forces had extended their authority over the whole district comprised in the government of St. Augustine. But the government established by them was of short duration. It was on the 12th of April, 1812, that the Spanish governor, Don Jose Lopez, entered into terms of capitulation, by which he surrendered the Port of Fernandina, including the

* See Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i., 514-516.

whole island, and his entire command, to the "superior forces" of the Patriots. A provisional government was organized, and the authorities made formal application for admission into the Federal Union, as an integral portion of the United States.* But the government of the United States, true to its treaty obligations to Spain, declined to receive the province from the usurpers, and established a competent military force upon the St. Mary's, to enforce neutrality on the border, and to restrain any popular outbreak of the American people. At the same time, the American government proposed to the Spanish minister to take possession of the country in trust for the King of Spain, until his Catholic majesty should find himself in a condition to maintain the neutrality of the country, so as to secure the proper execution of the revenue laws of the United States against a band of smugglers by which the St. Mary's River was infested. General George Matthews and Colonel John M'Kee were authorized commissioners on the part of the United States.†

On the 12th of June, Sebastian Kinderlan, with a re-enforcement of royal troops, expelled the Patriots, and re-established the royal authority. The Federal troops, who had advanced to the south side of the St. Mary's, were ordered to retire within the limits of Georgia.‡

The foreign occupancy of Florida had become a source of great annoyance, not only to the Federal government, but to the western people in general. Surrounded, as it were, by the territory of the United States, with an extensive boundary, much of it designated only by a surveyor's line, separating two races so radically different, under civil and religious institutions so strongly repugnant to each other, it was certain the frontier people could never harmonize; and the Federal executive had for many years endeavored to prevent the collision of the advancing settlements by the peaceable acquisition of the whole of Florida; but Spain preferred to prolong her feeble authority over the province.

* The Patriot forces comprised an armament of nine gun-boats, with a full complement of marines and infantry, composed of adventurers from all countries, including a large proportion of Americans. The forces were under the command of Commodore Campbell and Colonel Ashley.

† A more extended account of the operations connected with the revolution upon the Island of Amelia may be found in Williams's *Florida*, p. 191-196. See, also, *American State Papers*, vol. ix., p. 41-46; and 156, 7, Boston edition of 1819. ‡ Ibid.

At length the United States were involved in a war with Great Britain, who, disregarding the neutrality of the Spanish territory, introduced her emissaries through the Spanish ports, to arm the savages of Florida and the Mississippi territory against the defenseless frontier settlements.* In the progress of the war, the British fleets and armies destined for the invasion of the United States and the destruction of American ports were allowed to enter the ports, and to garrison the strong forts of West Florida, from which they operated upon the frontier settlements.

[A.D. 1815.] Nor did this violation of a neutral territory cease with the termination of the war. After the war had terminated, and the treaty of peace with Great Britain had been ratified, and after the savages had been vanquished, subdued, and had entered into amicable arrangements by a treaty of peace, the emissaries of Great Britain, armed with the powerful patronage of that government, continued with impunity to make Florida the theatre of renewed operations for involving the United States in the horrors of another Indian war.

It was in the spring of 1815, immediately after the promulgation of peace between the United States and Great Britain, that Captain Woodbine resumed his intrigues with the Indians of Florida, for the avowed purpose of instigating the Seminoles and Muskhogees to renew hostilities against the frontier settlements of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory. To the effects of his subsequent operations, under the directions of Colonel Nichols, an officer of his Britannic majesty's navy, and to his successors, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister, must be ascribed the existence of the "Seminole War," which resulted, finally, in the entire exclusion of all foreign dominion from Florida.

Adopting the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, that the ninth article of the treaty of Ghent virtually entitled the Creek Indians to a restoration of all the lands they had relinquished to the United States by the treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814, Captain Woodbine entered upon the arduous task of enforcing an admission of their claim.

Having conducted a colony of negro slaves to East Florida, he ascended the Appalachicola River, under the directions of Colonel Nichols, and commenced the construction of a strong

* See book v., chap. xiv., "Creek War."

fort, as the headquarters of his future operations. At this place he was abundantly supplied with artillery, munitions of war, arms, and ammunition from the British fleet, for the use of the savages in the contemplated enterprise.*

He immediately opened a correspondence with Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, Indian agent of the United States for the Creek nation. In a letter, dated April 28th, 1815, he announces himself as the advocate of the Indians, and notifies the United States agent that the Creek Indians had determined to demand the restoration of all the lands ceded to the United States by the treaty of Fort Jackson, agreeably to the provisions of the ninth article of the treaty of Ghent: "The Indians being independent allies of Great Britain."

In a subsequent communication, dated May 12th, he represents himself as "commanding his Britannic majesty's forces in the Floridas," and declares that "he has ordered the Indians to stand on the defensive, and having sent them a large supply of arms and ammunition, has told them to put to death without mercy any one molesting them." Again: "They have given their consent to wait your answer before *they take revenge*; but, sir, they are impatient for it, and are well armed, as the whole nation now is, and stored with ammunition and provis-

* The following document is selected from a large mass of documentary evidence transmitted to the War Department from the commanding general, showing the cause of the Seminole war, and referred by Congress to the committee on the forcible occupancy of Florida by General Jackson, viz.:

Deposition of Samuel Jervais.

Samuel Jervais, being duly sworn, states that he has been a sergeant of marines, in the British service, for thirteen years past; that "about a month ago he left Appalachicola, where he had been stationed for several months; that the English colonel, Nichols, had promised the hostile Indians at that place a supply of arms and ammunition, a large quantity of which *had been delivered to them* a few days before his departure, and *after* the news of peace between England and the United States had been confirmed and reached Appalachicola; that *among the articles delivered* were four twelve-pounder cannon, one howitzer, two cohorts, about three thousand stand of arms, and nearly three thousand barrels of powder and ball; that the British left with the Indians *between three and four hundred negroes*, taken from the United States, and chiefly from Louisiana; that the arms and ammunition were for the use of the Indians and negroes, and for the purpose, as he understood, of war with the United States; that the Indians were assured by the British commander that, according to the treaty of Ghent, all the lands ceded by the treaty with General Jackson were to be restored; otherwise the Indians must fight for them, and the British would in a short time assist them.

his
SAMUEL J. JERVAIS.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 9th day of May, 1815, }
L. JUDSON, J. P. }

ions, having a *strong-hold* to retire upon in case superior force appears."

Soon afterward, in company with the "Prophet Francis," also called *Hillis-hadjo*, and a deputation of Creek chiefs, Colonel Nichols departed for England, for the purpose of forming a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the prince-regent. The formation of such treaty was prevented only by the remonstrance of the American minister, John Quincy Adams, then resident in London. The British premier, Lord Castlereagh, and the Earl of Bathurst, cautiously avoided any written correspondence on the subject; but *Hillis-hadjo* was received with attention, and, as a mark of distinction and favor, the prince-regent conferred upon him the rank of "brigadier-general in his majesty's service," together with a splendid suit of British uniform.*

[A.D. 1816.] Before the lapse of twelve months, Woodbine had completed his "strong-hold" on the bank of the Appalachicola, twenty-five miles above its mouth; it was now occupied by a garrison of more than one hundred negroes and a few Indians. Occasional hostilities had been committed against the American settlements, and military posts were established on the Chattahoochy for the protection of the Georgia frontier. Among these was "Camp Crawford," just above the Florida line. The supplies for this post were received by way of the river through the Spanish province, and by passing immediately under the guns of the negro fort which commanded the river.† The commandant of the fort was Garçon, a French

* All these facts, and many others, were fully established before the committee of Congress in 1819, in the investigation instituted upon the course pursued by General Jackson in taking military possession of Florida for the better protection of the frontiers. The subject of British intrigue in Florida, and the diabolical machinations of British agents in provoking the Seminoles to war, is discussed in a lucid and able manner in the excellent speech of the Hon. George Poindexter, in the House of Representatives of the United States on the 1st and 2d of February, 1819. This speech was an able vindication of General Jackson for his occupancy of the Spanish posts of St. Mark's and Pensacola.

This speech is contained in Williston's "Eloquence of the United States," vol. iii., p. 128-187. It was also published extensively in the newspapers of the day. See Mississippi State Gazette of May 8th and 12th, 1819.

† This fort was described as follows: viz., It was situated on a beautiful high bluff, with a large creek near the base, and protected by a swamp in the rear, which rendered the approach of artillery very difficult. The parapet was fifteen feet high and eighteen feet thick. It was defended by one thirty-two pounder, three twenty-four pounders, several of them inscribed "His Britannic majesty's frigate Cydnus," two nine pounders, two six pounders, and one elegant brass five and a half inch howitzer. It contained in its magazines a large amount of arms and ammunition. One magazine

negro, in connection with the Choctâ chief, "Red Sticks;" and within its walls were sheltered no less than two hundred negro women and children. Near the fort the fields were fine, and others extended up and down the river for nearly fifty miles.

From this general rendezvous, marauding expeditions had been sent out, not only against the defenseless settlements of the Georgia frontier, but also piratical excursions against trading vessels on the coast. Such was the prelude to the Seminole war.

On the 16th of August, Colonel Clinch, commanding at Camp Crawford, received intelligence that two transports laden with provisions, stores, and ordnance, convoyed by two gun-boats, were lying in the bay near the mouth of the river, awaiting an escort of United States troops from his command, as protection against the fort on the river. The instructions to Colonel Clinch required him, in case of opposition to the ascent of the vessels by the fort, to reduce it by military force.

Next day Colonel Clinch, with a detachment of two companies, under the command of Major Muhlenberg and Captain Z. Taylor, comprising one hundred and sixteen choice men, descended the river in order to conduct the supplies above the point of danger. On the 18th he was joined by Major McIntosh with one hundred and fifty friendly Creeks, and on the following day by two other detachments of Indians, who had set out for the capture of negroes in the vicinity of the fort.

With this force he took up his position in the vicinity of the negro fort to await the ascent of Lieutenant Loomis with the transports and gun-boats. On the same evening an express from Lieutenant Loomis informed him that a watering party, near the mouth of the river, had been attacked by a detachment of negroes, who had killed one midshipman and two sailors, and captured a third. Colonel Clinch determined, without further delay, to invest the fort, and the Indians were directed to take their positions around the fort, and open upon it a scattering fire. The negro garrison commenced a terrible discharge of artillery, designed to frighten the Indians, and with no other injury to the besiegers. The demand of the Indians for the surrender of the fort was answered by Garçon with the

contained six hundred barrels of powder, and the other one hundred and sixty-three, besides about three thousand stand of arms, and other valuable property to a large amount.

utmost contempt, after which he hoisted the English jack. Such was the state of things until the arrival of the whole force of gun-boats and vessels from below.

It was on the 26th that the escort and convoy arrived within four miles of the fort, when preparations were made to take it by storm. For this purpose a battery was erected during the night, and early the next morning the two gun-boats, prepared for action, moved up in handsome style, and moored near the battery. In a few minutes they were saluted by a shot from a thirty-two pounder in the fort. This was the signal for the attack, and the fire was returned in gallant style. At the fifth discharge, a *hot shot* from gun-boat No. 154 penetrated the great magazine, and immediately the fort was blown up with the most awful explosion. The scene in the fort was horrible beyond description; nearly the whole of the inmates were involved in one indiscriminate destruction; not one sixth of the whole escaped. The cries of the wounded and dying, mingled with the shouts and yells of the Indians, rendered the confusion horrible in the extreme.

Three thousand stand of arms and six hundred barrels of powder were destroyed by the explosion. The whole amount of property destroyed and taken was not less than \$200,000 in value. One magazine, containing one hundred and sixty-three barrels of powder, was saved by the victors. The negro commander, Garçon, and the Choctâ chief, "Red Sticks," were delivered to the Indians, who put them to a painful death.* Woodbine had escaped the evening before.

On the following day, intelligence was received of the approach of a formidable body of hostile Seminoles. Finding Colonel Clinch well prepared to receive them, they prudently declined an attack. Preparations were immediately made by the State of Georgia and by the Federal government for the efficient protection of the exposed frontier.

Such was the commencement of the Seminole war in Florida.

General Gaines, of the United States army, commanding at Fort Scott, on the Georgia frontier, proceeded to chastise the hostile Seminoles. At the first Indian town attacked in December, on Clinch River, the evidences of British treachery were fully presented. In the cabin of Neamathla the chief was found a British uniform of scarlet cloth, with gold epau-

* Williams's Florida, p. 202, 203.

lets. According to the certificate found in the pocket, and signed by the secretary of Colonel Nichols, "Neamathla was a faithful British subject."*

The Seminoles, however, being deprived of their principal leaders, and especially the ferocious Woodbine, were frustrated in their operations; yet for more than twelve months they were prone to hostilities, and from time to time committed frequent murders and depredations upon the frontier settlements, which required the maintenance of an active surveillance on the part of the Federal troops to prevent any general concert of operation.

[A.D. 1817.] While these events were transpiring upon the Indian frontier, the Patriot forces again invaded East Florida, taking possession of Amelia Island, from which they contemplated the entire subjugation of the whole province. In the present case, the invasion was made by General Gregor M'Gregor and Admiral Aury, acting under the authority of the "United Provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela." Having learned that Spain contemplated ceding Florida to the United States, they deemed it an opportune occasion to wrest it from the Spanish crown. To this end they proceeded to augment their forces, by enlisting into their ranks every description of adventurers, embracing outlaws from the United States, slaves, smugglers, English emissaries, among whom was Captain Woodbine, and partisans picked up in the streets of Savannah, Charleston, and other ports of the United States. To induce the Federal government to be a silent spectator in the spoliation of the Spanish province, General M'Gregor attempted to forestall any movement on the part of the executive of the United States, by avowing it to be his object, after a temporary occupation, to provide for its annexation to the United States.

On the 30th of July, 1817, the Spanish governor entered into a capitulation for the surrender of the province to the Patriot forces; thus again excluding the authority of Spain.

But with his incongruous mass of reckless adventurers, no permanent government could be sustained. Dissensions arose; and General M'Gregor, having been supplanted by the artful intrigue of Hubbard, and having been induced to believe that his personal security was endangered by his enemies, retired

* Williams's Florida, p. 204.

from the command, and accompanied the notorious Woodbine to England. It was not long before Aury lost his influence, and retired also, leaving Hubbard in chief command.

The government, under the usurped authority, had but short duration. To prevent the lawless assemblage, which concentrated near the frontier of the United States, and interrupted the due operation of the revenue laws, the Federal government determined to take forcible possession of the country until Spain should be able to maintain her authority over it. Accordingly, on the first of January, 1818, in obedience to instructions, Major J. Bankhead and Commodore J. D. Henly, with a division of the land and naval forces of the United States, had expelled the Patriots and took possession of the country.*

In the mean time, the Seminoles had imbodyed in large numbers upon the Clinch and Appalachicola Rivers, and upon the St. Mary's, near the frontiers of Georgia. In addition to the regular troops of the United States, the Georgia militia had been called into service, and were placed under the command of General Gaines. From the threatening attitude in this quarter, General Andrew Jackson was again called into the field as commander-in-chief of the troops operating in this quarter, with authority to call upon the executives of the adjacent states for such force as he might deem necessary for the subjugation of the Indian forces, estimated by General Gaines at twenty-seven hundred warriors.

[A.D. 1818.] Early in January following, he advanced into the Creek nation, at the head of a large body of Tennessee volunteers, on his route to the seat of war. On the 22d of January, he concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the friendly Creeks, and early in February they agreed to march under their chief, Major M'Intosh, to fight the Seminoles in Georgia and Florida.

On the first of March, General Jackson, with the Tennessee volunteers and the friendly Creeks, arrived at Fort Scott, and took command of the army. A few days afterward, he took up his line of march, with the united forces, down the Appalachicola to Fort Gadsden. On the way the country was scoured by the friendly Indians, and by detachments of cavalry, which brought in a large number of prisoners from the Seminoles.

* See American State Papers, vol. xii., p. 390-416, Boston edition of 1819.

On the 26th of March, having received strong re-enforcements, he set out for the Mickasukie towns, in East Florida, his whole force amounting to five hundred regulars, one thousand militia, and one thousand eight hundred Indians. On the first of April, the Mickasukie towns were utterly destroyed; and the same fate soon afterward attended the Fowel towns, situated upon Mickasukie Lake and on the Oscilla River, both of which were inhabited by hostile Creeks. The Indians fled before the troops, and made but little resistance, leaving one thousand head of fine cattle and large quantities of corn.

At the Mickasukie towns, about fifty miles north of St. Mark's, were found nearly three hundred scalps, taken promiscuously from the heads of not only men and women, but of children and infants. Many of them were of quite recent date, and fifty of them were suspended over the council square, upon a painted war-pole.*

Receiving intelligence of the aid which had been given the Indians at St. Mark's, on the Appalachy River, General Jackson took up his line of march for that post. This post, situated six miles from Appalachy Bay, was defended by a strong Spanish fort, mounting twenty pieces of heavy ordnance. The agency of the officers of this post, and the people of the place, in abetting and supplying the Indians, was undoubted, and General Jackson demanded its immediate surrender. The commander capitulated, the garrison was permitted to retire to Pensacola, and the American troops took possession of the fort.

Among the prisoners captured near St. Mark's was the "Prophet Francis," or *Hillis-hadjo*, and another notorious Indian chief, both of whom were formally sentenced to death, and hung without delay.

In the vicinity of the Suwanee River, on the 18th of April, Robert C. Ambrister, a British agent under Alexander Arbuthnot, was captured, and kept in close confinement for further examination.

From St. Mark's the general took up his line of march for the Seminole towns on the Suwanee River, situated about one hundred and seven miles southeast of St. Mark's. In this vicinity were assembled a large body of Indians and negroes, amounting to about two thousand, acting under the orders of

* See Williams's Florida, p. 205; also, p. 214.

Arbuthnot, who was supplying them with arms, ammunition, and military stores. On the first appearance of the army at these towns, the Indians made a show of resistance; but they soon fled with precipitation eastward, and many took shelter under the walls of St. Augustine. The fugitives were pursued several miles until dark, when the troops encountered an encampment of three hundred and forty negroes, who fought with great desperation until eighty of them were killed, when the remainder fled. Three hundred Indian women and children were taken prisoners, and many others were killed by the Indians, to prevent their captivity.*

While here, the videttes succeeded in capturing the notorious Alexander Arbuthnot, who, ignorant of the proximity of the American forces, in a canoe, with two negroes and an Indian, had approached the American lines to reconnoiter, when he was captured by the videttes on duty. He was properly secured in camp, and next morning a detachment was sent to seize his schooner, laden with arms, ammunition, and valuable stores, then lying in Wakassee Bay, at the mouth of the Suwanee.

During the next ten days, Major McIntosh, with his Indian warriors, scoured the country around, and was engaged in numerous skirmishes with the hostile Seminoles, of whom many were killed, besides a large number taken prisoners. Their resources were destroyed, and their towns and fields were ravaged with fire and sword.

On the first of May, a court-martial, with General Gaines presiding, found Arbuthnot and Ambrister guilty on three charges: 1. Exciting the negroes and Indians to commit murders upon the people of the United States; 2. Supplying them with arms and ammunition for offensive operations; 3. Acting as spies. General Jackson determined not to interpose his authority between the guilty and their doom, and they were sentenced to die; Ambrister by shooting, and Arbuthnot by hanging. The execution of the sentence was speedily enforced.†

* Williams's Florida, p. 206.

† After the destruction of the negro fort, Colonel Nichols, from the Island of New Providence, dispatched Alexander Arbuthnot, a British officer, to succeed Captain Woodbine in his diabolical operations. "He arrived in Florida in the guise of a British trader in the year 1817, and simultaneously the war-whoop resounded through the forests, and the blood of our citizens began to flow along the borders of Georgia and the Alabama Territory."—Hon. George Poindexter's *Speech on the Seminole War*.

In one of his letters, directed to the British minister, Mr. Bagot, resident at Wash-

Arbuthnot was justly considered the author of the Seminole war, under the direction of Woodbine, who escaped from justice in the United States to meet it in another country, and at a later date, from the hands of that race which had absorbed all his sympathies.*

Ambrister was a young man, apparently not over twenty-five years old, having a fine person, and holding the rank of lieutenant of marines in the British navy; but he died like a weak woman, repining at his merited fate. Although, in many parts of the United States and in England, sympathizers affected to censure the sentence of these two men, yet the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of Great Britain were constrained to sanction their execution as a merited doom, and permit their names to be consigned to infamy.

The war in this quarter having been thus brought to a close, General Jackson discharged the militia, whose term of service had nearly expired, and at the head of the regular troops, a few volunteers, and the friendly Indians under Major M'Intosh, marched for Pensacola, where his presence had become necessary. Parties of Indians in that vicinity had committed frequent murders, and had attacked boats conveying supplies for his army. The Governor of Pensacola had also refused to permit his vessels a free passage through the bay and up the Escambia River. Lieutenant Eddy, in charge of a boat loaded with provisions, had been attacked on the Escambia, in April, by Indians, who killed one and wounded two men. To chastise these outrages, Major Young, from Fort Montgomery, at the head of seventy-five mounted men, pursued the fugitives within one mile of Pensacola. Here, encountering them at the Bayou Texar, in a severe engagement, he slew thirty

ington City, he requested a supply of the following articles for the use of the Indians : viz. :

A quantity of powder, lead, muskets, and flints sufficient for arming one thousand Indians, as follows :

1900 muskets, and more smaller pieces, if possible.

10,000 flints, a portion for rifles, put up separate.

50 casks of gunpowder, a proportion for the rifle.

2000 knives, six to nine inches blade, of good quality.

1000 tomahawks, and one hundred pounds of vermilion.

2000 pounds lead, independent of ball, for muskets.—See *Congressional Documents connected with the Seminole War*.

* Woodbine, after his escape from the negro fort on the Appalachicola, fled to Mexico, where he remained until 1837, when he and his family were murdered at Campeachy by negroes. See Williams's *Florida*, p. 306.

of them, and took seventy-five prisoners. These Indians had been virtually protected by the Spanish authorities.

It was on the 24th of May that General Jackson reached the vicinity of Pensacola. Being assured of the conduct of the governor, who had refused to permit boats bearing the American flag, with provisions for his troops, to ascend the Escambia, while he countenanced the hostile attitude of the Indians, he determined to take effectual steps to remove these difficulties in future. To this effect, he determined to expel the perfidious Spaniards from Pensacola, as he had from St. Mark's.

Apprehensive of this measure, the governor sent a messenger to meet him as he approached Pensacola, warning him that the whole Spanish force would be brought to resist any such attempt. The general replied that he would return his answer in the morning, and continued his march. The governor well knew the man he had to deal with, and next morning, at nine o'clock, when General Jackson marched into the town, the governor had retired into the Fort Barancas, and left him undisputed possession of the place.

Three days afterward, the army marched to the Barancas, and took position about four hundred yards west of the fort. The night was spent in erecting a breast-work. In the morning the Spaniards opened upon it with two twenty-four pounders, and the Americans returned the fire actively from one howitzer, and made preparations to storm the fort. At three o'clock P.M. a flag from the fort conveyed the governor's proposition to capitulate. The capitulation was forthwith concluded and signed. The fort was surrendered, and the governor, with the garrison, was permitted peaceably to retire to Havana. The American troops occupied the post, and Colonel King was subsequently left in command at Pensacola.

On the 29th of May, the commander-in-chief issued his proclamation to the inhabitants of West Florida, including his general orders to the army. The following extract exhibits the tenor of that document,* viz. :

" Headquarters, Division of the South, }
" Pensacola, May 29th, 1818. }

" Major-general Andrew Jackson has found it necessary to take possession of Pensacola. He has not been prompted to this measure from a wish to extend the territorial limits of the

* See Mississippi State Gazette, June 20th, 1818.

United States, or from any unfriendly feeling on the part of the American Republic to the Spanish government. The Seminole Indians, inhabiting the territories of Spain, have, for more than two years past, visited our frontier settlers with all the horrors of savage massacre: helpless women have been butchered, and the cradle stained with the blood of innocence. These atrocities, it was expected, would have early attracted the attention of the Spanish government, and that, faithful to existing treaties, speedy measures would have been adopted for their suppression.

"The obligation to restrain them was acknowledged; but weakness was alleged, with a concession that, so far from being able to control, the Spanish authorities were often compelled, from policy or necessity, to issue munitions of war to these savages, thus enabling, if not exciting, them to raise the tomahawk against us. The immutable laws of self-defense, therefore, compelled the American government to take possession of those parts of the Floridas in which the Spanish authority could not be maintained. Pensacola was found in this situation, and will be held until Spain can furnish military strength sufficient to enforce existing treaties. Spanish subjects will be respected; Spanish laws will govern in all cases affecting property and person; a free toleration to all religions guaranteed, and trade alike free to all nations."

Thus all West Florida was virtually occupied by the American troops; and detachments under Captains Girt and Bowles were sent to scour the country, from the Perdido on the west to the Uche and Holmes's Old Fields on the Chactahatchy. St. Augustine had likewise been occupied by General Gaines, acting under the orders of General Jackson.

Having thus concluded the Seminole war, General Jackson disposed of the regular troops, discharged the friendly Creeks, and marched the Tennessee volunteers home. Thus terminated the Seminole war, leaving all Florida in the occupancy of the United States.

Such was the celerity and decision of all General Jackson's movements. As a forcible writer on the Seminole war, in a Tennessee paper of that year, observes, "General Jackson is a more extraordinary person than has ever appeared in our history. Nature has seldom endowed man with a mind so powerful and comprehensive, or with a body better formed

for activity, or capable of enduring greater privations, fatigue, and hardships. She has been equally kind to him in all the qualities of his heart. General Jackson has no ambition but for the good of his country: it occupies the whole of his views, to the exclusion of all selfish or ignoble considerations. Cradled in the war of the Revolution, nurtured amid the conflicts which subsequently took place between the Cherokees and the Tennesseans, being always among a people who regard the application of force, *not as the ultima ratio regum*, but as the *first* resort of individuals who look upon courage as the greatest of human attributes, his character, on this stormy ocean, has acquired an extraordinary cast of vigor, with a conviction that we should never despair of effecting whatever is within the power of man to accomplish; and that courage, activity, and perseverance can overcome obstacles which, to ordinary minds, appear insuperable. In society, he is kind, frank, unaffected, and hospitable; endowed with much natural grace and politeness, without the mechanical gentility and artificial polish found in fashionable life."*

The course of General Jackson in the occupancy of Florida was severely attacked in Congress by a party of great zeal and activity, at the head of which was Henry Clay, then speaker of the House of Representatives; but the general was fully sustained by the president and his cabinet, and by an overwhelming majority in Congress. The people, from one end of the United States to the other, spoke out, and, through the State Legislatures and public meetings, vindicated the decisive and prompt measures adopted by the defender of the South.

[A.D. 1819.] While these things were transpiring on the southern frontier, the Federal government of the United States, well assured that the possession of the whole of the Floridas was indispensable to the peace and security of the Southern States, had been pressing an urgent negotiation for the purchase of the whole province from Spain. The possession had been restored to Spain, but the negotiation was continued with unremitting perseverance and with increasing firmness on the part of the American government, until the 22d of February, 1819, when a formal treaty of cession was signed on the part of the United States by John Quincy Adams, secretary of State, and on the part of the Spanish crown by Don Onís, res-

* See Mississippi State Gazette, September 9th, 1818.

ident Spanish minister near the American government. This treaty was rejected by the Spanish Cortes at their following session, but was subsequently ratified on the 24th of October, 1820. On the part of the American government, it was confirmed by the Senate on the 22d day of February, 1821.

The treaty stipulated, on the part of Spain, for and in consideration of *five millions of dollars*, paid by the United States to their citizens, as an indemnity due from Spain for spoliations on American commerce, to cede to the United States all the Floridas, with the islands adjacent, from the mouth of the St. Mary's River on the Atlantic coast to the Perdido Bay on the Gulf of Mexico. Under cover of this treaty, for the acquisition of Florida on the part of the United States, the great province of Louisiana was *dismembered*, and the important and extensive region of Texas was transferred to the Spanish crown. The western limit of Louisiana, on the Gulf of Mexico, was removed from the Rio Bravo del Norte, eastward five hundred miles, to the Sabine, without any consideration received on the part of the United States for a territory three times as extensive as the Floridas, and infinitely more valuable.

[A.D. 1821.] In this treaty, President Monroe, reluctantly yielding to the prejudices and interests of Northern politicians, consented to abandon for a time the extensive and fertile country west of the Sabine, in order to conciliate the approbation of the New England States* to the annexation of Florida, well

* From the earliest period of the Western settlements, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789, the jealousy of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, was awakened to the danger of losing her ascendancy in the national government, and in the commercial importance of the country. With this view predominant, they have never failed, when opportunity offered, to embarrass the West in the national councils, and by all means to retard and restrict the extension of its settlements. The same narrow, interested policy induced them to throw every obstacle in the way, to prevent the acquisition of the free navigation of the Mississippi, previous to the treaty of Madrid and subsequently. The same interested policy prompted them to oppose, with great violence, the purchase of Louisiana, "lest," as was unblushingly said, "our New England lands become a desert, from the contagion of emigration;" and because "the politicians of the Northeastern States were anxious to give such a shape to the Union as would secure the dominion over it to its Eastern section."—See Boston Centinel, Nov. 12, 1803.—See, also, Mr. Monroe's letter to Mr. Jefferson in 1820.

When Louisiana was finally acquired in 1803, these states, and Massachusetts especially, threatened to dissolve the Union and recede; in 1814 they desired to surrender to Great Britain the navigation of the Mississippi River, and virtually all beyond. The same policy predominated in the treaty of 1819, in which, to conciliate the New England States, upon the acquisition of Florida, three times as much Western territory was abandoned without equivalent or necessity. Now they acquiesced in being able to detach all beyond the Sabine. Again, in 1845, Massachusetts, through her Legislature, urged the most violent opposition to the annexation of Texas, threatening to se-

assured in his own mind that Texas must inevitably come into the Union whenever the advance of population should demand its use. To insure the respectful acquiescence of the American people, the memory of "the Father of his Country" was invoked at the signing and final ratification of the treaty. And, as if still further to shield himself from popular displeasure, the name of Jackson was to be identified with the acquisition of Florida, as its first governor and military commandant. But the stability of the Union increases with its extension; and a quarter of a century had scarcely elapsed when the American Union, having doubled its population, found its stability unshaken, and the whole of Texas and Florida embraced.

General Jackson, "acquiescing for the present" in the loss of Texas for the acquisition of Florida, repaired to his post; and on the 17th of June, 1821, he took possession of the same in the name of the United States, by the exchange of flags, and the usual formalities.

General Jackson immediately entered upon the duties of his office, as civil and military commandant and governor of Florida, invested by Congress with ample powers, legislative, judicial, and executive.*

From Pensacola, his headquarters, he issued several proclamations and ordinances regulating the administration of public justice. The territory was divided into two judicial districts, which continued to be known as East and West Florida, separated by the Suwanee River instead of the former boundary of the Appalachicola River. A court, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, was established in each.†

By the treaty the Spanish population were allowed a reasonable time to dispose of their estates and personal property previous to their departure, provided they did not wish to remain under the American government.

The American population began to advance rapidly into Florida, by sea from various portions of the Union, and by land from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and from Tennessee. The State of Tennessee had long desired the expulsion of the Spaniards from Florida; hence the Tennessee volunteers had cheerfully entered the campaign under General Jackson, anxious to

cede from the Union, and declaring "that the re-annexation of Texas was a virtual dissolution of the Union."

* Williams's Florida, p. 207.

† Idem, p. 208.

witness and aid in the humiliation of the perfidious Spaniards. They now were among the first to press in and occupy the country wrested from them. Before the close of the year 1822, the greater portion of the Spanish population had retired to Havana and Mexico.

Early in his administration of the government of Florida, Governor Jackson came into collision with the Spanish authorities still remaining in the country. Apprehending a renewal of the evasions and artifices practiced by the Spanish authorities relative to the surrender of the Natchez District in 1798, and relative to the factitious land-titles of Louisiana, Governor Jackson determined, by prompt measures, to suppress any such attempt. Having been informed that the ex-governor, Calleava, was about to transmit to Havana certain documents and archives pertaining to land-titles, in violation of the second article of the treaty of cession, he made a peremptory demand for their surrender, as the property of the United States. The ex-governor refusing to obey the demand, Governor Jackson issued an order for his arrest and confinement in the calaboose, and the documents were seized and taken from his house, where they had been boxed up for shipment. The ex-governor was then released.

Castilian pride was touched, and several Spanish officers, resenting the indignity to their late governor, sent to Governor Jackson a strong remonstrance against his procedure. The governor, considering it an unwarrantable interference with his authority, and highly offensive in language, issued an order for their immediate departure from the country, on pain of imprisonment. Twelve of them were accordingly compelled to sail for Havana, with but little time allowed for settling up their affairs and disposing of their property.*

[A.D. 1822.] General Jackson continued to administer the government, clothed with the general powers of the Spanish governors, until the following year, when the American population having increased to five thousand males, the first grade of territorial government, under the ordinance of 1787, was organized.

Under the new organization, William P. Duval was appointed governor, with a superior court in each district. A legislative council was organized, and held its first session in June,

* Williams's Florida, p. 208.

1822. At this session each district was divided into two counties, viz., West Florida into the counties of Escambia and Jackson, and East Florida into the counties of St. John's and Duval.

[A.D. 1824.] Two years afterward the present site of Tallahassee was selected and laid off as the permanent seat of the territorial government. The counties of Monroe and Gadsden were organized this year, and four other counties were laid off for subsequent organization, viz., the counties of Leon and Walton in West Florida, and Alachua and Nassau in East Florida.

[A.D. 1825.] The American population continued to increase in the principal settlements, and in the vicinity of Pensacola, St. Mark's, and St. Augustine, until the territory became entitled to the *second grade* of territorial government, under the ordinance of 1787. The territory was divided into thirteen election districts, and the people proceeded to elect their legislative assembly, which, having convened soon afterward, elected their first delegate to Congress.

Such had been the mass of emigrants and unacclimated persons into St. Augustine in 1821, that a mild epidemic yellow-fever was generated among the crowded population. The same thing occurred at Pensacola the following year. But it was not until the year 1825 that Pensacola received a dense population of unacclimated emigrants, when a most destructive epidemic yellow fever was generated, and swept off great numbers of the crowded population.

The native tribes of Indians still occupied the greater portion of the country, while the white settlements were concentrated in the vicinities of Pensacola, St. Mark's, Tallahassee, and St. Augustine. On the eighteenth of September, 1823, the Seminoles had, by the treaty of Moultrie Creek, ceded a large portion of lands in Middle Florida, and had agreed to retire south and east, upon the lands lying east of the Suwanee, and upon the Ocklawaha and Withlacoochy Rivers, preparatory to their final emigration from the territory. Thus the middle region of Florida gradually became open to the extension of the white settlements, and the Indians were mostly removed in the winter of 1824, excepting a few reservations to particular chiefs.*

* See Williams's Florida, p. 214.

[A.D. 1835.] The Mickasukie Indians had always been averse to leaving Middle Florida, and they had opposed the treaty of Moultrie Creek. After their removal in 1824, they still evinced great dissatisfaction, which induced the Federal government to extend the limits assigned them on the north, and to furnish them additional supplies, besides those already stipulated. Still they continued dissatisfied, and many of them, in 1835-6, became disposed to emigrate west of the Mississippi. Difficulties began to spring up between them and the white settlements, and the Indians, in revenge, began to commit depredations and murders upon the exposed frontiers. They began to kill or expel the agents of the army, the surveyors of the government, and the mail-carriers, and others who had frequented their country.

At length it was deemed prudent to station a strong military force within the Indian territory, to restrain the violence of the discontented. Fourteen companies of regular troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march from different posts to Florida during the winter of 1835-6.

Most of these detachments, entering the country at different points, were greatly annoyed in their advance by bodies of Indians, who determined to dispute the passage of the streams and rivers. Hence several severe skirmishes occurred before they reached the points of their destination.

The most terrible of these ambushes was that encountered by the ill-fated but brave detachment under Major Dade, which was totally cut off by the savages. Major Dade, on the 24th of December, 1835, marched from Tampa Bay with a detachment of three companies, comprising one hundred and thirty-nine men, for Fort King.* On the route they encountered much difficulty, from the heavy roads, in transporting their stores, and one piece of artillery. On the 28th they had reached an open pine country, six miles northeast of the Withlacoochy River. Suddenly, about mid-day, they were attacked on all sides with a continuous volley of small arms, accompanied by horrid yells, from an unseen enemy in the high grass; and so terrible was the first discharge, that Major Dade was killed, and nearly half his detachment disabled. The remainder, under Lieutenant Bassinger, sheltered themselves behind trees, while five or six discharges of canister from the

* Williams's Florida, p. 217, 218.

six pounder caused the Indians to disperse and retire. On their retreat, Captain Gardiner immediately commenced the erection of a triangular breast-work, by cutting down pine trees. In three quarters of an hour the savages returned in great numbers and with horrid yells. A cross-fire was immediately opened upon the unfinished breast-work with dreadful execution. Lieutenant Bassinger continued to fire his piece until all his artillerists were cut down by the enemy's fire, and until he fell wounded himself. Every man able to raise a gun continued to defend the spot after they were wounded.

At length the last man fell, when the savages rushed into the inclosure. Here, supposing all were dead, a large Indian made a speech to the warriors, who immediately proceeded to strip the arms and accoutrements from the soldiers, without any indignity to their bodies, and then retired. Thus in two hours ~~this~~ fine detachment of brave men had been annihilated.

Soon afterward, fifty negroes on horseback rode up to the breast-work, tied their horses, and began the horrid butchery. Did any man on the ground show signs of life, it was only to receive the negro's tomahawk into his brains, or to be stabbed to death with their knives, or otherwise to be cut and mutilated by the thick-lipped savages, amid demoniac yells and horrid blasphemies. Lieutenant Bassinger, still alive, sprung to his knees and begged his life of the negro savages; but they mocked his prayers, and mangled his body with their hatchets until death relieved him from their tortures.

After stripping the dead, the negroes dragged the field-piece to a neighboring pond, in which they concealed it; after which they shot the oxen, and burned the wagon and gun-carriage.

Two men, Clarke and Decouy, lay concealed among the dead bodies until night, when they crawled out and made their way toward Tampa Bay.* Next day Decouy was discovered and shot by an Indian; Clarke concealed himself in the bushes, and proceeded to Tampa next day, where he speedily recovered of his wounds. Another soldier, named Thomas, after lying half suffocated under the dead bodies all night, recovered, and finally succeeded in reaching the fort at Tampa Bay in safety.

Thus terminated this disastrous battle, in which only two

* Williams's Florida, p. 219.

men survived to tell the melancholy story of this detachment of as brave men as ever suffered under savage cruelty.

A free negro, named Lewis, formerly the property of General Clinch, had been the guide of Major Dade, and it was through his treachery that this fatal ambushade succeeded. He fled to the Indians upon the first attack. The number of Indians engaged in this tragedy is unknown; but probably there were not less than three hundred, besides fifty negroes. They were commanded by Jumper and Micanopy. The officers slain in this massacre were Major Dade, Captain Frazier, Captain Gardiner, Lieutenant Bassinger, Lieutenant Mudge, Lieutenant Keys, Lieutenant Henderson, and Doctor Catlin.

On the same day that Major Dade was cut off, the Seminole chief, Powell, with twenty men, advanced to Fort King, and, within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, killed the sutler to the fort, Erastus Rodgers, and a party of friends, while at dinner. Among those slain with Rodgers were Suggs, Hitzler, General Wiley Thompson, the Indian agent, and Lieutenant Constantine Smith. Four others escaped. The body of General Thompson was pierced by fifteen balls, and that of Rodgers by sixteen, and their bodies were horribly mangled and mutilated afterward.

This was the commencement of the noted "Florida War," which cost the government much time and money before the savages were finally all taken and transported to their western homes, after many severe engagements, skirmishes, and individual rencounters. The government determined to press the war until the whole race should be removed or exterminated from Florida. The militia of Florida and Georgia were immediately called into service to protect the frontier settlements.

[A.D. 1836.] From this time the Federal government urged the war with vigor; the Indians were pursued and hunted from every point of the peninsula, and captured by families, by masses, and by surrender, and in every possible manner, during the next four years. Those who were captured or who surrendered were kept securely at the different posts, and sent by steam-boat loads under armed guards to their destination in the territory appropriated for the Indian tribes in the Far West, north of Red River.

[A.D. 1839.] The Florida war was prosecuted with varied

success, and chiefly south of the Suwanee River, until the year 1839, when it was terminated by the capture or surrender of the last remnant of the hostile tribes. During this period, the commanders of the United States forces had captured or received the voluntary surrender of warriors and families to the number of three thousand eight hundred and thirty souls, which were provided with all the necessaries and comforts of savage life, until they were finally removed by agents of the United States to the Indian territory west of the State of Arkansas.

[A.D. 1840.] From this time the occupancy of Florida by every portion of the Creek and Seminole Indians terminated, and the whole country was in the undisputed possession of the United States, and free to the advance of the white population, and the extension of settlements into the former Indian territory.

In 1839 the population had gradually increased under the territorial form of government, until the entire number, including slaves, amounted to nearly fifty thousand souls. The territorial jurisdiction had been extended over the whole territory, which had been divided into twenty organized counties, which were comprised in five judicial districts of the Federal court.*

The increase of population during the last ten years had been rapid, notwithstanding the dangers from Indian hostilities. The census of 1830 gave the entire population, exclusive of Indians, at 34,723 souls; and that of 1840 gave an aggregate of 54,477 souls, including 26,500 slaves and free negroes, the Indian tribes having been entirely removed.

Meantime the people of Florida had been desirous of establishing a state government, preparatory to admission into the Federal Union as an independent state. The territorial Legislature of 1838, representing the wishes of the people, had memorialized Congress for authority to form a state constitution. An act of Congress authorized the election of a convention for that purpose. On the 11th of January, 1839, the convention at Tallahassee adopted a constitution for the organization of a state government, which was duly submitted to the consideration of Congress. The general feature of this constitution was similar in its provisions to those of the slave-holding states, and, of course, legalized the bondage of the negro race within the limits of the proposed new state. In this re-

* See American Almanac for 1844, p. 291.

spect the constitution for Florida was more rigid than many other slave-holding states, prohibiting forever the emancipation of any negro slave in the state.

But the people of Florida were not permitted so soon to assume state sovereignty. There were features in the constitution designed to protect Southern rights and Southern interests, which necessarily encountered a strong opposition from Northern interests and feelings. The fact of the proposed new state being a Southern one, and a slave-holding one in its most rigid sense, created in the national Legislature a strong opposition to its admission into the Union as an independent state with less than thirty thousand free whites. Hence, Northern influences and prejudices were strongly arrayed against the measure; and they were sufficiently powerful to defeat the admission of the new state for nearly five years after it was constitutionally and legally entitled to assume the rank of an independent state.

[A.D. 1845.] During this time, the territorial government had continued in operation under the wise and judicious administration of Governor Richard C. Call, and his successor, Governor John Branch. In 1845, the population had greatly increased its numbers, so as to remove the opposition created by want of free white citizens; and a bill for the admission of "Iowa," a northern free state, coming before Congress, the friends of Florida rallied, and, by including Florida with Iowa in the same bill, succeeded in securing the passage of a joint resolution which made Florida an independent state. The act for the admission of both Iowa and Florida as independent states was approved March the 3d, 1845.* The Legislature of Florida accepted the act of Congress, with its conditions, and immediately Florida was an "independent state," upon an equal footing with the original states.

The limits and boundaries of Florida remain the same that were recognized while it was a province of Spain, and with which it was ceded to the United States in 1819.

Meantime Iowa remained without the pale of the Union, under the territorial form of government. The limits prescribed in her constitution having been restricted by Congress, the Legislature declined to accept the terms of admission, and submitted the decision to the vote of the people. The general

* See Acts of second session of the 28th Congress.

election held soon afterward confirmed the rejection of the terms by a large majority of the votes.

Florida became an independent state just twenty-four years after it became a territory of the United States. The same year witnessed the admission of Texas as an independent state of the American Union, and extending the Federal jurisdiction to the Rio del Norte; while Iowa, in the extreme north, was yet a territorial dependence. Strange that Texas, which was exchanged for Florida in 1819, should enter the Union simultaneously with it in 1845 as an independent state.*

The first general assembly of the State of Florida was convened at Tallahassee on the 23d of June, when James A. Berthelet, of Leon county, was unanimously elected president of the Senate, and Hugh Archer, of the same county, was also unanimously elected speaker of the House of Representatives; Thomas F. King was clerk of the Senate, and M. D. Papy, chief clerk of the Lower House. Both houses, soon after their organization, adopted resolutions in honor of the memory, and commemorating the death, of its first American governor, General Andrew Jackson.

The first executive of the state, Governor Mosely, was installed into office on the 25th of June, with all the solemnity of civic honors. His inaugural was strongly characterized by its pure Republican principles; while a banner presented and borne by the citizens as a temporary state flag, bearing the orange stripe of Florida, responded to the sentiment in the inscription, "Let us alone."†

The first session of the General Assembly continued until the 26th of July; no attempt at legislation was made further than what was necessary to put the machinery of state government in operation.‡

* See book v., chap. xvii., "Re-annexation of Texas."

† Weekly Union, No. 10, p. 148.

‡ Idem, August 23d, 1845.

BOOK II.

FRANCE IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

CHAPTER I.

ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH UPON THE ST. LAWRENCE, AND DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—A.D. 1608 TO 1673.

Argument.—First Attempt of French Colonization in Canada.—First successful Settlement by Champlain in 1608.—His Explorations on the St. Lawrence and Lakes.—Indian Alliances against the Iroquois.—Advance of Catholic Missionaries.—Hostilities of the Iroquois.—Fathers Brebeuf and Daniel visit Sault St. Mary in 1634.—Character of Catholic Missionaries in Canada.—Sufferings of Raymbault among the Iroquois in 1642.—Of Father Breasani in 1643.—The Missionaries sustain the Colonies.—Death of Father Jouges among the Iroquois in 1646.—Others suffer Martyrdom in the same Field.—Jesuits and Monks flock to Canada in 1650 for the Missionary Field.—Le Moyne among the Mohawks in 1656.—Chaumonot and Dablon among the Onondagas.—René Mesnard among the Cayugas.—Missionaries killed and expelled by the Iroquois.—Montreal a Bishop's See in 1658.—Mesnard repairs to St. Mary's and Green Bay.—Dies in the Forest alone.—Canada a Royal Province in 1665.—Military Protection of Settlements.—Father Allouez among the Chippewas at St. Mary's.—Learns the Existence of the Mississippi in 1667.—Dablon and Marquette repair to St. Mary's in 1668.—Military Outposts of New France in 1670.—Missions in the Far West.—Marquette conceives the Design of discovering the Mississippi.—Plans his Voyage of Discovery in 1672.—M. Talon patronizes the Enterprise.—Marquette and Joliet conduct the Exploration in 1673.—They proceed by Way of Green Bay and Fox River to the Wisconsin.—Discovery of the Mississippi, June 17th, 1673.—Explore the Great River 1100 Miles.—They return by the Illinois River to Chicago Creek.—Marquette returns to his Mission, and Joliet to Quebec.—Joy in Canada at the Discovery.—Native Tribes known to the early Explorers of Illinois and Louisiana: Algonquin Tribes; Shawanese; Miami; Illinois; Potawatamies; Ottawas; Menomones; Chippewas; Sioux; Sauks and Foxes; Chickasas; Natchez; Choctas.

As early as the year 1535, before De Soto arrived in Florida, the French had made several unsuccessful attempts to form settlements along the northeast coast of North America. The same year Jacques Cartier conducted an exploring expedition to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He ascended the great river of the North as far as the Island of Orleans. He first called the spacious gulf into which the river discharged the "Gulf of St. Lawrence;" the name has since been extended to the whole river. The country along both shores he also first called "New France." Six years afterward, Cartier and La Roche de Robertval led out a colony from France, to form a settlement in the newly-discovered country. They failed in the attempt. The inclemency of the climate and the hostility of the natives defeated all their plans. For several

years afterward, other colonies were led out to form settlements along the shores of the St. Lawrence, as well as upon the Atlantic coast, south and southwest of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and known as "Acadie" and "Cape Breton;" yet such was the inclemency of the climate and the fierceness of the Indian tribes, that the colonists were compelled to abandon their settlements, or submit to perish of hunger, or die by the hand of the savages.

[A.D. 1608.] France had been too much involved in wars in Europe to expend her resources in making explorations and settlements in distant, unknown regions. More than sixty years had elapsed after Cartier's first voyage up the St. Lawrence, when the spirit of adventure revived in France. Again men were found willing to tempt the rigors of the climate and the dangers of those inhospitable regions. A colony was conducted by Samuel Champlain to the shores of the St. Lawrence. A bold and experienced mariner, he advanced up that river, in the summer of 1608, about three hundred and sixty miles, to the Island of Orleans.* The same summer, in July, he cleared the ground, and erected a few cabins to shelter his little colony from the rigors of a Canadian winter. This was the foundation of the city of Quebec, which was contemporaneous with the first settlement in Virginia, upon James's River.

The same year, Champlain, in hopes of securing the friendship and confidence of the Huron and Algonquin tribes, was induced to aid them, with a few of his troops, in a war expedition against the Iroquois confederacy, then inhabiting the country south of the St. Lawrence, on both sides of the lake, which still perpetuates his name. The Hurons and Algonquins inhabited the northern shores of the St. Lawrence and of Lake Ontario. With the aid of the French soldiers, they obtained a victory over their enemies, near the Sorel River. By this means Champlain secured the friendship of the Algon-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 38, octavo edition of 1827.

This is a valuable repository of many historical events and transactions connected with the early history of the settlements in the provinces of New France and Louisiana. The author, Judge François Xavier Martin, has evinced much research in collecting the incidents of the early history of these provinces; but he has not been clear and concise in his arrangement, which is often defective and irregular. The work preserves the character of annals, although, from a want of strict care in the author, or negligence in the printer, events are often detailed under erroneous years; and the reader is apt to be confused, or misled by erroneous dates. Not writing in his native tongue, the author could not be expected to conform to the strict idiom of the English language. He has, however, left us a valuable store-house for the future historian.

quin tribes for his people, but entailed upon their descendants, for ninety years, the implacable hostility of the more warlike Iroquois.*

[A.D. 1615.] Difficulties and privations innumerable awaited the feeble colony, but fortitude and perseverance sustained them through the darkest hour. Each closing year brought them additional emigrants, and their numbers slowly increased. Restricted in their advances south of the St. Lawrence, the colony was confined to the rigorous climate of Québec; yet Champlain, before the close of the year 1615, had explored Lake Huron by way of the Ottawa River and lakes. Fourteen years after the settlement was made, the city of Quebec was a small hamlet containing but fifty inhabitants, men, women, and children. Six years later, Quebec contained only one hundred souls, upon the point of starvation, whose only wealth was a few furs and peltries purchased of the Indians.

[A.D. 1628.] For many years after their first settlement, Champlain continued to conduct the affairs of the little colony. When Iroquois hostilities did not prevent, he explored the regions and rivers for many miles on both sides of the St. Lawrence, and even to the southern extremity of Lake Champlain. Every year found his little colony slowly increasing in numbers, and their settlements gradually but slowly extending.

[A.D. 1632.] But it was impossible to advance settlements into the wilderness without the aid of that spirit of meekness, benevolence, and perseverance which characterized the early missionaries of the Catholic Church in this part of America.

The genius of Champlain, whose comprehensive mind planned enduring establishments for French commerce, and a career of discovery that should carry the lilies of the Bourbons to the extremity of North America, could devise no method of building up the dominion of France in Canada but an alliance with the Hurons, or of confirming that alliance by the establishment of missions. "Such a policy was congenial to the

* Champlain had been many years engaged as a mariner in exploring the northern coasts near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, comprising the provinces now known as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton, south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which were embraced in a grant made by Henry IV. of France to a company of merchants, and others of Rouen, of whom Pontgrave and Chauvin were principal. In 1608, Samuel Champlain conducted a colony up the St. Lawrence, and on the third of July laid the foundation of Quebec. Champlain for many years afterward superintended the colony, and in 1613 had advanced his settlements up the river and laid out Montreal. See Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 34-39, and 45.

Catholic Church, and was favored by the conditions of the charter itself, which recognized the neophyte among the savages as an enfranchised citizen of France." "Thus it was neither commercial enterprise nor royal ambition which carried the power of France into the heart of our Continent: the motive was religion."*

[A.D. 1633.] In 1633, twenty-five years after the first settlement, Champlain was still governor of New France. The colony, notwithstanding its gradual increase, encountered dangers and privations under the most adverse circumstances. The inclemency of the climate enabled them to procure but scanty sustenance from the soil, and the constant state of hostilities among the great powers of Europe cut off all supplies from the mother country. Nor was this all: the early enmity of the Iroquois continued to increase. Seldom did a single year pass without some hostile incursion or depredation upon the settlements, from Quebec to Montreal.

Water-courses, lakes, and rivers are the high-ways of Nature; and especially to uncivilized man, or to civilized man beyond the reach of civilization, they are favorite routes. To those who have no axes, the thick jungle is impervious; emigration by water suits the genius of civilized life no less than the savage; canoes are older than wagons, and ships than chariots; a gulf, a strait, the sea intervening between islands, divide less than the matted forest. Civilized man, no less than the savage, emigrates by sea and by rivers; and in America he has advanced from Cape Breton to Fon du Lac, and from the coast of Florida he has ascended the Mississippi, two thousand miles above the mouth of the Missouri, while interior portions of New York and Ohio were still a wilderness. To man beyond the reach of civilization, no path is free but the sea, the lake, or the river.

[A.D. 1634.] As early as the year 1634, the French Jesuits, Brebeuf and Daniel, had penetrated the dangerous wilds as far as the Straits of St. Mary and the southern shore of Lake Superior. Their avenue to the West was by the Ottawa and French Rivers of Lower Canada. At that time, and for forty years afterward, the continued hostilities of the Five Nations,

* See Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii., p. 121; also p. 337. This is a work of rare merit; and to the eloquent author we are indebted for much valuable historical matter pertaining to the early settlements of France in North America. In the following chapters we have made free extracts from his excellent pages.

and especially of the Mohawks, had excluded the French from the navigation of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. All the country south of Lakes Ontario and Erie was unknown, except as the abode of their implacable enemies. On Lake Erie the French had not lunched even a canoe, for the war parties of the Iroquois occupied all the avenues near the lakes, and death was the forfeit of the adventurous missionary and trader south of Ontario.

"Within three years after the second occupation of Canada, the number of Jesuit priests in the province reached fifteen; and every tradition bears testimony to their worth. They had the faults of ascetic superstition, but the horrors of a Canadian life in the wilderness were resisted by an invincible, passive courage, and a deep, internal tranquillity. Away from the amenities of life, away from the opportunities of vain-glory, they became dead to the world, and possessed their souls in unalterable peace."*

[A.D. 1636.] The unwearied Jesuits of the Catholic Church were always in advance of civilization. "The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a river was entered, not a cape was turned, but a Jesuit led the way."†

[A.D. 1640]. Although certain privation and suffering were their lot, and martyrdom might be the crown of their labors, they ventured into the remotest regions and among the most warlike tribes. In the autumn of 1640, Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart advanced to the Huron missions, destined for service among the Algonquins of the north and west. Although the continual wars of the Mohawks, or the Five Nations, completely excluded them from the route of the southern lakes, the unwearied missionaries of the Catholic Church continued to penetrate a thousand miles by the northern route to the west, among the remote Algonquin tribes, and already missionary stations had been formed upon the northern shores of Lake Huron.‡

The route to the west passed over by Brebeuf and the early missionaries was more than three hundred leagues from Quebec, by the Ottawa River, to the Straits of St. Mary. This avenue led "through a region horrible with forests. All day long they must wade or handle the oar. At five-and-thirty

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 122.

† Idem, p. 122.

‡ Idem, p. 145.

water-falls the canoes were to be carried on the shoulders for leagues through thickest woods and over the roughest regions ; fifty times they were to be dragged by hand through shallows and rapids over sharpest stones.*

Nor were the privations of heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and disease all they had to encounter. The hostilities of the Iroquois were more terrible than all these. The advantages of a western route, by way of Lakes Ontario and Erie, were early seen by the missionaries ; but the fixed hostility and the power of the Five Nations left no hope of success for gaining a safe intercourse by the St. Lawrence.

[A.D. 1641.] The following autumn, Charles Raymbault, having visited Quebec, proceeded by the Ottawa route, in company with Isaac Jougès, to the Straits of St. Mary, to establish a mission at that point. The former died soon afterward, the victim of a lingering consumption ; the latter was captured the following year by the Mohawks upon the St. Lawrence as he returned from Quebec to St. Mary's. Carried prisoner to the banks of the Mohawk River, he suffered all the tortures which Indian vengeance could inflict upon their enemies. "In several villages he was compelled to run the gantlet, and tortured with hunger and thirst, and every torment which petulant youth could inflict. Surviving all these, he was retained a captive until humanely ransomed by the Dutch on Hudson's River."

[A.D. 1643.] A similar fate awaited Father Bressani. Taken prisoner while on his way to the Hurons ; beaten, mangled, mutilated ; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briers and thickets ; scourged by a whole village ; burned, tortured, and scarred, he was an eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life, and he, too, was humanely rescued by the Dutch.†

Such were the horrors which the French encountered from the Iroquois in their first attempts to penetrate to the West ; but the fearless Jesuit led the way, and finally, after the lapse of more than half a century, gained the friendship of the warlike Five Nations.

[A.D. 1646.] The whole strength of the colony lay in the missions. The government was weakened by the royal jealousy ; the population hardly increased ; there was no military

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 122.

† *Ibid.*, p. 124.

force; and the trading company deriving no revenue, except from Indian trade and traffic in skins, could make no great expenditures for defense, or for promoting colonization. Thus the missionaries were left almost alone to contend with the myriads of braves who roamed over the basin of the St. Lawrence. Many had lost their lives in the wilderness, victims of savage cruelty, or of hunger, cold, and the dangers of the western wilds.*

[A.D. 1647.] Father Jougès, sacrificing his life to an effort to reconcile the Iroquois, volunteered as an envoy of peace to the Mohawks. He arrived in peace among them, but soon afterward was killed by them as an enchanter, who had blighted their fields. The death-blow he received with tranquillity; his head was hung upon the palisades of the village, and his body thrown into the Mohawk River.†

[A.D. 1649.] This was the signal of war, and the following year the missionary villages of the French along the St. Lawrence and Ottawâ were destroyed, and their inmates cruelly murdered, or tortured by fire unto death. The hostile incursions of the Iroquois for five years against the settlements upon the St. Lawrence, as well as upon the Ottawâ and Lake Huron, were terrible and destructive. Many were butchered in the general carnage, and others were reserved for the lingering tortures of the slow fire. Among these, the intrepid and meek Brebeuf and Lallemand suffered tortures indescribable.

[A.D. 1650.] Thus had the Jesuits penetrated into the country on the south side of Lake Ontario, where they had gained a precarious and dangerous field of operations, and where martyrdom might have been deemed the certain test of their zeal. But instead of being discouraged at the prospect of suffering and death, the enthusiasm of all France seemed to have awakened to the vast field now opened in New France for the triumphs of the cross, in the conversion of savage tribes, who roamed in the remote wilds beyond the Western lakes. Jesuits and monks of every order began to flock to Quebec and Montreal, ready to commence the work of Christian benevolence.

[A.D. 1655.] At length the Iroquois themselves seemed wearied of the strife, and manifested a willingness for peace and friendship with the French. The Jesuits lost no opportunity of introducing Christianity and its benign doctrines among

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 137.

† *Ibid.*, p. 138.

their warlike and vindictive tribes: the first opening which presented for the accomplishment of so desirable an object was seized with ardor by the devoted missionaries of the cross, ever ready to brave new dangers and new privations. With all her deformities, let us yet pay a merited tribute to the Church of Rome. Zealous, earnest, untiring in her efforts to evangelize the world, she carried the cross forward, she rallied around it; for there were pure spirits in the midst of her; men full of the power of God and holiness, who practically illustrated the doctrines they taught; and well might the Protestant world be counseled by the Catholic, in the vigor with which his missionary operations were conducted among the untutored savages.

[A.D. 1656.] La Moynes had settled himself upon the banks of the Mohawk, selecting this river for his abode, in the vain hope of infusing the gentle spirit of civilization into the savage nature of the Mohawk tribe. Chaumonot, an Italian priest, and Claude Dablon, a missionary from France, were hospitably welcomed to the principal village of the Onondagas. A general convocation of the tribe greeted them with joy and songs of welcome, as the bearers of a "heavenly message." A chapel at once sprung into existence, formed by hewed logs, and hung with bark and mats; and there, in the heart of New York, the solemn services of the Roman Church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom. The Onondagas dwelt upon the Oswego River, and its basin was deemed a part of the dominions of France.*

A colony of fifty Frenchmen soon embarked for Onondaga, and received a hearty welcome from the rejoicing Indians. The Cayugas also desired a missionary, and they received the fearless René Mesnard. In their village a chapel was erected, with mats for tapestry, and there the pictures of the Savior and the Virgin Mother were unfolded to the admiring children of the wilderness.

[A.D. 1657.] The Oneidas also listened to the missionary, and early in the year 1657 Chaumonot reached the more fertile and more densely populated land of the Senecas; and the influence of France and the missionaries was felt from the Mohawk to the Genesee River.†

But the savage nature of the tribes was unchanged. A war

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 144.

† Idem, p. 144.

of extermination at this very time was waged by the Iroquois against the Eries, a nation in the northern portion of the present State of Ohio. Prisoners were brought home to the villages and delivered to the flames; and what could the missionaries expect from nations who could burn even children, with the refinements of tortures? Yet they pressed in the steps of their countrymen, who had been boiled and roasted; they made their home among cannibals; hunger, and thirst, and nakedness were to be endured, and fever and sickness had already visited their little colony.*

[A.D. 1658.] It was not until the colony in New France was fifty years old, that it possessed sufficient strength to repel successfully the incursions of their southern enemies. In 1659, the settlements about Montreal were deemed sufficiently secure to be erected into a bishop's see. The same year, Francis de Leval, as bishop of Montreal, arrived with a large supply of ecclesiastics from France. These were exclusive of the Jesuits and recollét monks, who, up to this time, were the only spiritual guides in the province. A seminary under the bishop's charge was established at Montreal, and another at Quebec.† The Church of Rome was established in the center of New France. The rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church were extended to the remote West. The monk, by acts of self-denial, sought salvation for himself; the Jesuit plunged into the secular affairs of men, to maintain the interests of the Church.

The Franciscan, as a mendicant order, being excluded from the newly-discovered world, the office of converting the natives of New France was intrusted to the Jesuits; and their missionaries continued to defy every danger and to endure every toil. The pleasures of life and the opportunities of vain-glory were too remote to influence their lives or to affect their character.

Yet the missionaries could not control the angry passions of men. Border collisions again broke out: the Oneidas murdered three Frenchmen, and the French retaliated by seizing Iroquois. A conspiracy among the Onondagas compelled the French to abandon their chapel, their cabins, and their dwellings in the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return, and the French and the Five Nations were once more at war. Such was the issue of the most successful attempt at French colonization in western New York as late as

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 145.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 65, 66.

1660. The extension of British power over the Dutch of New Amsterdam was a guarantee that France could never regain the mastery. Many zealous missionaries terminated their courageous course and their lives in all the agonies of Indian torture, but with unwavering confidence in God.

[A.D. 1660.] The Iroquois, in the mean time, aided by European arms received from Albany, had exterminated the Eries, and had carried their conquests as far as the Miamis. The western tribes desired commerce; and, forced by the necessity of the case, sought an alliance with the French, that they might be enabled to resist the Iroquois. The French traders had penetrated as far west as Lake Superior and Green Bay; and a deputation of three hundred Algonquins, in sixty canoes, laden with peltry, returned with them to Quebec. Jesuit missionaries were commissioned to form alliances with the numerous tribes in the remote West. The Bishop of Quebec, Francis de Leval himself, kindled with zeal to engage in the mission to the remote tribes; but the lot fell upon René Mesnard. Every personal motive seemed to retain him at Quebec, but "powerful instincts" impelled him to the enterprise.

"Obedient to his vows, the aged man entered upon the path that was red with the blood of his predecessors, and made haste to scatter the seeds of truth through the wilderness, although the sower cast his seed in weeping."

After a residence of eight months among the tribes on the southern shore of Lake Superior, he yielded to the invitations of the Hurons in the Isle of St. Michael, and departed with one attendant for the Bay of Chegoimegon. On his route, while his attendant was engaged in transporting a canoe across the portage of the Kawena Lake, he was lost in the forest, and was never again seen. Long afterward, the cassock and breviary of René Mesnard were kept as amulets among the Sioux.

As late as 1660, such were the horrors and the vengeance of the Iroquois, aided by their English allies, that the settlements upon the St. Lawrence had well-nigh been abandoned. The missionary spirit alone prevented that result, and subsequently prevailed in acquiring for the French the friendship and alliance of the Five Nations.

[A.D. 1662.] Peace with the Five Nations was at length partially confirmed, and the missionaries had resumed their efforts to form a mission among the Iroquois, but the Mohawks would

not be appeased, and Montreal was not safe. The "Hundred Associates," to whom New France had been committed, resolved to surrender the province to the king. Under the auspices of Colbert, it was conceded to the company of the West Indies. After various efforts at fit appointments, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France first protected by a royal regiment, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as viceroy; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor, and with M. Talon, a man of business and integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs.*

[A.D. 1665.] The war with the Iroquois was to be renewed with more vigor when the emergency might require it, and the savages soon found the power of the French on the St. Lawrence was to be feared and conciliated.

From the year 1664 the colony in New France began to gain a footing on the south side of the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois began to recede from the shores of that river, and from those of Lake Champlain. French settlements began to extend up the Chambly, or Sorel River, and trading posts were established on the east side of Lake Champlain, and south of the Upper St. Lawrence, and within the limits of the present state of New York.† By the year 1665, small French settlements, or trading posts, extended as far south as Lake George; several years previously, a fort had been erected upon the Chambly River to check the incursions of the Iroquois upon Quebec by that route. This had broken up their incursions from that quarter, but they soon found new routes to the settlements on the St. Lawrence. In these, also, they were met and checked by forts. They next sought the route by way of Lake Ontario, and down the St. Lawrence. Their approach to the settlements was always by water in their war-canoes, through the lakes and tributary streams of the St. Lawrence. To command the St. Lawrence against their incursions from Lake Ontario, Fort Cataracoui was subsequently built in 1670, near the present site of Kingston, in Upper Canada, and near the point where the river flows from the lake.

[A.D. 1669.] For two years past, Father Claude Allouez, who had embarked by the way of the Ottawâ, had been on the southern shores of Lake Superior, and had extended his inquiries and missionary labors among the Chippewas; had instituted

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 72.

† Idem, p. 73.

peace between them and the Sioux; and with the Potawatamies, Sacs, and Foxes, who flocked to him, he had formed the basis of a lasting alliance of commerce, and mutual defense against the Iroquois. He had also learned from the remote tribes of a great river further to the west, known by the natives as the *Mesissippi*, or "Great River," which, as yet, no Frenchman had seen.

Allouez now returned to Quebec to urge the establishment of permanent missions, which should be accompanied by little colonies of French emigrants, who were willing to venture into the remote West upon the shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan.

Peace now prevailed, and favored the progress of the French dominion; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France, and among them was James Marquette. Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Chippewas, at the "Sault," to establish the mission of St. Marie. This formed the oldest settlement by Europeans within the present limits of Michigan.* A mission was also opened at Green Bay, still further west. In this remote region these devoted missionaries remained, "mingling happiness with suffering, and winning enduring glory by their fearless perseverance."†

[A.D. 1670.] Such had been the continued hostility of the Iroquois tribes until late in the seventeenth century, aided and excited by the English colonies of New England and New York, that the French missions and settlements had extended more than a thousand miles westward on the lakes, and even to the Mississippi, fifteen hundred miles west of Quebec, before they had extended one hundred miles south and east of the St. Lawrence. Surprising as it may appear to the reader, still it is nevertheless true, that the French colonies in the Illinois country, and upon the Wabash, were carrying on a profitable trade with the settlements on the Lower Mississippi, and about Mobile, before a permanent settlement had been effected on the southern shores of Lake Champlain. About the time that Fort Cataracoui was built near the outlet of Lake Ontario, traders and voyagers had begun to penetrate the Chambly River to Lake Champlain. Fifty years elapsed from that time before the French settlements extended as far south as Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Then they began to settle west of the Green Mountains, and on the eastern shore of Champlain.

* Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 152.

† Idem, p. 150-152.

To the east they could see the towering peaks of the Green Mountains, "Verd Monts," from which the State of Vermont takes its name.

The colony of New France had now increased to eight thousand souls, chiefly settled on the St. Lawrence, from Quebec to within one hundred miles of Lake Ontario. For many years Fort Cataracoui remained a remote frontier post; but traders and *voyageurs* began to visit the remote tribes of the West on the southern shores of the great lakes, as far as the western limit of the present State of Ohio. In those remote regions the native tribes were less hostile, and were well disposed to receive and trade with the French, who soon penetrated in their trading voyages as far as Lake Michigan and Green Bay. The Jesuits, or Catholic missionaries, were always in advance of the trading establishments. As early as 1660, one year after the arrival of the Bishop of Montreal, they had penetrated as far as the Straits of Mackinac, where they now pursued the even tenor of their way among the benighted children of the forest. Each missionary had collected around him a few converted Indians, who gladly received their affectionate instructions in the elements of Catholic faith. By their kind offices and paternal regard, no less than by their pious and unostentatious benevolence, they gained the confidence of the Indians, and prepared the way for their more worldly-minded countrymen. Although from these western tribes, as before observed, the missionaries had learned, in 1667, that still further to the west was an extensive and delightful region, beyond which was a great river, known to them as the *Mesissippi*, or "Great River," yet of this great river, and the regions near it, the missionaries could obtain but imperfect accounts; they could not learn to what point it flowed, nor into what sea it discharged; but they ascertained "that it flowed neither toward the north nor toward the east."* The Count de Frontenac this year entered upon his duties as Governor of New France, and successor of M. Courcelles.

As yet, no Frenchman had ever advanced beyond Fox River of Green Bay. All beyond was a region of romance, unknown or mystified by Indian tradition. The ardent entertained hopes that the great river might afford an easy and direct route to China, or, at least, into the South Pacific Ocean. This was

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 76.

one of the bubbles of the age. Every nation of Western Europe had been enthusiastic with the hope of discovering a direct route by water to China, and all had searched for it in vain. It was believed by some that the pioneers of New France would have all the glory of the great discovery, and be the first to reap the advantages of the direct trade. To the disappointment of the commercial world, this route still remains as much unknown as it was two hundred years ago; and such it will remain until it is opened by way of the Oregon River or the Bay of California.

[A.D. 1672.] "The purpose of discovering the Mississippi sprung from Marquette himself. He had resolved on attempting it in the autumn of 1669, and had selected a young Illinois as his companion; and, by his instruction, he became familiar with the dialect of that tribe."* His proposed discovery of the great river of the West had been favorably received by the intendant of New France, who was willing to aid him in the enterprise.

[A.D. 1673.] At length, M. Talon, the first intendant, was on the point of retiring to France, after a long and useful service in the province. Ambitious to close his career with the brilliant discovery of the great storied river of the West, he determined to set on foot an expedition to this effect. For this purpose, he selected M. Joliet, a trader of Quebec, to conduct the enterprise. He was a man of intelligence and great experience in Indian affairs, and possessed an enterprising and energetic spirit. Father Marquette, a recoll  t monk, and still a missionary among the Hurons, was likewise engaged to accompany the expedition. He was the very soul of the enterprise, to insure a favorable reception among the distant tribes. He had long been among the Indians; a thousand miles in advance of civilization; he knew well their manners, feelings, and language, and how to conciliate the suspicious Indian into confidence and love. He was one of the worthy Catholics who spent many years among the western tribes, and built up among them their little churches, in which they were regarded as fathers and friends. Father Marquette had endeared himself to the savages in a remarkable manner, not only by his apostolical piety, but by his tender affection for them, and his kind offices in all their distresses. Such was the veneration of the

* Bancroft, vol. iii., 153.

savages for this good man, that for years after his death, when overtaken in their frail bark canoes by the storms on Lake Michigan, it is said they "called upon the name of Marquette, and the winds ceased and the waves were still."* Among these unsophisticated children of Nature, he pursued the noiseless tenor of his way until the spring of 1673, when he was required to join M. Joliet in the hazardous enterprise of exploring the great river of the unknown West.

With five other Frenchmen, these two adventurous men resolved to enter upon the expedition and make their way to the great river. All preparations for the voyage having been completed, this little band of hardy spirits, on the 18th day of May, 1673, set out from Michilimackinac, the missionary station of Father Marquette. Having coasted along the western shore of Lake Michigan for many days, they entered the Bay of the Puants, now known as Green Bay. Here they entered Fox River of the lakes, and ascended, paddling their canoes up the rapid stream, and occasionally dragging them over the rapids. At length they arrived at a village of the Fox River Indians, the extreme limit of missionary labor in those western regions, where Allouez had already planted the cross.

Marquette and Joliet were introduced with due ceremony before the chiefs in council, where the father made known the object of their visit. "My companion," said the venerable Marquette, "is an envoy of France, to discover new countries; and I am an ambassador from God, to enlighten them with the Gospel."† The council received them with favor; and, having made a few presents, Marquette requested two guides for their journey on the morrow. The guides were granted to conduct them across the portage to the Wisconsin River, which was said to flow into the great river; yet the council deemed their voyage hazardous in the extreme. They reached the portage, and their light canoes were carried on their backs across the dividing ridge to the Wisconsin. They stood on the banks of the Wisconsin and in the valley of the Mississippi; France and Christianity stood side by side. No Frenchman had yet been beyond this point. The Indian guides refused to proceed further, and determined to return. They endeavored to dissuade the holy father from his perilous voyage among unknown and fierce nations of Indians, who would destroy him without

* Charlevoix's Letters.

† Bancroft's United States, vol. iii., p. 156.

cause. Tradition told of monsters in the great river that would swallow both man and his canoe; also of a demon, or *manitou*, that buried in the boiling waters all who ventured upon them. Marquette thanked them for their good advice; but he could not follow it, "since the salvation of souls was at stake, for which he would be overjoyed to give his life."

The Indian guides left them. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette, "leaving us alone in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence."* They prepared to pursue their perilous voyage to the Mississippi, strangers among unknown tribes.

They began to float down the rapid Wisconsin, and seven days brought them to the great river, which they entered on the 17th of June, 1673.† They descended the river, observing the splendid country on both sides, and the beautiful and verdant isles which divide the channel. About one hundred miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin, an Indian path, or trail, was discovered on the western shore. Marquette and his fellow-envoy determined to trace the path, and form some acquaintance with the tribes of that region. At length, after a walk of several miles, they came in sight of an Indian town, or village. Commending themselves to God, they determined to make themselves known by a loud cry. Four elders of the village advance to meet them, and conduct them into the village. They are presented to the council, and "Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke also of the great captain of the French, the governor of Canada," who had humbled the "Five Nations" of the Iroquois, and compelled them to peace. This was good news to these remote savages, and procured them a hearty welcome and a plentiful feast. Six days were spent among these hospitable savages; nor could they depart without the "peace-pipe," the sacred calumet, suspended from the neck of Marquette, brilliant with beauteous feathers, which was to be his safeguard among strange tribes. They float down the stream, and pass the "most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world," where the transparent Mississippi mingles reluctantly with the turbid Missouri, the Pekitanoni of the Indians. They pass, also, the

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 157.

† Martin says, they reached the Mississippi on the 7th of July; but he is so often in error in relation to dates, that his authority must yield when it conflicts with other sources of information. See Martin, vol. i., p. 77.

confluence of the Ohio, which was afterward known for many years as the Wabash, and which likewise mingles its bright waters reluctantly with the turbid flood.

They continued their descent with the rapid current until the sun became oppressive and insects intolerable, and where the canes become so thick that the buffalo can not break through them. They approached a village of the Michigamies, in latitude 33°. Armed with bows and arrows, with axes and clubs, and bent on war, the natives, with terrific whoops and yells, advanced in their war-canoes to assault the helpless party. Marquette advanced, holding the sacred calumet aloft, and thus brought safety to his companions. The meek father says, "God touched the hearts" of the old, and they restrained the young. After several days spent in refreshing themselves with the generous hospitality of this village, the party proceeded to the village of Akansea, beyond the limits of the Algonquin dialects. Here they conversed by an interpreter; and having made inquiries of the Indians relative to the course of the river, and the distance to the sea, they determined to return to Canada. It was now about the middle of July. They had been on the Mississippi about four weeks, and had descended about eleven hundred miles from the mouth of the Wisconsin.

But difficulties had increased as they descended; and they were among tribes whose language they did not understand. Their provisions, too, were well-nigh exhausted, and the course of the river was sufficiently ascertained. The object of their mission was in a great measure accomplished, and they determined to venture no further among unknown tribes, where disasters and death might overtake them.

They began to ascend the river; and after several weeks of hard toil against a strong current, and exposed to numerous privations, they reached the mouth of the Illinois River in safety.

Here they ascertained from the Indians that this river afforded a much more direct and easy route to the great lakes than that through the Wisconsin. They therefore began to ascend the gentle stream. After two weeks more they crossed over from the head streams of the Des-pleins branch of the Illinois into the Chicago Creek, through which they entered Lake Michigan. Here Joliet and Marquette parted; the one across to the Miami Indians of Lake Erie, on his way to Que-

bec, to make known the success of the expedition; the other to his missionary post among the Hurons.* In September the father joined his little flock, and soon afterward M. Joliet arrived at Quebec.

This was the first time that any white man had floated upon the Mississippi for one hundred and thirty years, since the disastrous voyage of Luis de Moscoso, with the remains of De Soto's chivalrous expedition, in 1543.

The discoveries of M. Joliet and Father Marquette filled all New France with rejoicing. A *Te Deum* was chanted in the Cathedral. M. Joliet was suitably rewarded by a grant of the Island of Anticosti, in the St. Lawrence; Father Marquette desired no other reward than an approving conscience that he had been doing good. It was for a time believed that the long-desired route to China had been discovered. The jealousy and fears entertained toward the English colonies, which now covered the whole Atlantic coast north of Florida, caused these early discoveries to be concealed, as far as practicable, from general publicity in Europe. England then, as now, was prone to seize and appropriate the discoveries of others to herself.

Such was the first discovery of the Mississippi by the French from Canada; a discovery which gave to France a conventional claim to occupy and settle all the regions lying upon the great river itself, as well as upon its great tributaries.

[A.D. 1680.] The native occupants of the Illinois country and the western portion of New France, as seen by the first Jesuit missionaries upon Lake Michigan, were similar in all respects to the tribes previously known to them on the St. Lawrence; for the first aspect of the original inhabitants of the United States was uniform. "Between the Indians of Florida and Canada the difference was scarcely perceptible. Their manners and institutions, as well as their organization, had a common physiognomy; and, before their languages began to be known, there was no safe method of grouping the nations into families. But when the vast variety of dialects came to be compared, there were found east of the Mississippi not more than eight radically distinct languages, of which five still constitute the speech of powerful communities, and three are known only as memorials of tribes that have almost disappeared from the earth."†

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 78.

† Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii., p. 237.

The Algonquin tongue, which existed not only on the St. Lawrence, but also on the Des Moines, was most widely diffused. It was heard from Cape Fear to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland River of Kentucky to the southern bank of the Missinippi, a thousand miles northwest from the sources of the Mississippi.

The *Shawanese* connected the southeastern Algonquins with those of the west. "The basin of the Cumberland River is marked by the earliest French geographers as the home of this restless nation of wanderers. A part of them afterward had their 'cabins' and their 'springs' in the neighborhood of Winchester. Their principal band removed their hunting-fields in Kentucky to the head waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina; and, at a later day, an encampment of four hundred and fifty of them, who had been straggling in the woods for four years, was found not far north of the head waters of Mobile River, on their way to the country of the Muskogees." "So desolate was the wilderness, that a vagabond tribe could wander undisturbed from Cumberland River to Alabama, from the head waters of the Santee to the Susquehanna."*

The *Miamis* were more stable, and their own traditions preserve the memory of their ancient limits. "My father," said the Miami orator, Little Turtle, at Greenville, in 1795, "kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestors' houses are seen."

The forests beyond Detroit were at first found unoccupied, or, it may be, roamed over by bands too feeble to attract a trader or to win a missionary. The "Ottawás, Algonquin fugitives from the basin of the magnificent river whose name commemorates them, fled to the Bay of Saginaw, and took possession of the whole north as a derelict country; yet the *Miamis* occupied its southern moiety, and their principal mission was founded by Allouez on the banks of the St. Joseph's, within the present state of Michigan."

"The *Illinois* were kindred to the *Miamis*, and their country

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii., p. 241.

lay between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Marquette found a village of them on the Des Moines; but its occupants soon withdrew to the east side of the Mississippi. Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria still preserve the names of the principal bands, of which the original strength has been greatly exaggerated. The vague tales of a considerable population vanished before the accurate observation of the missionaries, who found in the wide wilderness of Illinois scarcely three or four villages. On the discovery of America, the number of the scattered tenants of the territory, which now forms the states of Ohio and Michigan, of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, could hardly have exceeded eighteen thousand.”*

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the *Potawatamies* had crowded the *Miamis* from their dwellings at Chicago; the intruders came from the islands near the entrance of Green Bay, and were a branch of the great nation of *Chippewas*. That nation held the country from the mouth of Green Bay to the head waters of Lake Superior, and were early visited by the French at Sault St. Marie and Chegoimegon. “They adopted into their tribes many of the *Ottawás* from Upper Canada, and were themselves often included under that name by the early French writers.”

“*Ottawá* is but the Algonquin word for ‘trader,’ and *Mascoutins* are but ‘dwellers in the prairie.’ The latter hardly implies a band of Indians distinct from the *Chippewas*; but history recognizes as a separate Algonquin tribe, near Green Bay, the *Menomonies*, who were found there in 1669, and retained their ancient territory long after the period of French and English supremacy, and who prove their high antiquity as a nation by the singular character of their dialect.”†

“Southwest of the *Menomonies*, the restless *Sauks* and *Foxes*, ever dreaded by the French, held the passes from Green Bay and Fox River to the Mississippi, and with insatiate avidity roamed in pursuit of contest over the whole country, between the *Wisconsin* and the upper branches of the *Illinois*. The *Shawanese* are said to have an affinity with this nation; that the *Kickapoos*, who established themselves by conquest in the north of *Illinois*, are but a branch of it, is demonstrated by their speech.”

Northwest of the *Sauks* and *Foxes*, and west of the *Chippe-*

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 241.

† Idem, p. 242.

was, bands of the Sioux, or Dahcotas, had encamped in the prairies east of the Mississippi, vagrants between the head waters of Lake Superior and the Falls of St. Anthony. They were a branch of the great family which, dwelling for the most part west of the Mississippi and Red River of the north, extended from the Saskatchewan to lands south of the Arkansas. Hennepin was among them in his expedition to the north in 1680; Joseph Marest and another Jesuit visited them in 1687, and again in 1689. There seemed to be a hereditary warfare between them and the Chippewas. "Like other Western and Southern tribes, their population appears of late to have increased."

South and southwest of the Shawanese were the Chickasás, a warlike and powerful tribe of savages, extending from the banks of the Mississippi eastward to the Muscle Shoals of Tennessee River. These tribes were visited by Marquette, and again by La Salle, in his exploration of the Lower Mississippi. At first they were friends of the French, but having been won to the English interests by traders and emissaries from Carolina, they became the most constant and most successful enemies of the French colonies in Louisiana.

South of the Chickasás was the Natchez tribe, occupying the country on the east side of the Mississippi, between the Yazoo and the Pearl River, and the most civilized of any tribe seen by Iberville in Louisiana. West and south of the Natchez was the powerful tribe of the Choctás, the constant friends of the early French colonies on the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers.

Such is the brief outline of the native tribes first known to the early French colonies in Louisiana, and whose friendship they continued to preserve in a remarkable manner, until the close of their dominion on the Mississippi, excepting only the Natchez and Chickasá nations.

CHAPTER II.

EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER BY LA SALLE: HIS COLONY ON THE COLORADO.—A.D. 1673 TO 1696.

Argument.—Character and Enterprise of La Salle.—His Ambition to complete the Exploration of the Mississippi.—His Plans approved by M. Talon, Intendant of New France.—La Salle sails for Europe.—Receives the King's Patronage.—Returns to Canada.—Repairs to Fort Frontenac and the Western Lakes in 1678.—Winters on the Niagara, and builds the Griffon in 1679.—Proceeds to Green Bay and freights the Griffon.—Visits the Miamis on St. Joseph's River.—Loss of the Griffon and Cargo.—Builds Fort Miami in 1690.—Builds Fort Crève Cœur.—Difficulties with Indians.—Mutiny among his Men.—Mutiny quelled and Indians reconciled.—Father Hennepin sent to explore the Mississippi.—La Salle returns to Fort Frontenac.—Rock Fort built on the Illinois.—Extent of Hennepin's Explorations in 1681.—Subsequently he explores the Mississippi as low as the Arkansas.—La Salle devotes his whole Energy to retrieve his Fortune.—Prepares for a final Exploration of the River to the Sea.—He enters the Mississippi, February 2, 1682.—He explores it to the Sea, and visits numerous Tribes of Indians.—Takes formal Possession of Lower Louisiana.—Returns to Canada.—Sails to Europe in October, 1782.—In Paris, organizes a Colony for the Mississippi.—Sails from Rochelle with his Colony, July 24, 1684.—Character and Numbers of the Colony.—Tedious and disastrous Voyage.—Sails West of the Mississippi, and is compelled to land in Western Texas.—Unavailing Searches for the Mississippi.—Builds "Fort St. Louis" on the Colorado, and takes formal Possession of Texas in 1685.—Deplorable Condition of the Colony.—La Salle finally determines to reach the Illinois and Canada by Land, in 1687.—Assassinated near the Trinity River.—The Remainder of the Colony are dispersed, and some reach the Illinois.—Spaniards search for the French Colony in vain, in 1689.—Illinois Country occupied by French after La Salle's Departure.—Wars in Canada with the Iroquois and English.—The Colonization of Lower Louisiana deferred until the Year 1698.

[A.D. 1673.] THE first ebullition of joy in New France, after the discovery of the great river of the West by Father Marquette and M. Joliet, soon subsided. The colonial government manifested but little interest in prosecuting the discovery for five years. At length a private individual undertook to complete the exploration to the sea. This individual was Monsieur la Salle, a native of Rouen in Normandy. He had been a man of letters and of fortune, but had renounced his patrimony and joined the order of Jesuits. "After profiting by the discipline of their schools, and obtaining their praise for purity and diligence, he had taken his discharge of the fraternity, and with no companions but poverty and a boundless spirit of enterprise," he came to New France in quest of fame and fortune.*

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii., p. 162.

At first he established himself as a fur trader at La Chiné, near Montreal. But he was ready and willing to engage in any enterprise that would gratify his ambition and reward his toil. He resolved to prosecute the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi as an enterprise worthy of his ambition. He entertained the belief advanced by Father Marquette, that some of the western tributaries of the great river would afford a direct route to the South Sea, and thence to China. This subject still was agitated in Europe, and all were interested in knowing the fact. To avoid a long and dangerous voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, or of Cape Horn, was surely an object of deep concern to the commercial world. La Salle was a man of extraordinary courage and perseverance, and hence was well adapted for the exploration of remote and unknown regions. M. Joutel declares "his constancy and courage, his extraordinary knowledge in the arts and sciences, rendered him fit for any thing; and besides this, he possessed an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties."

[A.D. 1678.] Such was the man who was eager to enter upon the new enterprise of exploring the "great river" to its mouth, which he believed must be in the Gulf of Mexico. He communicated his views to the Count de Frontenac, then governor of New France. He urged upon him the propriety of sending colonies westward, and of protecting them by adequate fortifications against the hostilities of the Indians. He portrayed, with all the ardor of his temperament, the advantages that would result from such a policy; that it would not only benefit and strengthen New France, but also aggrandize France herself. The count readily entered into all his views, and approved all his plans for the accomplishment of his designs. But the execution of them required heavy disbursements, which the provincial authorities could not order. He resolved, therefore, to send La Salle to France, that he might there explain his views and advocate his plans before the court. La Salle arrived in France, and lost no time in presenting himself before the minister. He was fortunate, and received a favorable audience. Letters of nobility were granted by the king, with authority to prosecute his projected discoveries. He was appointed proprietor and commandant of Fort Cataracoui, afterward called Frontenac, near the eastern extremity of Lake

Frontenac, or Ontario, and upon the present site of Kingston. Yet no money was appropriated; for this he was to depend upon his own resources and industry.*

Having engaged the aid of the Chevalier de Tonti, and about thirty colonists, including several mechanics, he set sail from France for the St. Lawrence. After a prosperous voyage, he arrived at Quebec on the 25th of September, 1678. Thence he proceeded to Fort Frontenac. The fort was neglected and dismantled. The first labor was to rebuild the works and place the whole in a proper military condition.† Here he remained some weeks, making preparations for his tour to the Far West. In all his preparations and plans, he evinced such business-like dispatch, and such prompt enterprise and undaunted firmness, that the colonial government became more and more convinced that he possessed the proper spirit and genius for the arduous undertaking. "He sent forward men to prepare the minds of the remote tribes for his coming, by well-chosen words and gifts."

A barque of ten tons having been built, La Salle and his party left Fort Frontenac on the 18th of November, 1678, upon his Western tour. For the means of defraying the expenses of the expedition, his principal dependence was upon his success in trading with the Indians. He had supplied himself with a large amount of goods and articles adapted to the Indian trade, which he expected to barter for rich furs and skins. After a tedious and dangerous voyage in that tempestuous season, they reached the western extremity of Lake Frontenac. The winter had now set in with great severity, and he was compelled to go into winter-quarters with his small party near the Falls of Niagara. The delay here was turned to advantage. During the winter, he was constantly employed in making further provision for the expedition. Exploring parties, under the Chevalier de Tonti, were sent to reconnoiter the country, to conciliate the Indians, to open a friendly intercourse with them, and to make further inquiries of the route to the Mississippi. La Salle himself returned to Fort Frontenac for an additional supply of provisions, goods, and ammunition. He also brought with him, the following spring, three recollèt monks, to administer to the spiritual wants of his people, and to aid in the enterprise. One of these was "Father Louis Hennepin, a Francis-

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 83.

† Idem, p. 85, 86.

can friar, a man full of ambition for discoveries and fame; daring, hardy, energetic, vain, and self-exaggerating almost to madness." He was more inclined to promote his own fame for great deeds than to advance the cause of truth. He had been a missionary among the Indians about Fort Frontenac; he had made frequent visits among the Iroquois, south of Lake Ontario, and on the sources of the Alleghany, and had learned much of Indian character and customs.

[A.D. 1679.] The barque brought from Fort Frontenac could not be taken over the Falls of Niagara: of course another must be built above them. The "Griffon," of sixty tons, was begun upon Lake Erie, near the mouth of the Tonnewan-to Creek, but it required six months for its completion. During this time La Salle was not idle. He sent exploring parties into the different tribes of Indians south and west of the lakes, to make arrangements for collecting furs and opening a profitable trade. Father Hennepin performed his part by preaching and conciliating the natives, and by gaining information of the country. At length, on the seventh of August, 1679, the Griffon was finished, and the expedition set sail for the Straits of Mackinac. Sailing over Lake Erie and between the verdant isles of the majestic Detroit, they arrived on the 28th, in health and fine spirits.* Here they remained two weeks, while La Salle was making his arrangements and collecting furs. They sailed from the straits about the middle of September, and on the eighth of October they landed in the Bay of the Puants, or Green Bay. Here La Salle, having completed the stock for a cargo, sent the Griffon back to Lake Erie, richly freighted with furs and peltries, with instructions to meet him on its return at the mouth of the river of the Miamis, the present St. Joseph's of Michigan.

In the mean time, he proceeded by land through the tribes south of Green Bay, and thence around to the Miami Indians, on the southeast of the lake. Here he entered into engagements for opening a trade with the Miamis of the River St. Joseph.

He obtained permission of them to erect a stockade fort and a trading-post on that river, near its entrance into Lake Michigan. This was known afterward as the Fort of the Miamis; for the use of which, he expected a supply of goods from Lake Erie upon the return of the Griffon in December following.

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 164.

Here he waited impatiently for the return of the Griffon. At length December came; yet nothing was heard of the vessel. La Salle coasted out in search of her, and set up beacons near the shore to direct her course. Still the vessel did not arrive, and supplies of all kinds were beginning to fail. He left a garrison of ten men in the Fort Miami, with instructions for the commander of the Griffon upon her arrival.* With the remainder of his force, consisting of thirty-four men, including the Cnevalier de Tonti, he set out for the Illinois River. While himself and some others passed over by land, the remainder of the party, with the boats and canoes, paddled up the St. Joseph's River for four days, and then by a portage crossed over to the head branch of the Kankakee River, which they descended to the Illinois. Thence the whole party descended that placid river until they came to a large Indian village, which they supposed to be one hundred and fifty miles from the Mississippi. The Indians were kind and hospitable; they supplied the party abundantly with corn and meats. This village was near the expansion of the Illinois River, known as Lake Peoria, where Fort St. Louis was afterward built.

It was now about Christmas; and the party proceeded about sixty miles further down the river, where they were well received by the Indians. Believing this a good point for a trading-post, La Salle obtained permission to build a fort. He accordingly remained to complete the work. It was now late in January, 1680, when he first received intelligence from the Griffon. She had been wrecked on the voyage home, and all his rich cargo was lost. This circumstance, together with the appearance of discontent among his men, foreboding mutiny, so dispelled his hopes and depressed his spirits, that he called the fort "Crève Cœur," or Broken Heart.†

[A.D. 1680.] Up to this time, his undertaking, although arduous, appeared to be prosperous. He had extended his explorations westward fifteen hundred miles beyond the settlements. The country had been examined, forts were erected, and the friendship of the savages had been secured. But now a dark cloud overspread his prospects. His men appeared worn out and disgusted with an expedition which had already engaged them more than a year; the issue still appeared to them hazardous, or at least uncertain. They were not willing

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 88, 89.

† Idem.

to spend their lives in a deep wilderness, among savages, without guides, and often without food. This dissatisfaction at length broke out into open murmurs against the projector of the expedition, the author of all their troubles, who had led them into a fatiguing, perilous, and, to them, an apparently useless ramble, remote from civilization and all the endearments of social life.

Nothing escaped the quick penetration of La Salle.* He had soon perceived that discontent and mischief were fomented among his men; that a storm was impending, and must be calmed. He went into the midst of them; he assured them of good treatment, and ultimate success; he placed before them the hope of glory and wealth; he pointed them to the successful example of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru; but they were not so easily appeased. The mutineers represented to their comrades how idle it was to continue slaves to the caprice and dupes to the idle visions and imaginary hopes of leader who seemed to consider the dangers already passed only as pledges which demanded still greater sacrifices from them.

They asked whether they could expect any other reward for their protracted slavery than misery and indigence. What could be expected, at the end of a ramble almost to the confines of the earth, and to inaccessible seas, but to be obliged to return poorer and more miserable than when they first set out? They said the only means of avoiding the impending calamity was to return while they had sufficient strength, to part from a man who sought their ruin and his own, and to abandon him to his laborious and useless discoveries. They adverted to the difficulty of return when their leader, by his intelligence, influence, and intrigues, should have secured the means of apprehending and punishing them as deserters, and that it would be impossible to proceed without provisions or resources of any kind. It was suggested to cut the tree up by the roots, and to end their misery by the death of its author, and that thus they might avail themselves of the fruits of their

* It may be well here to remark, that Martin, in the whole of La Salle's explorations, discoveries, and trade among the Western tribes, is negligent of dates; places transactions, generally, one year earlier than they really transpired. Thus, he makes La Salle's first voyage down the Mississippi to take place in the year 1681, whereas Bancroft establishes the time to be in the spring of 1682. See Martin, vol. i., p. 86, and on to p. 103.

own labor and fatigues. Those who were in favor of such steps were not in sufficient number to effect their object. They, however, determined to endeavor to induce the Indians to rise against La Salle, hoping that they might reap the advantage to be derived from his murder without appearing to have participated in the crime.*

The leaders of the mutineers, approaching the natives with apparent concern and confidence, said that, grateful for their hospitality heretofore extended, they were alarmed at the danger which threatened them; that La Salle had entered into strong engagements with the Iroquois, their greatest enemies; that he had advanced into their country now to ascertain their strength, to build a fort, and to keep them in subjection; that, in his meditated return to Fort Frontenac, he had no other object than to convey to the Iroquois the information he had gained, and to invite them to make a rapid irruption into the country, while his force was among them to co-operate with the Iroquois.†

The Indians, of course, attached much truth to the allegations of these men. La Salle instantly discovered a change of conduct in the Indians, but he knew not the cause. He at length succeeded in obtaining a declaration of the cause of their cold reserve. After communicating his reasons for suspecting perfidy in some of his men, he showed how impossible it was that he could be connected with the Iroquois; that he considered that nation as perfidious, lawless, cruel, revengeful, and thirsting for human blood; and, as such, that neither credit nor safety would dictate such an alliance with those brutal savages; and, moreover, that he had frankly announced his views to the Illinois on his first arrival among them; that the smallness of his force precluded the belief of an intention to subdue any tribe. The open and ingenuous calmness with which he spoke gained him credence, and the impression previously made by the mutineers appeared to be entirely effaced from the minds of the Indians.‡

This success, however, was of short duration. An emissary had been sent from a neighboring tribe, the Mascoutins, secretly, to the Illinois, to stir them up against La Salle and his party.

By great art, he had nearly convinced them that La Salle

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 90-91.

† Idem, p. 92-93.

‡ Idem, p. 93-94.

was in alliance with the Iroquois, and almost succeeded in his efforts to induce the Illinois to cut off the whole party. The suggestions of this emissary, corresponding with the rumors circulated by the disaffected of his own party, had well-nigh effected his destruction. The suspicions which La Salle, by his candor and address, had allayed, were suddenly revived, and the chiefs spent the night in deliberation. In the morning, all the delusory hopes he had entertained on the apparent return of confidence were dispelled on his perceiving the cold reserve of the chiefs and the unconcealed distrust and indignation of others. He vainly endeavored to discover the immediate cause of the change, and began to think of the propriety of intrenching his party in the fort. Alarmed and surprised, and unable to remain in suspense, he boldly advanced into the midst of the Indians, who were gathered into small groups, and speaking their language sufficiently well to be understood, he demanded the cause of the coolness and distrust now seen on their brows. He said they had parted on the preceding evening in peace and friendship, and now he found them armed, and some of them ready to fall upon him; that he was naked and unarmed in the midst of them, a willing and ready sacrifice to their vengeance, if he could be convicted of any designs against them.

Moved by his open and undaunted demeanor, the Indians pointed to the deputy of the Mascotins, who had been sent to apprise them of his schemes and his connection with their enemies. Rushing boldly toward him, La Salle, in an imperious tone, demanded what evidence or reason existed for this alleged connection. The Mascotin coldly replied that, in circumstances where the safety of a nation was concerned, full evidence was not always required to convict suspicious characters; that the smallest circumstances often justified precautions; and as the address of the turbulent and seditious consisted in dissembling their schemes, the duty of the chiefs consisted in adopting measures to prevent their success; that, in the present case, his past negotiation or trade with the Iroquois, his intended return to Fort Frontenac, and the fort he had just built, were sufficient presumptions to induce the Illinois to apprehend danger, and to take the steps necessary to avoid being taken in the snare he seemed to have prepared. By a display of great address and firmness, La Salle finally

gave sufficient assurance that he entertained no hostile designs against them, and that he had no such connection with the Iroquois as ought to prejudice the Illinois against him.

A good understanding with the Indians was at length restored, and his own men became so far reconciled that they promised to remain at the fort on duty, while an exploring party should advance toward the sources of the Mississippi. Still they were inclined to defeat the object of this expedition, and subsequently sought occasion to take off the leaders of it by poison placed in their food; but the attempt was detected before any fatal effects were produced, and thus they failed to accomplish their object.

Having arranged the expedition for the Upper Mississippi, La Salle, in the month of March, with a sack of parched corn, a musket, a shot-pouch and powder-horn, for defense and to procure food, a blanket, and deer-skins for moccasins, with three companions, set out on foot for Fort Frontenac, trudging through melting snows and marshes, through thickets and forests, upon the ridge which divides the waters of the Ohio from those of the lakes.*

The exploring party for the Mississippi consisted of Father Louis Hennepin, M. Dugay, and six other Frenchmen, as oarsmen and woodsmen. Leaving Fort Crève Cœur on the 28th of February, they descended the Illinois in the midst of winter. For ten days they were detained at the mouth by floating ice in the Mississippi, after which they proceeded to ascend the river. They continued their voyage in their canoes more than eight hundred miles, when their progress was arrested by great falls in the river, which were named by the Franciscan the "Falls of St. Anthony," in honor of his patron saint, St. Anthony of Padua. On a tree near the cataract, he engraved the cross and the arms of France. For several weeks the party rambled through the regions above the falls, exploring the country and its rivers, but never reaching the real sources of the great river, as Hennepin falsely affirmed. The whole party, during their sojourn in these parts, was held by the Sioux in a short captivity, from which they at length escaped. Descending the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin, Hennepin and his companions returned by way of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers to the French mission at Green Bay.†

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 166.

† Idem, p. 167.

Toward the close of summer, Father Hennepin, desirous of accomplishing the whole of La Salle's wishes, with a party of five men set out on a voyage of exploration down the river, vainly expecting to trace and to examine the country to the sea. Entering the Mississippi again by way of the Wisconsin, the party descended, occasionally paddling their canoes, and again floating with the current, until they reached the mouth of the Arkansas River, the point formerly reached by Marquette and Joliet. Here it was ascertained from the Indians that the distance to the sea was still very great—much greater than had been anticipated. Father Hennepin deemed it best to return to the Illinois, and thence to Fort Crève Cœur. Late in the autumn he reached the posts upon the Upper Illinois.

This was the extent of Father Hennepin's discoveries on the Mississippi; yet, after the death of La Salle, he endeavored to claim the principal credit of the explorations to the sea.* The account of his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, published in London in 1699, was a manifest fiction, and the result of British intrigue with the Franciscan. The whole distance from the mouth of the Arkansas to the Falls of St. Anthony is but little short of fifteen hundred miles. Over this distance Hennepin had passed twice, an entire distance of nearly three thousand miles, upon a vast, unknown river, and among unknown savage tribes. This was truly an enterprise worthy of La Salle himself; and, after all fair allowance for Father Hennepin's propensity to exaggerate, he is still entitled to our admiration and respect for his enterprise and perseverance.

During the exploring voyage of Hennepin and M. Dugay,

* Hennepin, after this expedition, retired to Canada, and soon afterward he set sail for France. He there published a splendid account of the newly-discovered country of "Louisiana," which he so called in honor of Louis XIV. This work he dedicated to the French minister, Colbert. It contained an account of his discoveries under La Salle, in which he makes no claim to have descended the river lower than the Arkansas. Several years subsequently, not meeting with that patronage which he expected in France, he visited England, and was soon taken into the pay of King William, who declared "that he would leap over twenty stumbling-blocks" to accomplish his designs in America. The King of England desired to set up a claim to the discovery of the Mississippi, and to the whole of Louisiana, through Father Hennepin's discoveries. He therefore induced him to write a new account of his explorations, and so modify its details as to favor the pretensions of the English king. This account was published in London in 1699. It is in this that he first claims to have explored the river to its mouth. The whole narrative, in this respect, bears evidence of its own falseness, and with the French procured for him the title of "the great liar." See Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. i. Also, Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. iii., p. 167. Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 16.

La Salle was busily engaged in visiting and repairing his forts, and in bringing forward supplies of goods and ammunition to his trading-posts. His visits extended likewise to the tribes west and south of Lake Michigan, and south of Erie. He knew it was all-important to keep up a good understanding with these numerous tribes, lest all might be lost by the hostility which had already been partially excited against him.

In the mean time, soon after the departure of Hennepin's party in February, La Salle had placed the Chevalier de Tonti in command at Fort Crève Cœur, with instructions to fortify "Rock Fort," on the Illinois, during his contemplated absence at Fort Frontenac. The point to be thus fortified was a partially isolated "cliff, rising two hundred feet above the river, which flows near its base, in the center of a lovely country of verdant prairies, bordered by distant slopes, richly tufted with oak and black walnut, and the noblest trees of the American forest." This rocky eminence may now be seen, near the northern bank, rising above the beautiful plain, through which the Illinois flows, and within four miles below the mouth of Fox River. This spot, near five miles below the town of Ottawâ, a few years since was selected by some enterprising Yankees as the site of a town, which they designated with the appropriate name of "Gibraltar;" but it remains yet, as it was in the days of La Salle, only an impregnable site for a fortress. La Salle, compelled by necessity, determined to defer the further exploration of the great river until he could retrieve his former losses, restore confidence and authority among his men, and induce a state of friendship among the Indians. To this important end he resolved to devote his energies and his undivided attention. His debts were pressing, and as yet he had realized nothing, after great outlays and great expenses, besides the loss of two years spent in privation and toil.

After a long and toilsome journey, visiting the Iroquois nations in his route, he arrived at Fort Frontenac in June, after having established amicable relations with the western portion of this confederacy. The remainder of the summer was spent in conducting his trading operations, and in extending his influence among the remote tribes of the West. In the fall, he flattered himself that his trading-posts were established, that a friendly intercourse had been opened, and that peace prevailed among the tribes, giving a more encouraging aspect to his general affairs.

But he was again doomed to disappointment. About the first of September, hostilities had broken out between some of the Iroquois tribes and those on the Illinois. The position of the French between the opposing bands was dangerous in the extreme, and De Tonti deemed it prudent to withdraw from the seat of war to a place of greater security. He accordingly retired with his little force to Fort Miami, on the St. Joseph's River of Lake Michigan, where he arrived about the middle of September. Here he continued until peace was established, and La Salle's contemplated exploration was necessarily deferred.

[A.D. 1681.] In the spring of 1681, La Salle set out from Fort Frontenac for the West. He at length reached the country of the Miamis; and, having made due arrangements, he set out from that post with De Tonti for Fort Crève Cœur, on the Upper Illinois. The following summer was spent in traversing the country, visiting and supplying his trading-posts, in efforts to reconcile the hostile tribes, and in opening a free trade and intercourse with the Illinois and Miami tribes. These preparations having been made, he began to make his arrangements for completing the exploration of the great river to its mouth. To the river, concurring with Father Hennepin, he had given the name of "St. Louis," and to the country through which it flowed that of "Louisiana," both in honor of the King of France. The enterprise was one which had engaged his thoughts and had influenced his plans for the last two years, and he now determined to complete the undertaking. Before he could set out, he was obliged once more to return to Fort Frontenac to complete his arrangements. His stay was of short duration, and on the 20th of November he left Fort Frontenac on his return to the Illinois country. Having to visit his posts, and make other arrangements for his long absence, he did not arrive at Fort Crève Cœur until the beginning of January following. Here a few days were spent in preparing for his departure, and a further delay of a few days was caused by the inclemency of the winter; yet on the 2d day of February, 1682, La Salle and his little band of voyagers and explorers, a band of hardy adventurers, were floating on the broad bosom of the Mississippi.

[A.D. 1682.] As M. Dugay and Father Hennepin had already explored the upper portion of the river, La Salle de-

terminated to lose no time in prosecuting the exploration down to the sea. Having descended to the mouth of the Missouri, he remained some days, endeavoring to obtain such information as the Indians could give of that great Western tributary, which received the name of "St. Philip." The party next delayed a few days at the mouth of the Ohio, where La Salle made some arrangements for trade and intercourse with the Indians. Thence they proceeded down to the first Chickasâ bluffs. Here La Salle entered into amicable arrangements for opening a trade with the Chickasâ Indians, where he established a trading-post, and obtained permission to build a stockade fort. This he designed as a point of rendezvous for traders from the Illinois country, passing to the lower posts on the river. This post was called "Fort Prud'homme," in honor of the man who, with a small garrison, was left in command. The next stop made by the party was at the mouth of the Arkansas River, which was the extreme limit of former discoveries. Here he tarried several days, and then proceeded to a village of the Tensas Indians, where he displayed the emblem of Christianity to the admiring natives. This village was upon the banks of a lake, some distance back from the river, and was probably the same now known as "Lake Providence," from which the Tensas River has its source. Here he was received with much kindness and hospitality by the Indians; and, consequently, remained several days in friendly intercourse with them. Thence he continued his voyage down, and visited each of the tribes on the banks as he passed. On the 27th of March he arrived at the mouth of Red River. Here, likewise, he made a short stay, and then proceeded down the Mississippi to its confluence with the Gulf of Mexico. He reached this destination on the 7th of April, after a tedious voyage among unknown tribes for more than twelve hundred miles below the Illinois. By occasional accessions of French and Indians, the party now amounted to nearly sixty persons; some were engaged in providing for their comfort and sustenance; and others, with La Salle, were engaged for several days in exploring the inlets and sea-marshes along the coast, and in making other necessary observations. La Salle then ascended the river with his party until firm land was found, where he determined to tarry some days until his men could refresh themselves after their toilsome voyage. A few days served to re-

vive the hardy pioneers, when they prepared to celebrate the glory of France in the possession of the newly-discovered province. La Salle took formal possession of the country, planted the arms of France, erected the cross, and calling the country "Louisiana," in honor of the King of France, he closed the ceremony with a display of the solemn and imposing rites of the Catholic Church. Thus France and Christianity entered the valley of the Mississippi hand in hand.*

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 100, 101.

The following inscription and *protes verbal* are copied by Mr. Sparks from a MS. in the Department of Marine, at Paris, viz.:

"A column was erected, and the arms of France were affixed with this inscription:

'LOUIS LE GRAND,
ROI DE FRANCE ET NAVARRE, REONE;
LE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682.'"

The following ceremonies were then performed, viz.:

"The whole party, under arms, chanted the *Tu Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine Salvum fac Regem*; and then, after a salute of fire-arms, and cries of *Vive le roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said with a loud voice in French, 'In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his majesty, and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers comprised in the extent of said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great River St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Siporé, or Chuckagoná, and this with the consent of the Chousanons, Chickachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kions or Nadouessians, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Correas, and Natches, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom we also have made alliance, either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf, as far as its mouth at the Sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert, hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all these countries, people, or lands above described, to the prejudice of the right of his majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be ceded, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand the act of the notary as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le roi*, and with salutes of fire-arms. Moreover, the Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate with the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:

'LUDOVICUS MAGNUS REGNAT,
NONO APRILIS, CIO IOC LXXXII.

ROBERTUS CAVALIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTI, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RE-COLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS, PRIMIS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILLINEORVM PAGO ENAV-IGAVIT, EJVSQVE OPTIVM FECIT PERVIUM, NONO APRILIS, ANNO CIO IOC LXXXII.'"

La Salle descended the Mississippi, and his sagacious eye, as he floated on its flood, when he formed a cabin on the first Chickasâ bluff, as he raised the cross on the bank of the Arkansas, and as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico, beheld the future affluence of emigrants; he heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley.*

At length, La Salle and his party began to ascend the river on their return to the Illinois country. Advancing slowly against the strong current of the Mississippi, they made land in the Natchez country, where they tarried several days; but, having discovered a treacherous design among the Natchez Indians for cutting off the whole party, La Salle determined to proceed without further delay. Their next tarry was in the country of their old friends, the Tensas Indians, nearly two hundred miles above the Natchez villages. Here they were again hospitably received, and bountifully supplied with such provisions and comforts as the Indians could give. On the 12th of May they resumed their voyage, and proceeded to Fort Prud'homme, among the Chickasâs. Here La Salle was taken sick; and, being unable to travel, he remained nearly two months with his party, after having dispatched the Chevalier de Tonti with twenty men, including Indians, to announce his success to the posts upon the Illinois, and to take command of the forts and settlements until his return.

The whole ceremony was witnessed by attendants, and certified in a *procès verbal*, which concludes in the following words, viz.:

"After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Verilla* and the *Domine Salvum fac Regem* were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le roi*.

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

"LA METAIRE, Notary.

"DE LA SALLE.

P. ZENOB, *Recollèt Missionary*.

HENRY DE TONTI.

FRANÇOIS DE BOISRONDET.

JEAN BOURDON.

SIEUR D'AUTRAY.

JACQUES CAUCHOIS.

PIERE YOU.

GILLES MEUCRET.

JEAN MICHEL, *Surgeon*.

JEAN MAS.

JEAN DULIGNON.

NICHOLAS DE LA SALLE."

See *Sparks's Life of La Salle*, p. 199, 200.

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., 168, and Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 104.

At length La Salle, having recovered his health, set out upon his upward voyage, and reached the Illinois country near the last of September. Father Zenobé was sent to France with dispatches for the king, and to represent the vast importance which would accrue to France by peopling the immense country of Louisiana with Frenchmen; to report the extraordinary beauty of the virgin plains and valleys, the lakes and rivers of the great West, as they came from the hands of the Creator, deemed by all not unlike the "garden of paradise."

[A.D. 1683.] Several months were spent by La Salle in organizing his trading-posts, in providing for their future operations, in selecting his agents, and visiting the principal tribes. This at length having been accomplished, he gave the chief control of the Illinois country to the Chevalier de Tonti, as commandant of "Fort St. Louis," and superintendent of the whole trade of Illinois and Louisiana, during his absence on a visit to Fort Frontenac, for the purpose of supplying his establishments for the fall and winter trade.

Father Zenobé was still in Paris; and the enemies of La Salle, jealous of his enterprise and his growing fame, had sought to prejudice the minister against the importance of his discoveries. He had been represented as "an ambitious, plotting, restless character, full of schemes of self-aggrandizement." Similar representations were made by Le Ferre de la Barré, governor of Canada, in his official dispatches. Zenobé did not fail to expose the grounds of opposition to La Salle.* But the Sieur resolved in person to appear before the minister in Paris, and to develop fully his discoveries and his plans of colonization to the king.

Accordingly, late in the autumn of 1683, he set sail from Quebec for France, with vast schemes to be laid before the ministry for the colonization of Louisiana. But his enemies were not idle in their efforts to frustrate his plans. Yet Father Zenobé and the Count de Frontenac were in Paris, with all their influence in his favor; and the minister, Seignelay, son of Colbert, was inclined to enter heartily into all his plans.

La Salle arrived in Paris near the close of the year, and hastened to present his claims to the minister's attention. After great delays and obstacles, he at length met with a favora-

* See Southern Quarterly Review of Charleston, S. C., No. xiii., January 7th, 1845, p. 90-98.

ble reception at court. The ministers became convinced of the importance of his discoveries, and of the energy of his character in extending their American possessions. Much attention was therefore shown him at court, and at length his plan of settling a colony at the mouth of St. Louis, or Mississippi River, was approved.

[A.D. 1684.] More than six months were spent in France in preparations for conducting a suitable colony for the occupancy of Louisiana; and under the countenance of the crown, adventurers readily joined the contemplated enterprise. The government had resolved to supply the colonists with implements and provisions, and to afford them safe transports free of expense, together with a detachment of troops for their protection.*

By the 24th of July, 1684, La Salle, having collected together his colony of adventurers, set sail from the port of Rochelle in company with a large fleet of merchantmen. For the conveyance of the colony to the banks of the Mississippi, the government had furnished four vessels, under the command of M. Beaujeu, a man of an imperious and stubborn disposition.

The whole colony which embarked for the Gulf of Mexico, under the superintendence of La Salle, for the occupancy of Louisiana, consisted of two hundred and eighty persons, of all ranks and ages. Among them were one hundred soldiers, under the command of M. Joutel; thirty volunteers, including the young Cavalier, and the rash and passionate Moranget, nephews of La Salle; six ecclesiastics, including a brother of La Salle; twenty families, including young women, liberally supplied with provisions, implements of husbandry, and money; and also a number of mechanics of various arts, who had embarked their fortunes in the enterprise.

Such was the physical strength of the colony which was to plant the standard of France and Christianity in the newly-discovered province of Louisiana; but the moral worth of the colony was strangely complicated. The mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their art; the soldiers, though under Joutel, a man of courage and truth, and afterward the historian of the enterprise, were themselves spiritless vagabonds, without discipline and without experience; the volunteers were restless, with indefinite expectations; and, most of all, Beaujeu,

* Bancroft's Hist. of the U. States, vol. iii, p. 168.

the naval commander, was deficient in judgment, envious, self-willed, and foolishly proud.*

Early in the voyage, a variance sprung up between the naval commander and La Salle. This was only the beginning of continual differences between these two men; and in every instance on record the judgment of La Salle was right.

After a long voyage, with tedious calms, the little fleet arrived in the West India Seas. Before they reached Hispaniola, they were scattered by a storm, and Spanish privateers captured one of their vessels. The fleet remained several weeks in the vicinity of Hispaniola and Cuba, for the purpose of procuring further supplies for the colony, and for gaining information relative to the direction of the mouth of the St. Louis River. Its longitude was unknown to the mariners, and its direction from Hispaniola was uncertain. While at Hispaniola, La Salle was delayed and cruelly frustrated by the perverseness of Beaujeu, and many of the colonists sickened and died from exposure to the climate. But disappointment, grief, and intemperance were strong predisposing causes, and La Salle already saw the shadow of his coming misfortunes. The fleet sailed at length from St. Domingo, on the 25th of November, for the Mississippi. On the 10th of January, the fleet must have been near the mouth of the Mississippi; but La Salle thought not, and they sailed westward. Presently, perceiving his error, La Salle desired to return; but Beaujeu refused, and thus they sailed westward, and still to the west, till they reached the Bay of Matagorda, which proved to be seven degrees, or more than four hundred miles, west of the Mississippi.

[A.D. 1685.] At length they came in sight of land, at the distance of six leagues. The coast was unknown, and none could ascertain the longitude; the latitude was $29^{\circ} 10'$ north, but whether east or west of the Mississippi, none could tell. La Salle persisted that the river was far to the east of them. Soon after, they were overtaken by a storm, and one vessel, with a large supply of provisions, implements of husbandry, and ammunition, was wrecked and lost. All were anxious and distressed; but M. Beaujeu, the commander of the fleet, had differed with La Salle on the voyage; both were imperious and unyielding, and the breach had widened daily. The naval commander had conducted the colony to the shores of the Mexican

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 169. See, also, Martin, vol. i., p. 104.

Gulf, and refusing to be longer delayed after his duty had been performed, he resolved to return to France, and to leave La Salle to locate his colony, and to discover his great river. Impatient and resentful, he caused the little colony to be landed at the first convenient harbor, and set sail for Europe, leaving the wretched colony, of about two hundred and thirty souls, destitute and helpless, in an unknown and savage wilderness, huddled together in a rude fort made of the fragments of their wrecked vessel.

The bay near which they were left proved to be a portion of the present Bay of Matagorda, on the west side of the Colorado, and near eight hundred miles, by the indentations of the coast, west of the Mississippi.

For weeks La Salle continued to search for the hidden river, by coasting along the shore east and west, and by expeditions by land for the same object. In the mean time, his colony remained encamped near the Matagorda Bay. About the middle of March, the Indians began to exhibit a hostile attitude, and to threaten the destruction of the colony. At length, late in April, he moved fifteen miles further up the river, where a rude fort was erected for the protection of the people against Indian massacre, and here they opened a field and a garden for corn, beans, and vegetables. This settlement and fort were called "St. Louis," and comprised the first French settlement in Texas.

Here La Salle planted the arms of France, erected the cross, and formally took possession of the country in the name of his king. This settlement of the country, thus formally occupied, made Texas a portion of Louisiana,* and gave to France a claim which had never been relinquished when Louisiana fell into the possession of the United States, nearly one hundred and twenty years afterward.

Having secured his little colony from savage massacre, he began to extend his explorations in search of the Mississippi. Parties were dispatched toward the east and toward the west, in hopes of gaining some intelligence of the river. La Salle at length set out himself to seek the Mississippi, in canoes, with an ample crew; but after an absence of four months, and having explored the coast for one hundred and fifty leagues, he returned to his colony with the remnant of his detachment, un-

* Darby's Louisiana, p. 16.

successful, himself in rags, and having lost thirteen men in the expedition.* Yet his presence was sufficient to inspire hope in the desponding colony, and he continued indefatigable in his exertions to discover the river, which he still believed to be east of them.

[A.D. 1686.] The colony had been on the Colorado more than a year, and La Salle determined to seek the Spanish settlements of Northern Mexico. For this purpose, "in April, 1686, he plunged into the wilderness with twenty companions, lured by the brilliant fiction of the rich mines of St. Barbe, the El Dorado of Northern Mexico. Here, among the Cenis Indians, he obtained five horses, and supplies of maize and beans. He found no mines, but a country unsurpassed for beauty of climate and exuberant fertility."

"On his return, he heard of the wreck of the little barque which had remained with the colony, and he heard it unmoved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies, and with the giant energy of an indomitable will, having lost his hopes of fortune, his hopes of fame, with his colony diminished to about forty souls, among whom discontent had given birth to plans of crime, with no European nearer than the River Panuco, no French nearer than the Illinois, he resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the North, and to return from Canada to renew his colony in Texas.†

The colony began to suffer; the depredations and hostility of the Indians had prevented the advantages which they had hoped from their little crop, and they suffered for food. The summer was past, and the winter was not remote, and La Salle determined to make an effort to reach the Illinois country. From the Indians he had learned that the Spanish settlements of Western Mexico were within four or five hundred miles on the west. This convinced him that he was certainly west of the Mississippi, yet he dared not make their situation known to the Mexican authorities, for France and Spain were now at war: his only alternative was to seek the Illinois country.

Having made preparation to search for this remote region, he set out with a party of twenty men, some time in the month of October. He proceeded in a general northeast direction about four hundred miles, through unknown lands, and tribes speaking a strange language. Having proceeded thus far, he was

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 106-110.

† Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 172.

taken sick, his provisions and ammunition began to fail, and he was compelled to retrace his steps to his fort on the Colorado. During the winter following, he was indefatigable in supplying his colony with every requisite afforded by the country, and in placing it in the best condition to make a good and plentiful crop the ensuing spring. But time passed off slowly, under gloomy apprehensions.

[A.D. 1687.] La Salle at length became impatient, vexed, harassed, and discouraged. Small incidents vexed him much; his men became impatient and censorious upon him as the author of all their misfortunes; and he, in turn, became harsh and severe to his men. They had been compelled with him, in his unavailing searches, to encounter the marshes, the bayous, swollen creeks, and the inhospitable deserts of western Texas. They had been in this unknown region for more than two years; many of their number had died, having suffered much from the climate, and other privations incident to their condition; others had been killed by the Indians, until the colony was reduced to less than forty persons.*

The remainder had become desperate in the hopelessness of their condition, when La Salle at last, in January, determined, as a last effort, again to seek relief from the Illinois settlements, toward the northeast, or from France herself. With this determination, he set out early in March upon the perilous journey, accompanied by sixteen men, provided with wild horses obtained from the Cenis Indians for their baggage, clothed in skins, and in shoes made of green buffalo hides. Thus equipped, the party set out, through wide prairies and woods, following the buffalo paths for roads, confiding in the courage of their leader, and hoping to win favor with the savages. The remnant of the colony, including twenty men, were to remain at Fort St. Louis, and await their return.

They had proceeded probably three hundred miles, and were upon some of the western branches of the Trinity, when they encamped to recruit their exhausted frames and to procure game for their sustenance in the progress of their journey. Dissatisfaction and jealousy among his companions finally ripened into mutiny. Two men upon a hunting excursion murdered Moranget, the nephew of La Salle; and three days af-

* Some account of La Salle's colony may be seen in Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 20-23.

ter, when La Salle, led by the hovering of the vultures, was in search of his missing nephew's murdered body, concealed in the grass, he fell without uttering a word, shot dead by Dehault, one of his men, who was skulking in the high grass. The long-suppressed feelings of revenge and mutiny in one of the conspirators, Leotat the surgeon, gave vent in the expression, as La Salle fell, "You are down now, grand bashaw! you are down now!" and they proceeded to despoil his body, which was left naked upon the prairie to be devoured by wild beasts.

Thus perished the Chevalier la Salle, one of the most enterprising, indefatigable, and persevering of all the early explorers of the Continent of America. He was a man whom no misfortune could daunt and no terror could alarm, a martyr to the cause of truth and to the welfare of his country. Yet, to the sorrow of France, and the everlasting ignominy of the unfeeling and treacherous Beaujeu, he was compelled to die a murdered exile, after suffering in mental anxiety and in physical toil more than a thousand deaths.

The murderers themselves soon after met their fate from the hands of their companions. Joutel, with the surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide for the Arkansas, and, proceeding in a northeastern direction, they came upon a French post, erected by De Tonti,* where a hut was tenanted by two Frenchmen, near the present post of Arkansas, sixty miles from the Mississippi. The weary pilgrims some time afterward reached the Illinois, there content to spend the remainder of their lives. But after a delay of four months, they set out for Quebec, to report the disasters of the colony. On the ninth of October, 1687, about seven months after the death of La Salle, they arrived at Quebec.

The remnant of the colony left at the Bay of St. Bernard either died of famine and disease, or were taken captive or destroyed by the Indians. They were never heard of afterward.*

* This party, according to other authorities, consisted of Joutel, Cavalier, brother of La Salle, Father Athanasius, and seven others. They made their way northward, and reached the country of the Nassonites or Nassonians, high up Red River. Further on they found the Ceniz or Cenecians, who furnished them with horses and guides to the Arkansas. Among the Ceniz they were joined by four Frenchmen who had deserted the year before, and had escaped to the Indians. See a full account given in Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 22, 23.

† Stoddart, following the authority of a manuscript of La Harpe, says the remnant of this colony was seized by Spanish cruisers in 1689, and by them carried to Mexico. This is probably the truth.—*Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 24.

The Chevalier De Tonti, having heard of La Salle's arrival in the West Indies, on his voyage for the mouth of the Mississippi, had descended by way of the Illinois with a detachment of men and supplies, to meet the colony. But when he reached the mouth of the river, he found no trace of La Salle or his colony. After an anxious, long, and vain search for his friend, he returned to the Illinois, and thence to Fort Frontenac.

[A.D. 1689.] In 1689, the Mexican authorities, having heard of the French colony on the Bay of St. Bernard, sent a detachment of troops, under Don Alonzo de Leon, to search for them; but when they arrived at the site of "Fort St. Louis," no white man was found. Having heard that the French had retired to the country of the Assinai Indians, near Red River, Don Alonzo proceeded toward the Assinai towns, where he was courteously received by the natives, but the French were not to be found; and, after a delay of some days, enjoying the hospitality of the Indians, he set out on his return, having designated this part of the country "Texas," or *friends*. Thirty years afterward, the Spaniards sent missionaries to this portion of the country, where they at subsequent periods established military posts, or *presidios*, around which grew up the first Spanish settlements in Texas.*

Thus ended the first attempt of the French to settle the regions of the Lower Mississippi. The same fortune attended all the first European settlements in North America, until they began to be sufficiently numerous and powerful to withstand the natives and the climate. From the death of La Salle the whole region on both sides of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, and for an indefinite extent east and west, was known as Louisiana, and the river itself as the St. Louis River: both in honor of Louis XIV., king of France.

The further prosecution of discoveries on the Lower Mississippi was interrupted, until the year 1698, by the harassing and bloody war kept up against the province of Canada from 1689 to 1696, by the Iroquois Indians and the British colonies† of New England and New York.

But the occupation of the Illinois never was discontinued from the time La Salle returned from Frontenac, in 1681. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois, in 1687, and in 1689 La Houtan bears testimony that it still con-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 126, 127.

† Idem, p. 122-128.

tinued. In 1796 a public document proves its existence; and it was the wish of Louis XIV. to preserve it in a good condition; and when Tonti, in 1760, again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadians, residents on the Illinois.*

From the time of La Salle's departure from France, in 1684, with his colony, for the Mississippi, the jealousy of England had been awakened against the extension of the French dominion in North America; to arrest which, the usual intrigue of the English cabinet was put in operation.

About that time, the English began to excite the Iroquois tribes of Indians to hostilities against the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. In 1687, the cabinet of St. James was using every exertion, by court intrigue and diplomatic negotiation, to lull the French court and the province of Canada into a fatal security. It affected an anxious desire to conclude a treaty of neutral friendship and peace between their respective colonies, while the Governor of New York was secretly and treacherously intriguing with the Iroquois tribes, and endeavoring to excite their jealousy and hostility against the French on the St. Lawrence. He endeavored to induce them to make sudden and unexpected attacks and incursions against their defenseless settlements, and promised, in that case, not to desert his red allies in any event.

New France was a feeble colony in the midst of hostile savages. The actual French settlements, as yet, had not extended upon the lakes. "West of Montreal, the principal French posts, and those but inconsiderable ones, were at Frontenac, at Mackinaw, and on the Illinois. At Niagara there was a wavering purpose of maintaining a post, but no permanent occupation. So weak were the garrisons, that the English traders, with an escort of Indians, had ventured even to Mackinaw, and, by means of the Senecas, obtained a large share of the commerce of the lakes. In self-defence, French diplomacy had attempted to pervade the West, and concert an alliance with all the tribes from Lake Ontario to the Mississippi. The traders were summoned even from the plains of the Sioux; and Tonti and the Illinois were, by way of the Ohio and the Alleghany, to precipitate themselves on the Senecas, while the French should come from Montreal, and the Ottawás and other Algonquins,

* Bancroft's Hist. of the U. States, vol. III., p. 125.

under Ducantaye, the vigilant commander at Mackinaw, should descend from Michigan. But the power of the Illinois was broken; the Hurons and Ottawâs were almost ready to become the allies of the Senecas. The savages still held the keys of the great West; intercourse existed but by means of the forest rangers, who penetrated the barren heaths around Hudson's Bay, the morasses of the northwest, and the homes of the Sioux and Miamis—the recesses of every forest where there was an Indian with skins to sell. 'God alone could have saved Canada this year,' wrote Denonville in 1688. But for the missions at the West, Illinois would have been abandoned, the fort at Mackinaw lost, and a general rising of the natives would have completed the ruin of New France."* Such was the danger of the French settlements of Canada from the hostilities of the Indian tribes.

The following year the English began to make open demonstration of hostilities in Hudson's Bay and Acadie, while the Indians of the Five Nations began to be very troublesome in their attacks on the French settlements and the trade of the St. Lawrence. The whole population of all Canada was only 11,249 souls,† exposed to Indian hostility and English intrigue.

On the 7th of June, the following year, the Count de Frontenac was appointed governor-general of New France. Difficulties were increasing between the two courts, and warlike preparations were progressing in the province of New France. During this time the Iroquois, or Five Nations, instigated by their English neighbors of New York, had been preparing a secret expedition against the upper settlements of the St. Lawrence. On the 25th of August, 1689, they made a sudden, unexpected, and terrible irruption, with fifteen hundred warriors, into the Island of Montreal. The whole island was ravaged with fire and sword; all the settlements were destroyed; the town and fort of Montreal were taken; all the victims who fell into the hands of the Indians were butchered with unheard-of cruelties.

After spreading blood, horror, and consternation in every direction until October, they retired, with threats that not one Frenchman should be found living in Canada at the opening of the next spring. In the mean time, England had formally declared war against France. From this time, the war against

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 178.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 126-128.

New France was waged with vigor and perseverance, both by England and the Iroquois tribes, until the year 1696, when the treaty of Ryswick put a close to hostilities. While the English fleets and troops had ravaged all the province on the sea-board, and up the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec and Montreal, the Iroquois allies had repeatedly ravaged the upper settlements, yet at the close of this war the population of Canada had increased to 13,000 souls.*

[A.D. 1696.] After many vacillations relative to their course of policy with the French, the Western tribes became settled in their determination. The prudence of the memorable La Motte Cadillac, who had been appointed governor at Mackinaw, confirmed the friendship of the neighboring tribes, and a party of Ottawâs, Potawatamies, and Chippewâs surprised and routed a band of Iroquois, returning with piles of beaver and scalps as trophies.

Soon afterward, Frontenac, then seventy-four years old, conducted an invasion against the Onondagas and Oneidas. He ravaged their country, destroyed the corn, burned their villages, and caused the enemies of the French to seek safety in flight. In August he encamped near the Salt Springs, upon the site of Salina. Frontenac refused to push his victorious arms against the Cayugas; he declined to risk more, as if uncertain of the result. "It was time for him to repose," and the army returned to Montreal. He had humbled, but not subdued, the Five Nations, and left them to suffer from a famine. They were left to recover their lands and their spirit, having pushed hostilities so far that no negotiation for peace was likely to succeed.†

[A.D. 1697.] So soon as this war was fairly terminated, France proceeded to occupy and settle the Valley of the Mississippi, pushing her colonies into it from the North and South at the same time. In the North they entered from Canada and the lakes, by way of the Illinois and Wabash Rivers; at the South they advanced from Mobile Bay and River, and through the passes of the Mississippi at the Balize.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 137.

† Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 191.

CHAPTER III.

ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS FROM CANADA UPON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI AND OHIO RIVERS, TO THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH WAR.—A.D. 1696 TO 1764.

Argument.—Settlements near the Missions, and La Salle's Trading-posts on the Illinois.—At Peoria.—Kaskaskia.—Missionaries visit the Lower Mississippi.—Detroit settled in 1701, by La Motte Cadillac.—Peace with the Iroquois and Western Tribes.—English Jealousy.—Hostile Foxes humbled in 1713.—Settlements on the Upper Mississippi from 1712 to 1720.—Accession of Emigrants from Canada and Louisiana.—Renault and two hundred Miners arrive.—Trade between the Illinois and Mobile.—Agriculture in the Illinois and Wabash Countries.—Ohio River unexplored.—Fort Chartres built in 1721.—Villages in its Vicinity.—Jesuits' College at Kaskaskia.—Advance of the French South of the Niagara River.—On Ontario and Champlain.—Fort Niagara built in 1726.—Crown Point in 1737.—Ticonderoga in 1731.—Tuscarawas join the Five Nations.—Post St. Vincent's erected in 1735.—Presque Isle in 1740.—Agriculture of the Wabash in 1746.—English Jealousy.—Villages of the Illinois Country in 1751.—Population of Kaskaskia.—French advance to the Head Waters of the Alleghany River in 1753.—Forts Le Beuf, Venango, Sandusky.—Ohio Company of Virginia.—Gist visits the Ohio Region as Agent of the Company in 1753.—English Colonies remonstrate against the Advance of the French.—Major Washington Commissioner to Le Beuf.—His Mission unsuccessful.—Governor Dinwiddie rouses the People of Virginia to resist the French on the Ohio.—Captain Trent advances to the Ohio in 1754.—Lieutenant Ward's Detachment captured by the French.—Fort Duquesne erected by the French.—Colonel Washington marches a Detachment to the Monongahela.—Captures a Detachment under M. Jumonville, who is killed.—Colonel Washington surrenders "Fort Necessity" to the French, and retires to Fort Cumberland.—French Forbearance and Moderation.—Arrival of General Braddock at Alexandria.—Preparations for the Capture of Fort Duquesne.—General Braddock marches from Fort Cumberland for the Ohio.—Falls into an Ambuscade on the Monongahela, and utterly defeated.—French at Duquesne undisturbed for two Years.—General Forbes, in 1758, advances to the Ohio.—Occupies Fort Duquesne.—All Canada falls under the British Arms.—France relinquishes New France and Louisiana, by the Treaties of 1763 and 1763, to Spain and Great Britain.

[A.D. 1696–1700.] THE trading-posts established by La Salle, and the missions south and southwest of Lake Michigan, were points of attraction around which emigrants and adventurers from Canada were annually collected, until each became a small French settlement. The frequent visits of La Salle among the Miami Indians, and those on the Illinois, had prepared the way for further intercourse and trade by his successors. The glowing descriptions of the country given by him and his predecessors had been such, that the imaginations of adventurers were filled with the ideas of a terrestrial paradise in the delightful regions of the Illinois and the Mississippi.

pi. The climate, too, was said to be comparatively mild, and the forests to abound in the choicest products of fruits, which yielded a spontaneous supply. Such descriptions served as strong temptations to the inhabitant of the cold and comparatively sterile shores of the St. Lawrence and the lakes. Adventurers continued to advance from the older settlements of Quebec and Montreal to the more fertile and temperate region in the Far West. Their route was through the lakes first traversed by Marquette in 1673, and by La Salle in 1679, and through the Straits of Mackinaw to the mouth of the St. Joseph's River of Michigan, and to Chicago Creek of Illinois. From these points they passed over the dividing ridge to the head branches of the Illinois, the Des Pleins on the west, and the Kankakee on the east. There were still living many who had traversed these routes with La Salle in the various journeys which he made in this region; others had volunteered to accompany the Chevalier de Tonti in his fruitless search for the unfortunate La Salle and his colony, which had been lost in Texas. Some of these still lingered in the Illinois country in the capacity of settlers, traders, or *voyageurs*. The route had become familiar, and civilized communities had been formed at several points upon the Illinois and Mississippi. Before the close of the seventeenth century, "Old Kaskaskia" had been founded in the "terrestrial paradise," and many desired to leave Canada to enter its delightful abodes. Missionary stations had grown into regular parishes. They had been formed on the Illinois as high as Peoria Lake, and Fathers Gravier and Maurest had long had the care of their little flock; and up to the year 1705, they had a colony of converted Indians near Lake Peoria, who shared their apostolic care. Nor were other points west and south of the Illinois country neglected. Kaskaskia had already become a populous and happy village, and other settlements and towns were rapidly rising into note. Missionaries, at this early day, had penetrated west of the Mississippi, and south as far as the mouth of Red River. Fathers Montigny and Davion had visited the Yazoo and Tansas Indians, and had established a missionary station near the promontory of Fort Adams, which for many years afterward was known as "La Roche à Davion." St. Comé had likewise established a mission among the Natchez Indians.*

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 148-152.

Such had been the inveterate hostility of the Five Nations until this time, that the whole region south of the lakes, from Fort Frontenac to Green Bay, was a savage wilderness, traversed only by a few hardy traders and missionaries. Not a French village or settlement existed south of the great lakes, from the St. Lawrence to the Illinois country on the west. Yet many of the Western tribes were kind and hospitable to the French emigrants, and mutual confidence prevailed. Amity was confirmed by treaties formally made with the principal tribes. In the summer of the year 1700, the Ottawás and Hurons from Mackinaw assembled at Montreal; and the four upper nations of the Iroquois "sent deputies to Montreal to weep for the French who had fallen in the war."* After a rapid negotiation, peace was ratified between the Iroquois on one side, and France and her Western allies on the other. "A written treaty was made, to which each nation placed for itself a symbol: the Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas, a calumet; the Oneidas, a forked stick; and the Mohawks, a bear." It was declared, also, "that war should cease between the French allies and the Sioux; that peace should reach beyond the Mississippi."†

Thus did France open the way for the peaceful extension of her settlements into the western parts of Upper Canada. "In the summer of 1701, in the month of June, De la Motte Cadillac, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred men, took possession of the site of Detroit, and formed a settlement" on the beautiful river of the lakes. "The country on the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair was deemed the loveliest in Canada." France now claimed all the country south of the lakes, and upon all the streams occupied by the tribes in alliance with her, and comprising all the territory drained by the lakes and the St. Lawrence; and this extensive region was called Canada, or New France.

The jealousy and bigotry of England never slept. No effort was omitted which might stir up hostilities between the "Five Nations" and the French of Canada. New York claimed all the territory south of Lake Ontario; and the provincial government looked with jealous suspicion upon all friendly intercourse between the Indians and the French traders or missionaries. In the autumn of the year 1700, after the treaty of

* Bancroft's Hist. of U. States, vol. iii., p. 193.

† Idem, p. 194.

Montreal with four of the Iroquois nations, in the belief that "the influence of the Jesuits gave to France its only power over the Five Nations, the Legislature of New York made a law for hanging every popish priest that should come voluntarily into the province."* This might be said to be the first act of legislative intolerance in New York.

[A.D. 1705.] The elder Marquis de Vaudreuil was now governor of Canada, and had lost no opportunity for securing the friendship of the Five Nations of New York. The four Western nations south of Lake Ontario still adhered to the French interests. The Mohawks and some Eastern towns alone were under British influence.

[A.D. 1712.] Mutual friendship and confidence continued between the French and all the Western tribes; and emigrants from the St. Lawrence continued to advance, by way of the lakes, to Detroit, and to the Illinois country. Towns had grown up near the missionary stations and trading-posts: "Old Kaskaskia" had become the capital of the Illinois country. As early as the year 1712, land-titles were issued for a "common field" at Kaskaskia; and deeds and titles came in use to designate the acquisitions of private enterprise. The traders had already opened a commerce in skins and furs with the remote port of Isle Dauphin, in Mobile Bay. Intercourse was opened between Quebec of the North and the infant colony of Louisiana in the South; the latter being a dependence of Canada, or New France.

[A.D. 1713.] England, in 1711, had declared war against France, and vainly endeavored to restrict her pretensions south of the St. Lawrence and the Eastern lakes. Along the Atlantic coast war had been waged, with alternate success, between the colonies of New England and of New France; and each were aided by their savage allies respectively. But in the West, France had triumphed over Indian hostility, until English and Mohawk emissaries had penetrated to the Far West, to excite the restless Algonquins to war against them. With none of these was peace more uncertain than with the Ottogamies, or Foxes, "a nation passionate and untamable, springing into new life from every defeat, and although reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present every where, by their ferocious enterprise and savage daring." It was not until the year 1713

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 194.

that they were finally subdued. Resolving to burn Detroit, they had pitched their lodgings near the fort, which M. Dubuisson, with but twenty Frenchmen, defended. Aware of their intention, he summoned his Indian allies from the chase; and about the middle of May, Ottawas and Hurons, Potawatamies and one branch of the Sacks, Illinois, Menomonies, and even Osages and Missouris, each nation with its own ensign, came to his relief. So wide was the influence of the missionaries in the West. "Father," said they, "behold thy children compass thee around. We will, if need be, gladly die for our father; only take care of our wives and our children, and spread a little grass over our bodies, to protect them against the flies."

"The warriors of the Fox nation, far from destroying Detroit, were themselves besieged, and at last compelled to surrender at discretion. Those who bore arms were ruthlessly murdered; the rest were distributed among the confederates as slaves, to be saved or massacred at the will of their masters."*

[A.D. 1719.] Population was extending from Mobile upon the Mississippi; and soon after, M. Crozat received the monopoly of trade in Louisiana; his trading-posts were established in the Illinois country, and trade began to assume the regular channels of commerce. Under the Western Company, soon afterward, Philippe Francis Renault, "director-general of the mines of Louisiana," with two hundred miners and artificers, arrived in the Illinois country. This arrival gave a great accession to the French population, and introduced many useful mechanics into the settlements. Illinois was deemed by the company to be a region of mines immensely valuable, which were to enrich the capitalists of Europe.

Fortunately, the hopes of the company concerning the valuable products of the mines were doomed to disappointment, and the public mind was directed more intensely to agriculture. Mines there were, of iron, lead, copper, and perhaps of silver and gold; but they were reserved for a race of men who were to live a century after the dissolution of the company, when monopolies should cease. The richest mines of the country, at this early period, were found in the prolific and inexhaustible soil, which was free to the industry of all classes. Thus an overruling Providence shaped the destiny of the country, which was to become the granary for nations.

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 224.

[A.D. 1720.] By the year 1720, a lucrative trade had sprung up between the Illinois country and the province of Lower Louisiana. Not only the furs and peltries of the Northern tribes, but the grain, flour, and other agricultural products of the Upper Mississippi, were transported down the river to Mobile, and thence to the West Indies and to Europe; and in return, the luxuries and refinements of European capitals were carried to the banks of the Illinois and Kaskaskia Rivers.*

Agriculture had been early introduced around the missionary stations upon the Illinois and at "Old Kaskaskia," and many of the grains of Europe had been naturalized to the climate. Wheat had been found to succeed well as a staple product. The maize, or Indian corn, was in its native soil. The culinary vegetables of the Old World, as well as of the New, yielded a most abundant product. The forest produced the native vine in great profusion, besides many luxuries unknown to Europe. The soil was productive beyond all belief, and a moderate toil supplied every comfort, and richly rewarded the care of the husbandman. Compared with New France, the climate was mild in summer, and the rigors of a Canadian winter unknown. In such a region, should we wonder if, in their peaceful and contented villages, with all the charities of Christianity to soften the ills of life, they should have deemed this region a "terrestrial paradise?"

Nor had the early French confined their discoveries and settlements to the Illinois country. As early as the year 1705, traders and hunters had penetrated the fertile regions of the Wabash; and from this region, at this early date, fifteen thousand hides and skins had been collected, and sent to Mobile for the European market. In the year 1716, the French population on the Wabash had become sufficiently numerous to constitute an important settlement, which kept up a lucrative trade with Mobile by means of traders and voyageurs.† Nor was the route from Lake Erie unknown. For many years this route had been familiar to the *voyageurs* and *courriers du bois*, who ascended the Miami of the Lake by the St. Mary's branch, and, after a portage of three leagues, passed the summit level, and floated down a shallow branch of the Wabash. In the year 1718 this route had been used for two years;‡ for it was established in the year 1716.

* Martin, vol. i., p. 164-188.

† Idem.

‡ Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 346.

At this early period the Ohio River was comparatively unknown, and all that portion below the mouth of the Wabash was known as the continuation of the Wabash River. The Ohio, above that point, was known, only by report, as the "River of the Iroquois," which was often called the *Hoiio* by the Indians. In the French maps of that day, the Ohio River did not occupy half the space allotted to the Illinois. Father Hennepin, in his early missionary labors, and a few other daring missionaries, had visited some of the northern tributaries of the Ohio before the exploration of the Mississippi, under the direction of La Salle; but such had been the implacable hostility of the Iroquois confederacy to the French colonists, that the greater portion of the Ohio River was imperfectly known for nearly forty years after the first exploration of the Mississippi.

Settlements continued to be formed upon the Mississippi below the mouth of the Illinois, and France resolved to circumvent the English provinces on the Atlantic coast by a cordon of military posts, from the lakes of Canada on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, as first suggested by La Salle himself, on his visit to Paris in the year 1684. His plans were now about to be adopted, for the purpose of occupying the great Valley of the Mississippi before any Englishman had crossed the mountains from their Atlantic colonies. This same year the commandant on the Illinois, M. Boisbriant, removed his headquarters to the bank of the Mississippi, twenty-five miles below the village of Kaskaskia.*

The first important step in the accomplishment of this great object was taken in the year 1720. Near the close of this year, arrangements were made for the construction of a strong fortress in the Illinois country, to serve as the headquarters of Upper Louisiana. The site had been selected, and Fort Chartres was begun, on the east side of the Mississippi, about sixty-five miles below the mouth of the Missouri. It was designed by the ministers to be one of the strongest fortresses on the continent, and its walls were built of strong and solid masonry. At the end of eighteen months, and after great labor and expense, Fort Chartres was completed. Its massy ruins, one hundred years afterward, were overgrown with vines and forest-trees, almost impenetrable to the traveler.

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 224.

[A.D. 1725.] Soon after the construction of Fort Chartres, the villages of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and some others, sprung into note in its vicinity. All the settlements from the Illinois to the Kaskaskia continued to extend and multiply. In the year 1721, the Jesuits had established a monastery and a college in the village of Kaskaskia. Four years afterward, the village of Kaskaskia became a chartered town; and a grant of Louis XV. guaranteed the "commons" as the pasture-grounds for the stock of the town. Emigrants, under the favor and protection of the crown, continued to settle the fertile region of the "American Bottom," and Fort Chartres became, not only the headquarters of the commandant in Upper Louisiana, but the center of life and fashion in the West. It was for many years the most celebrated fortress in all the Valley of the Mississippi.

Although the French had made but little advance upon the upper tributaries of the Ohio, yet they had obtained a footing in the Iroquois country, south of Lake Ontario, and east of Niagara River, early in the eighteenth century. Missionaries and traders had penetrated into the interior as far as the sources of the Alleghany River. Joncaire, a French trader and agent, had been many years in the country south of the west end of Ontario; and in the year 1721 he had been adopted as a Seneca, and built his house on the site of Lewistown, where La Salle had erected his rude palisade forty years before. He had acquired the confidence of the Senecas, and exerted great influence over them.* In 1726 Fort Niagara was built, near the mouth of Niagara River, and the French flag waved over its walls, the key to Lake Erie.

Although the English had not crossed the mountains, they had early disputed with France her claim to the territory west of Lake Champlain and south of the St. Lawrence. In the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, England had failed to obtain from France a relinquishment of her dominion over the territory lying south of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. Ten years afterward, the French and English provinces were engaged in a sanguinary war, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. This treaty had left the southern limit of Canada unchanged, and the Iroquois confederacy more firm in their adherence to the French interests. French trad-

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 341.

ers and Jesuit missionaries had free intercourse among many of the Western bands and tribes, as well as among those upon the head waters of the Alleghany River; and while the English agent, Burnet, had built a trading-post at Oswego, near the eastern end of Lake Ontario, in 1722,* the French were extending trading-posts and missions along the shores of Lake Champlain, and as far south as Lake George, in the eastern part of the province of New York, as well as upon many of the southern tributaries of Lakes Erie and Ontario. As early as the year 1724, settlements had been extended as far as Crown Point, on the west side of Champlain; and this point was strongly fortified in 1727.† Four years after, in 1731, Ticonderoga, on the west side of the lake, was a strong French fortress; and the Mohawks looked upon the French as their allies and protectors.

The feeling of the Five Nations toward the English had been more or less alienated, since the treaty of Utrecht, by the addition of another nation to the confederacy. This was the hostile part of the Tuscaroras, from the western part of North Carolina. The Tuscaroras were once a formidable tribe; but having been embroiled in hostilities with the English of Carolina, and having their power weakened and their tribe divided by British intrigue, the hostile party left their country, to join their kindred in the western part of New York. They arrived there late in the summer of 1713; and having been welcomed by the confederates, they settled in the vicinity of Oneida Lake, and were adopted into the confederacy as the *sixth nation*. Harassed as they had been by the English of Carolina, they were not likely to form any alliance with them in New York.‡ From this time the confederacy was known as the "Six Nations."

[A.D. 1735.] The settlements upon the Illinois and Wabash Rivers continued to increase, and were successively protected by military posts. In the year 1735 the post of Vincennes was erected, and in later times was called Post St. Vincent.§ For many years it was an important military station. It was situated on the bank of the Wabash, one hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, and was designed to command the lower settlements. The upper settlements at this time were sparsely

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 342.

† Idem, p. 322.

‡ Idem, p. 193, 194.

§ Idem, p. 846.

distributed upon the river and its tributaries, nearly three hundred miles above Vincennes.

[A.D. 1740.] The year 1740 found the French settlements extending south from Lake Erie, upon its southern tributaries, and upon the sources of the Ohio. Forts and military posts began to appear along the northern bank of the Ohio, and generally near the junction of its principal tributaries. Presque Isle, upon the present site of Erie, in Pennsylvania, became a military post almost coeval with that of St. Vincent on the Wabash. From Presque Isle a chain of posts extended down the Alleghany to the junction of the Monongahela, and thence to the mouth of the Wabash.

[A.D. 1746.] In the year 1746, agriculture on the Wabash was still flourishing, and the same year six hundred barrels of flour were manufactured and shipped to the city of New Orleans, besides large quantities of hides, peltry, tallow, and bees' wax.* The Upper Wabash, almost to its source, had become the seat of a large settlement of quiet, industrious people, who were mainly devoted to agriculture, but enjoying also the bounty of nature, found profusely in the forests, as well as in the beautiful lakes and rivers. The climate here, like that on the Illinois, was more congenial than was to be found in the regions of Canada.

The settlements in the Illinois country continued to increase. Those on the Illinois alone, in the year 1730, embraced one hundred and forty French families, besides about six hundred converted Indians,† many traders, voyageurs, and *courriers du bois*. The Jesuit college at Kaskaskia continued to flourish, until the irruption of hostilities with Great Britain.

[A.D. 1749.] It was not until the year 1749 that the French authorities regularly explored the Ohio River, to ascertain its distance and relative position to the Atlantic colonies of Great Britain. They now explored the country east of the Ohio, and upon its tributaries eastward to their sources in the Alleghany Mountains. Alliances of friendship and trade were formed with the various tribes and towns west of the mountains,‡ and within the western portions of the provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, as claimed under their royal charters.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 316.

† North American Review

‡ See Stoddart's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 66.

[A.D. 1750.] The ever-watchful eye of England had been directed to the rapid extension of the French settlements south and west of the lakes. The court of St. James became impatient again to measure arms with France in America, to cross the Alleghany Mountains, and to contend for the fertile and boundless valleys of the West. The settlements of the English provinces were as yet restricted to a narrow and comparatively unproductive strip of territory east of those mountains, and England pretended to claim westward to the Pacific Ocean. She sought every occasion to enlist the savages in her interest, and to incite them to hostilities against the French. She took steps to rouse her colonies into a provincial war in the West, in hope of curtailing the growing power of France in the Valley of the Mississippi. To stimulate personal interest and individual enterprise, a large grant had already been made to the "Ohio Company," to be located on the waters of the Ohio River, to the extent of six hundred thousand acres of choice lands.

The French did not recede from their possessions, but advanced upon the "River of the Iroquois," which to their delighted eyes became the "Belle Rivière" of the West. The Iroquois confederacy had now become reconciled to the French, and many were willing to join them in resisting the claims and encroachments of the English provinces west of the mountains.

[A.D. 1751.] Up to this time, the "Illinois country," east of the Upper Mississippi, contained six distinct settlements, with their respective villages. These were, 1. Cahokia, near the mouth of Cahokia Creek, and nearly five miles below the present site of St. Louis; 2. St. Philip, forty-five miles below the last, and four miles above Fort Chartres, on the east side of the Mississippi; 3. Fort Chartres, on the east bank of the Mississippi, twelve miles above Kaskaskia; 4. Kaskaskia, situated upon the Kaskaskia River, five miles above its mouth, upon a peninsula, and within two miles of the Mississippi River; 5. Prairie du Rocher, near Fort Chartres; 6. St. Geneviève, on the west side of the Mississippi, and about one mile from its bank, upon Gabarre Creek. These are among the oldest towns in what was long known as the Illinois country. Kaskaskia in its best days, under the French regime, was quite a large town, containing two or three thousand inhabitants. But after it passed from the crown of France, its population for many years did not exceed fifteen hundred souls. Under the

British dominion the population decreased to four hundred and sixty souls, in 1773.

[A.D. 1753.] The French court was well aware of the importance of the great Western valley. It was now known that if there were no rich mines of gold and silver north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, there was a more inexhaustible mine in the fertility of the soil and the mildness of the climate. A spirit of agricultural industry had been infused into the Western settlements; in a few years more, Upper Louisiana, which embraced the Ohio region, might become the store-house for France and Western Europe. These advantages were not to be lost without an effort. Nor was the court of Versailles unapprised of the determination of England to secure to herself these valuable resources. Jealous of every movement of the French toward the "Belle Rivière," the British government protested against the occupation of the territories south of the lakes, which they claimed as a part of their Atlantic provinces. The French had explored a portion of the country more than half a century before, and their colonies on the Illinois and Mississippi were more than fifty years old, while the English had not a single settlement west of the mountains. France was resolved to establish her claim by actual possession and military occupation. The Marquis of Duquesne, governor of Canada, determined to secure the beautiful region on the head waters of the Alleghany River, and south of Lake Erie. Presque Isle was strongly fortified; a fort was erected at Lake *Le Beuf*, fifteen miles from Presque Isle; another, superintended by *Legardeur St. Pierre*, a knight of St. Louis, was built at the mouth of French Creek, known as Fort Venango.* Others were in a state of progression on the Sandusky River, and at suitable points on the Ohio. The Governor of New France determined not only to hold military possession of the country, but likewise to restrict the English settlements to the eastern side of the mountains.

The ministers of the British crown had watched with jealous apprehension the advances of the French from Canada to the Ohio River. Border wars and disturbances began to spring up between the subjects of the respective powers. England, desirous of enlisting individual interest and enterprise in settling the Ohio country, had made a liberal offer of lands west

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 322.

of the mountains. The "Ohio Company," formed of wealthy gentlemen chiefly from Virginia, prepared to locate their grant of six hundred thousand acres in select tracts on the waters of the Monongahela, and in the vicinity of the Ohio itself, including a portion of the region already occupied by the French.* At this time no English settlement existed west of the Alleghany Mountains, although traders and emissaries from Virginia had occasionally traversed the country.†

The French now held actual possession of all the northern and western portions of New York, along the southern shores of the St. Lawrence, of Lakes Ontario and Erie, besides all the eastern and western shores of Lake Champlain, and northward to the St. Lawrence. The former allies of the English were still in the French interest, from the Niagara to the Wabash. The English colonies were restricted to the Green Mountains in the north and to the Alleghany ranges in the south, as their western boundaries. Crown Point and Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, were then strong French posts. In Virginia but few settlements had extended west of the Blue Ridge. The site of the old town of Winchester was then a dense forest, although Virginia claimed jurisdiction westward to the Mississippi. The remote frontier post of "Fort Cumberland," in Maryland, had not been erected, and the route by Will's Creek was scarcely known. All beyond and to the west was a savage wilderness, except the French settlements on the north side of the Ohio.

Although the British provinces claimed westward to the Mississippi, the whole region west of the Blue Ridge was unknown to them except by rumor, and the statements of a few traders or emissaries, who, at remote intervals, had visited the West. Occasionally adventurers from Pennsylvania and New York had penetrated to the Miami Indians for the purpose of trade, or from a native propensity for solitary rambles.

The "Ohio Company," which had been formed as early as 1748, now dispatched Christopher Gist, a frontier settler, as an agent, to explore the country, and to report the result of his explorations and discoveries. As a pretext for this arduous and dangerous enterprise, he was sent in the capacity of a trader, whose ostensible object was to carry on a friendly traf-

* Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vol. i.; also vol. ii., Appendix, "Ohio Company."

† Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 160.

sick with the Indians, but in fact to gain over their good-will to the English, by presents of guns, ammunition, and trinkets, whereby a neutrality, if not an alliance, might be secured in case of any collision between the English and French colonies. But the principal object of Mr. Gist's visit was to spy out the movements and plans of the French, and the state of feeling among the tribes. For this purpose, he penetrated by land to the Ohio River, and thence down that stream as far as the mouth of the Great Miami.* Thence he explored the country near the Miami as far north as the towns of the Twightwees, or Miami Indians, whose hunting-grounds were then upon Loramie's Creek, about fifty miles north of Dayton, in the State of Ohio.

After a short sojourn among these western Indians, Gist returned to Virginia, having accomplished but little, and having acquired but little satisfactory information relative to the principal object of his mission, and yet not without serious alarm for his personal safety.† He represented the French to be in great force on the southern shore of Lake Erie, at several points from Sandusky River to Presque Isle; also upon French Creek, a tributary of the Alleghany River. Notwithstanding this intelligence, the company established a small trading-post the following year upon Loramie's Creek. This, however, was soon afterward broken up by the French.

For several years the provinces of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York had been much agitated by the advance of the French south of Lake Erie, and from an apprehension of hostilities by the Indian tribes within the territory claimed by those provinces respectively. In this state of things, the British minister, apprehensive of a rupture in this quarter, had instructed the royal governor of Virginia to build two forts near the Ohio River, for the double purpose of keeping the French in check, and of securing the friendship of the Indians by driving off lawless intruders. At the same time, thirty pieces of light artillery and eighty barrels of powder were shipped from England for the use of these forts when constructed.‡ But in this England was too late: the Governor of Canada had already anticipated this movement by several French forts, which commanded the country north and west of the Ohio.

* See "Cincinnati in 1841," p. 14, 15. † Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. i.

‡ Sparks's Life of Washington, vol. i., p. 21.

When this was made known to the Governor of Virginia, he resolved to take a decided stand. He determined first to send a special commissioner to remonstrate with the French commandant south of the lakes against the encroachments made by the French posts and settlements upon the territory claimed by his Britannic majesty. Accordingly, Major George Washington was duly commissioned, and sent to the headquarters of the French commandant. After a long and toilsome journey through an uninhabited wilderness, he reached Fort Venango, on the present site of the town of Franklin, in the State of Pennsylvania. But the commandant was at Lake le Beuf, whither Major Washington proceeded without delay. He had been instructed to demand of the French commandant the objects and designs of his government, and to assert the claims of Virginia in the name and by the authority of the British crown. He was also privately instructed to examine carefully and report such points in his route as were suitable for military posts, and especially "the Forks," or the point at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers.

He reached the headquarters at Le Beuf in the middle of December, and laid his instructions before M. de St. Pierre. But little satisfaction was obtained. France claimed the country by the right of discovery and settlement, as well as by military possession. These are the strongest of all titles to a savage country. England claimed it by virtue of her first royal charters, and especially that of Virginia, which extended its limits "westward to the South Sea," or Pacific Ocean, at a time when the distance was unknown, and was supposed to be not very remote. France could not recognize such a claim in opposition to her own.

On the same principle, England might claim, not only all the lands east of the Mississippi, but those also beyond it. France admitted the claims of England to extend westward to the sources of all the Atlantic rivers, and even to the most western ranges of the Alleghany Mountains. She denied that Great Britain could justly claim beyond that limit, especially as the country had been discovered, explored, and settled by colonies from New France long before England knew of such a country as the Ohio Valley.

The commissioner, Major Washington, was treated with the utmost courtesy, but his demands were disregarded. In re-

ply to the demands of the Governor of Virginia, the Chevalier M. de St. Pierre, commandant south of the lakes, replied in the most courteous terms, "That the summons could not be complied with, as it did not belong to him to discuss treaties; that the message should have been sent to the Marquis Duquesne, governor of New France, under whose instructions he acted, and whose orders he should be careful to obey."* Washington returned, and, after a tedious and difficult journey, mostly on foot, in the dead of winter, reached Williamsburg, the seat of the provincial government, on the 16th of January, 1754.

[A.D. 1754.] The result of the mission was of course unsatisfactory. Governor Dinwiddie used every means to rouse the patriotic enthusiasm and the indignation of the people against the invaders of his majesty's dominions. He caused Major Washington's journal to be published, to show the insidious designs of the French, and no means were left untried to excite the people to rise and expel the invaders. Troops were raised by calls for volunteers, as well as by enlistments, and a liberal bounty in lands was guaranteed to the soldiers. Major Washington was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the provincial army; military stores and munitions were collected and pushed forward toward the frontiers: a military post was built at Will's Creek, and known as Fort Cumberland.†

The governors of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina were invoked to make common cause against the enemies of the British crown. "The Ohio Company," in which the governor was doubtless deeply interested, lent its utmost aid and influence. It aided to push forward a company of troops, under Captain Trent, to take possession of the country near the Monongahela, and southward to the Ohio.

The governor's instructions were of a warlike character: no less than "to drive away, kill, and destroy, or seize as prisoners all persons not subjects of the King of Great Britain who should attempt to take possession of lands on the Ohio, or any of its tributaries."‡

Captain Trent detached Lieutenant Ward, with forty men, to occupy and fortify "the Forks," or point of land immediately above the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers. This point had been recommended by Major Washington as a suitable position for a military post, and it had

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. i., p. 30.

† Idem, p. 36, 37.

‡ Ibidem.

been determined to occupy it with a fort and trading-post. Lieutenant Ward had no sooner accomplished the object for which he was detached, than he was compelled to abandon the enterprise and surrender the post to the French. The latter had been apprised of the movements from the provinces against them, as well as of the small force which had been advanced to the Ohio and Monongahela. They resolved to defeat such designs, and to prevent the occupation of the country by English troops. War was not their desire, if they could maintain their rights without it.

It was about the middle of April that the bold Contrecoeur descended the Alleghany River with a strong force of French and Indians. The alarm of the detachment under Lieutenant Ward magnified the hostile force to one thousand French and Indian warriors, with a fleet of three hundred canoes, thirty barges, and eighteen pieces of cannon. Resistance was vain. Lieutenant Ward was compelled to surrender the post without a semblance of defense. The French desired to avoid hostilities; and Lieutenant Ward and his detachment were permitted quietly to evacuate the position, and, with their arms and military stores, peaceably to return to the frontier post of Fort Cumberland. The French commander began to erect a regular and strong fortification at "the Forks," which he called "Fort Duquesne," in honor of the Governor of Canada and New France. In a few months it became one of the strongest fortified places west of the mountains, and but little inferior to Fort Chartres itself.

The result of Lieutenant Ward's expedition caused great excitement in Virginia and the neighboring provinces. Troops were expeditiously raised and pushed forward to Fort Cumberland. Virginia determined to enforce her claims by an appeal to arms; and she was well assured that England would rejoice to make it a national war. England had long sought occasion to humble the growing power of her rival in North America. The occasion and pretext had now arrived. France was determined not to yield, unless by the fate of arms, to the domineering claims of Great Britain. She accordingly began the construction of forts in most of the prominent points south of the lakes and north of the Ohio. In each new post was stationed a small garrison; others were re-enforced; and preparations were made daily for the approaching contest. The

Indian tribes were conciliated ; and some were united into an alliance offensive and defensive.

The provinces were in a state of high excitement, and troops were organizing more or less from New York to North Carolina. A strong detachment of Virginia troops, under Colonel Washington, was advanced into the country near the Monongahela. At the Great Meadows, about thirty miles southeast from Fort Duquesne, Colonel Washington received intelligence that a detachment of French troops from Fort Duquesne, under M. Jumonville, were reconnoitering the country, for the purpose of capturing such English as might have entered the disputed territory. This detachment consisted of fifty men, including some Indians. Colonel Washington sought to surprise this small force, and finally succeeded on the 28th of May. M. Jumonville and ten of his men were killed, and twenty-two were taken prisoners ; and but few escaped. This was doubtless a rash movement on the part of Colonel Washington, and scarcely to be justified ; for the French, taken by surprise, were not inclined to resist.*

The French account of this affair, which is uncontroverted, and admitted by Mr. Sparks, declares that the detachment of M. Jumonville were surprised by a very superior force, while totally unconscious that an enemy was near ; that the first intimation of the presence of any hostile force was a volley from their fire-arms, while engaged in their camp duties ; that the fire was repeated, notwithstanding their submission and their imploring attitude, until they were compelled to fire in self-protection, by which the Virginians had one man killed and two wounded.†

The disaster of M. Jumonville's detachment, and the hostile attitude of the provincial troops, were soon known at the headquarters of the French commandant, and a retaliation and reprisal were concerted. No delay was necessary or proper ; but as the provincials were represented in great force, he deemed it proper to draw re-enforcements from other points nearer the lake and Presque Isle. Colonel Washington, apprehending an attack from a stronger force, immediately fell

* Martin errs greatly in reference to this transaction. He says *Jumonville alone* was killed, and all the party surrendered ; but the account by Sparks, in his "Writings of Washington," gives the true state of facts, taken from the French archives, which we have followed. See Sparks, vol. i., p. 36-40 ; also, Martin, vol. i., p. 324.

† Sparks's *Life of Washington*, vol. i., p. 46, 47.

back to the Great Meadows, a few miles west of Uniontown, and near the western side of the Laurel Ridge. Here he erected a fortified camp, and called it "Fort Necessity." By this time he received a re-enforcement, which augmented his force to something over four hundred men.*

Preparations were made for resisting an attack, which was daily apprehended, and the camp was protected by a breast-work and surrounded by a ditch.

On the 3d of July, early in the morning, the French and Indians made their appearance before the fort and upon the adjacent hills; but the attack was not commenced until about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The investing force consisted of about nine hundred men, including French and Indians, under the command of a brother of M. Jumonville, M. Villiers, who had left Fort Chartres with the express purpose of revenging the death of his brother.† The attack was urged with great impetuosity and perseverance, and as vigorously resisted. During the attack, which continued until sunset, the French and Indians fought with great ardor from their positions, concealed behind trees, or lying in the tall grass which covered the meadow. The Virginians fought partly from behind their breast-work and partly from the ditch which surrounded the fort. At sunset a flag was sent to the fort demanding its surrender. Considering the danger of his situation, Colonel Washington agreed to enter upon terms of capitulation, in order to preserve the remainder of his detachment, which had bravely defended themselves for nine hours, under a most destructive fire.

The loss of the Americans in this severe engagement was fifty-eight killed and wounded, besides the loss of two independent companies, increasing their entire loss to seventy killed and wounded.‡

Articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed, with the following stipulations, viz.: the fort was to be surrendered upon honorable terms; the troops were permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, and to retire unmolested to the nearest post on the eastern side of the mountains, upon the express condition that no further settlements or forts should be attempted by the English west of the mountains for one year. The French faithfully observed the conditions, and Colonel

* Sparks's Life of Washington, vol. i., p. 52.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 324.

‡ Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. ii., p. 11.

Washington marched his detachment to Fort Cumberland, on Will's Creek, near the present town of Cumberland, in Maryland. Thus the whole Western country was again left in the possession of the French and their Indian allies.

In all the first collisions between the French and English, in the contest which ensued, the former were uniformly mild and conciliating in their resistance to British aggression; yet they were firm in maintaining their rightful claim to the country. The encroachments of the English were resisted, at first, with courtesy and good feeling. The Governor of Canada had remonstrated with the governors of New York and Pennsylvania against their claims to the territory south of Lake Erie. He protested against their right to occupy the country, and warned them against encroachments, and declared that, were his protestations and warnings disregarded, he should be obliged by his duty to seize all intruders and send them prisoners to Canada.*

As an evidence of the kind and peaceable feeling entertained by the French in the beginning of their struggle for the great Ohio region, we need only cite the facts in relation to the capture and release of Lieutenant Trent, with his whole detachment, who were permitted to retire, with all their arms, equipage, and military stores, to the nearest English settlements; or the capture and release of Colonel Washington and his army, after the slaughter of M. Jumonville and his party. These facts prove unquestionably that they were reluctant to shed blood in the contest.

[A.D. 1755.] During the winter, General Braddock had arrived in the Potomac, with a large regular army from England, for the effectual invasion and conquest of the Ohio country. This army encamped near Alexandria until the severity of winter should cease, and a body of provincial troops could be organized for marching orders. In the mean time, the army was provided with every thing requisite for their comfort, and for the complete subjugation of the territory on the upper portion of the Ohio River. Such an army had never been seen in the provinces. As soon as the spring had sufficiently opened, regardless of the stipulations in the surrender of "Fort Necessity," General Braddock set out from Alexandria, with two regiments of British regulars and one brigade

* Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 319.

of Virginia light troops, for the reduction of the French fortress Duquesne.

His march was directed to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived with the army about the middle of May. Here he was joined by two independent companies from New York, and the whole force, exclusive of provincials, now consisted of two royal regiments of five hundred men each, one of which was commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the other by Colonel Dunbar. Both regiments were furnished with a fine train of artillery, and abundant military stores and munitions. The provincial troops consisted of about one thousand effective men, furnished by the provinces of Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Having been detained at Will's Creek about three weeks for supplies and horses for transportation, General Braddock set out with the whole army upon his march through the wilderness. The army was divided into two divisions: the first, under the commander in person, consisted of twelve hundred men, as the advanced division; the second, commanded by Colonel Dunbar, was ordered to follow by slow marches.

After nearly four weeks of slow and regular marches through the wilderness, the advanced division, in fine health and spirits, arrived, on the 8th of July, at the junction of the Youghiogeny and Monongahela Rivers. The officers and troops eagerly pressed forward, in the belief that in a few hours more they should victoriously enter the walls of Fort Duquesne.

On the morning of the 9th of July the army had reached the last crossing of the Monongahela, within ten miles of the French fort. Here they tarried until noon, and having again set out after their repast, they had just crossed the river, and were slowly advancing in marching order along a defile near the river, thoughtless of danger, when the advancing column was suddenly arrested by a furious fire of musketry and small arms on all sides from an unseen foe, consisting of about eight hundred Frenchmen and Indians.

The whole column was instantly thrown into the utmost confusion and consternation. A total rout and defeat ensued, with the loss of all the artillery, camp equipage, stores, and papers. About three hundred and fifty men were killed on the ground, and about four hundred were badly wounded, many of them mortally. Besides these, twenty-six officers were killed, and thirty-seven were wounded. Among the latter was General

Braddock himself, mortally wounded, who died a few days afterward at Camp Dunbar, near fifty miles in the rear.

The loss sustained by the forces under General Braddock was not altogether the work of the enemy. The panic and consternation of the British troops at the onset were indescribable. The provincials, who were accustomed to Indian warfare, immediately sheltered themselves, after the Indian fashion, behind trees and other objects, from which they kept up a constant fire upon such of the enemy as were visible. The regulars, on the contrary, formed themselves into close columns, which were continually thinned by the incessant fire of the invisible foe. At length, utterly confounded by the slaughter and the panic, which extended to the officers, they collected into squads, and fired furiously and indiscriminately at every point where the crack of a rifle or the smoke of a gun indicated a combatant. The men in the front ranks were often shot down by their terror-stricken companions in the rear. In the same way, every party of provincials who engaged the enemy from their coverts drew upon themselves the fire of the regulars, as well as the enemy in front. Those who were most active in resisting the enemy were almost certain to perish by the hands of their friends. In this way, Captain Waggoner, of the Virginia troops, who had taken an advanced position near the Indians, with eighty men, was driven from his position by the united fire of the Indians and British regulars, after the loss of fifty of his men.

General Braddock himself, in all probability, was killed by one of the indignant provincials. The general had cut down a provincial, for disobeying orders in sheltering himself from the enemy's fire. The brother, who witnessed the act, determined to avenge his death, and awaited the first opportunity, when he lodged his ball in the body of his overbearing commander.* The name of the provincial who is supposed to have fired at Braddock was Thomas Fawcett. Colonel Washington himself declared that many of the brave provincials were killed by the "cowardly British regulars."

The whole force under the command of General Braddock on the Monongahela, including the provincial militia and volunteers from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, was about twenty-five hundred men, of whom two thousand were effective

* See Gordon's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 303, 304. Also, Appendix, p. 613.

troops. Of these, one thousand belonged to the royal regiments, and the remainder were furnished by the colonies.

The advanced division, which sustained the attack and slaughter in this memorable defeat, was composed of at least twelve hundred effective men. About noon, on the 9th day of July, this division crossed the Monongahela in fine spirits, confident of an easy victory, and the capture of Fort Duquesne within a few hours. What a melancholy doom lay behind the bright hopes and the brilliant pageant of that day.*

M. de Contrecoeur, commandant of Fort Duquesne, had received early and continual intelligence of Braddock's arrival in Virginia, and of his regular advance. West of Will's Creek, the French and Indian scouts were constantly abroad, and observed and reported every movement to the commandant, who devised his measures accordingly. Feeling himself wholly unable, with his limited resources, to offer any effectual resistance to such a formidable foe, he despaired of making a regular defense. At this time, M. de Beaujeu, a captain in the French service, proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, to meet the advancing force and to harass their march. He did not expect to draw them into a general engagement, but only to embarrass and retard their advance. Yet such was the apprehension of the savages, that this attempt was deemed hopeless and hazardous, and with difficulty the Indians were persuaded to engage in the enterprise. At length, seeing him firm in his determination, they consented to accompany him, and to aid in forming an ambuscade, but little dreaming of victory. The ambuscade had scarcely been distributed, when the advancing column was seen crossing the river, within a few hundred yards of the defile where the men were distributed.†

The disasters of the Monongahela put an end to the military operations of Great Britain west of the mountains for more than two years. In the mean time, her efforts were redoubled to reduce the French posts near the great lakes and on the St. Lawrence. The fate of war began to crown the English arms with success, and by the close of the year 1758, France had lost all her strong-holds on the lakes and south of them.

While France was victorious upon the Ohio, her arms were advancing with varied success from the St. Lawrence south-

* See Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. ii., p. 468-470. Also, vol. i., p. 66.

† See Butler's Kentucky, 2d ed., p. 30.

ward upon Lake Champlain. In the spring of 1755, Sir William Johnson had erected "Fort William Henry" upon the southern extremity of Lake George, named in honor of George III. This was the extreme frontier of the English settlements in this quarter, and the French lost no opportunity to transfer the war to the east, and upon the shores of Lakes Champlain and George. Fort William Henry was protected by a garrison commanded by Colonel Williams, and was within the territory claimed by France. The Baron Dieskau, the commander of Eastern Canada, determined to reduce the fort and exclude the English.

On the 6th of September, at the head of eighteen hundred Indians and Canadian French, he advanced to the attack, but was most signally defeated, with the loss of many of his brave men, yielding himself a martyr to the cause.*

[A.D. 1758.] The new British minister, William Pitt, had taken the most energetic means to retrieve the honor of the British arms. A numerous and well-disciplined army had been dispatched to Virginia, where it was re-enforced by large bodies of provincial troops under the most experienced officers. This army, well supplied with every thing requisite, and numbering about seven thousand men, began to advance from Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, toward the Monongahela. The French commandant at Fort Duquesne, being duly apprised of the advance of the enemy, and finding himself without assistance or re-enforcement from Canada, deemed it folly to attempt resistance with his feeble force. He accordingly retained possession of the fort, but was prepared to abandon it without resistance whenever the British army should begin to make its appearance. The main body of the latter was within one day's march of the confluence, when the commandant, with his troops, artillery, munitions, and stores, embarked in boats provided for the occasion; and having dismantled the works, he set fire to the buildings at night, and departed down the Ohio in a blaze of light, to join the French troops on the Mississippi.

As he descended the Ohio, he stationed a detachment of troops under M. Massac, at a commanding eminence on the north bank of the river, nearly fifty miles above its mouth, to erect a stockade, which was called Fort Massac.†

* See *Western Pioneer*, vol. ii., p. 12, 13.

† *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 333.

[A.D. 1760.] The war was continued upon the St. Lawrence and near the great lakes for more than two years afterward; when France, having lost all her Canadian territories, was compelled to terminate hostilities by a treaty which deprived her of all her continental possessions in North America.

[A.D. 1763.] By the treaty of Paris, she relinquished in favor of Great Britain all claim to Canada and New France, embracing all the territory east of the Mississippi from its source to the Bayou Iberville. By a secret treaty made previously with the King of Spain, the French king had ceded to the Spanish crown all the remainder of his American possessions on the Mississippi, embracing all Western Louisiana and the Island of Orleans.

Thus ended the dominion of France in North America, and with it terminated all the plans for extended empire on the Mississippi. Hard as seemed their lot, the French population in Louisiana and New France were compelled to submit to the hated power of England; and many Canadians, to avoid this alternative, resolved to abandon their homes and relatives in Canada, and seek the mild paternal rule of France in Western Louisiana.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY FRENCH SETTLERS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.—A.D. 1700 TO 1780.

Argument.—Extent of the "Illinois Country."—Conciliatory Policy of the French toward the Indian Tribes.—Their amicable Intercourse with the Natives.—Picture of primitive Happiness enjoyed by the Illinois French.—Their plain and homely Houses and rural Villages.—"Common Field," and Mode and Distribution of Labor.—Family Interests in the same.—"Commons," and its Uses.—Patriarchal Harmony and Contentment of these Communities.—Moral Influence of the System.—Equality and Happiness of the People.—The Paternal Homestead, and Patriarchal Families.—Costume: Male and Female.—Catholic Religion.—Equality.—Contentment.—Sabbath Amusements and Hilarity.—Trades and Professions.—Idioms.—Habits and Deportment.—Domestic Simplicity of Manners and Virtues.—The mild and indulgent Regime of Spain.—Facility of Incorporation with Indian Character.—English Authority introduced in 1765.—The Jurisdiction of the United States extended over them in 1804.—Their Objections to American Population and Laws.

[A.D. 1700–1740.] For many years the term "Illinois country" embraced all the region east of the Upper Mississippi as far as Lake Michigan, and from the Wisconsin on the north

to the Ohio on the south. The extent of the Illinois country under the French varied but little from the extent of the present State of Illinois. At a later date, its limits on the east were restricted by the "Wabash country," which was erected into a separate government, under the commandant of "Post of St. Vincent," on the Wabash River.

In all the settlements of the French on the Illinois and Wabash Rivers, as well as in Louisiana, they adopted a policy at once singular and benevolent; a policy well adapted to insure unity and harmony among themselves, and to secure the good will and friendship of the numerous tribes in the Northwest by which they were surrounded. They seemed, indeed, constituted to harmonize in all their habits and feelings with the Indians among whom they took up their abode. They had left behind them, among the colonists near the Atlantic border, avarice, that ruling passion of European emigrants in the New World, which has too often sought its gratification in plundering the natives of their little patrimony and the comforts of savage life.

Hence, while other colonies were continually embroiled with the natives in exterminating wars, the Illinois French, who sought peace and friendship, lived in harmony and mutual confidence with the surrounding tribes.

In all their migrations and explorations to the remotest rivers and hunting-grounds, they associated with the Indians "like a band of brothers," as equally the children of the same great Father of all. Free from that selfish feeling which prompts men to associate in separate communities, with distinct and discordant interests, each endeavoring to monopolize all the advantages of time and circumstances, they lived among themselves as one common brotherhood, and yet shared with the Indians their sufferings and their hospitality. Providence smiled upon the happy union of the white man of Europe with the red man of the American wilderness.

The early French on the Illinois were remarkable for their talent of ingratiating themselves with the warlike tribes around them, and for their easy amalgamation in manners, and customs, and blood. Unlike most other European emigrants, who commonly preferred to settle in sparse settlements, remote from each other, the French manifested in a high degree, at the same time, habits both social and vagrant. They settled in compact villages, although isolated, in the midst of a wilderness a thou-

sand miles remote from the dense settlements of Canada. On the margin of a prairie, or on the bank of some gentle stream, their villages sprung up in long, narrow streets, with each family homestead so contiguous that the merry and sociable villagers could carry on their voluble conversation, each from his own door or balcony. The young men and voyageurs, proud of their influence among the remote tribes of Indians, delighted in the long and merry voyages, and sought adventures in the distant travels of the fur-trade. After months of absence upon the sources of the longest rivers and tributaries among their savage friends, they returned to their village with stores of furs and peltries, prepared to narrate their hardy adventures and the thrilling incidents of their perilous voyage. Their return was greeted with smiling faces, and signalized by balls and dances, at which the whole village assembled, to see the great travelers, and hear the fertile rehearsal of wonderful adventures and strange sights in remote countries.*

Such were the scenes at "Old Kaskaskia," at Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and a few other points on the Upper Mississippi, from the year 1720 to the year 1765; and, in later times, at the villages of Fort Chartres, St. Geneviève, St. Louis, and St. Charles; and at St. Vincent on the Wabash, as well as many other points on the Lower Mississippi; at the Post of Natchitoches on Red River, and the Post of Washita on the Washita River; as well as upon the La Fourche, Fausse Rivière, and the coast above New Orleans.

Their settlements were usually in the form of small, compact patriarchal villages, like one great family assembled around their old men and patriarchs. Their houses were simple, plain, and uniform. Each homestead was surrounded by its own separate inclosure of a rude picket fence, adjoining or contiguous to others on the right and left. The houses were generally one story high, surrounded by sheds, or galleries; the walls were constructed of a rude frame-work, having upright corner-posts and studs, connected horizontally by means of numerous cross-ties, not unlike the rounds in a ladder. These served to hold the "cat and clay" with which the interstices were filled, and with which the walls were made, and rudely plastered with the hand. "Cat and clay" is formed by mud, or clay, made into soft mortar, which is then intimately

* See Flint's Geography, vol. I., p. 161-2.

blended with cut straw or Spanish moss, cut fine, instead of hair. The chimney was made of similar materials, and was formed by four long corner-posts, converging toward the top to about one half, or less than the space below.

These abodes of happiness were generally situated on the margin of a beautiful prairie, and beside some clear stream of running water, or on the bank of a river or bayou, near some rich, alluvial bottom, which supplied the grounds for the "common field" and "commons."

The "common field" consisted of a large contiguous inclosure, reserved for the common use of the village, inclosed by one common fence for the benefit of all. In this field, which sometimes consisted of several hundred acres, each villager and head of a family had assigned to him a certain portion of ground, for the use of himself and family, as a field and garden. The extent of the field was proportionate to the number of persons or families in the village. The subdivisions were in due proportion to the number of members in each family. Each individual, or family, labored and reaped the product of his own allotment for his own use.

If the inclosure became ruinous, or was neglected contiguous to the plat of any family, or individual, so as to endanger the general interest, that individual, or family, forfeited their claim to the use of the common field; and their interest was assigned to another person, who would be less negligent.

Each individual, or head of a family, so long as he conformed to the regulations and requisitions of the village, retained his interest in the common field in fee simple, transferable by sale, gift, or otherwise; liable, however, to the general regulations which might be adopted by the village.

The season for ploughing, planting, reaping, and other agricultural operations in the "common field," was regulated by special enactments, or by a public ordinance, and to take place simultaneously in each village: even the form and manner of door-yards, gardens, and stable-yards, and other arrangements for mutual benefit, and the convenience of all, were regulated by special enactment of the little village senate. These were often in such shape and connection as to form a partial protection, like a picketed camp, against any hostile irruption of Indians, provided such event might ever occur.

Near the village, and around the common field, was an ex-

tensive open scope of lands reserved for "commons," or a common pasture-ground. This consisted of several hundreds, and often of thousands, of acres uninclosed, and free for the use of all as a common pasture, as well as for the supply of fuel and timber. Yet no one could take possession of any portion of it, or appropriate it to his own individual use, without the general consent of the villagers. To the indigent, however, who came to settle among them, and to newly-married pairs, appropriations were often made from portions of the "commons" contiguous to the common field, and situated so that it might subsequently be taken into it by extending the inclosure, provided the individuals proved themselves acceptable members of their community.

In making grants of land for the use of a village or community, the commandant always took special care to cause a reservation to be specially designated for a "common field" and a "commons." These were deemed indispensable requisites for every large French village. The same custom was observed by the Spanish authorities after the dominion of Spain was extended over Louisiana.

Nothing was better calculated to improve the simple and benevolent feelings of unsophisticated human nature, to maintain the blessings of peace and harmony, and the prevalence of brotherly love, than the forms of life and the domestic usages which prevailed in these early French villages. Under this benign influence, peace and competence smiled upon them; joy and mirth beamed from every countenance; contentment sat on every brow. The natural affluence which pervaded the whole village was common to all. The prolific soil, solicited by gentle labor as a mere matter of recreation, yielded abundance of all the necessities of life, except those which were derived from the still more prolific waters and the chase. With all these advantages, and all these easy enjoyments, in a climate of great benignity, remote from the strife and conflicting interests of a dense population, what should prevent them from esteeming the Illinois a "terrestrial paradise," as La Salle had termed it in 1682?

How enviable the condition of these children of nature, with but little more care and anxiety of mind than is experienced by the fowls of the air, compared with the toil and anxiety of refined civilization; in which the mind is continually harassed

by the goadings of avarice, and by the incessant efforts to accumulate wealth and honors on the one hand, or, on the other, is straitened under the influence of penury and want, by a constant harassing anxiety in procuring the bare necessities of life, with the constant apprehension of still greater want, as is often seen in the crowded cities of Europe!

In the early French settlements the commons abounded with herds of domestic animals—with cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and others tamed from the forest, which wandered at large—and was used as a general store-house, from which all were freely supplied; while corroding care was banished from hearts as light as those of the beasts that roamed the fields.

In the happy enjoyment of such a life, time glides rapidly on; and to age death came a hasty, but not unwelcome messenger, for they hoped for a still better world beyond the grave.

Care was a stranger in the villages, and was rarely entertained many days as a guest. Amusements, festivals, and holy-days were frequent, and served to dispel dull care, when an unwelcome visitor. In the light fantastic dance, the young and the gay were active participants, while the serene and smiling countenance of the aged patriarch, and his companion in years, and even of the "reverend father," lent a sanction and a blessing upon the innocent amusement and useful recreation. The amusements past, all could cheerfully unite in offering up to God the simple gratitude of the heart for his unbounded mercies.

Fathers, and mothers, and grand-sires enjoyed no higher pleasure than to witness the innocent mirth of their children, and their aged eyes beamed with tranquil delight while they beheld the happiness of the young. Religion was the link which united the joys of life to those of eternity; and with hearts doubly devout, the young and the old, the "reverend father" and the unlettered child, could all retire from a scene of innocent mirth, and humbly render the homage of their hearts to the Supreme Ruler of the universe.

Nor were these festive enjoyments confined to any sex or condition. In the dance all participated, from the youngest to the oldest, the bond and the free; even the black slave was equally interested in the general enjoyment, and was happy because he saw his master happy; and the master, in turn, was pleased to witness the enjoyment of the slave. The mutual de-

pendence of each upon the other, in their respective spheres, contributed to produce a state of mutual harmony and attachment. It has been almost a proverb, that the world did not exhibit an example of a more contented and happy race than the negro slaves of the early French in the Illinois country.* The numerous festivals of the Catholic Church tended strongly to foster the mutual interchange of friendly feelings among those who were thus removed beyond the reach and influence of wealth and power.

In religion all were Catholics, and revered the pope as the great head of the Church, who held the keys of heaven and of purgatory, and dispensed his favors or his frowns through the priests, who were their friends and counselors, and whom they esteemed as "reverend fathers." They knew no difference of sects, nor

"Doctrines framed to suit the varying hour."

Ardently attached to their spiritual guides, religion became one of the great rules of social life. They observed strictly all the outward rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and their lives corresponded with their professions. Ignorant of creeds, except the "Apostles' Creed," they were not skillful disputants; but holydays and festivals were never forgotten or neglected. Gratitude to God, the religion of the heart, and love to mankind, is found more often in the rude stages of civilized life than in the blandishments of wealth, and among the accumulated temptations of refinement and intelligence.

As has been observed by Major Stoddart, who was lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana in 1804, "Perhaps the levities displayed, and the amusements pursued by the French people on Sundays, may be considered by some to border upon licentiousness. They attend mass in the morning with great devotion; but after the exercises of church are over, they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious Protestant habits such parties and amusements appear unseasonable, strange, and odious, if not prophetic of some signal curse on the work-

* See "The Far West." This is a very interesting little work, in two volumes, 12mo, by an anonymous author. It was published in 1837 or 1838. It contains some fine sketches of the Western country, of Western manners and customs, and many graphic descriptions of the natural beauties of the West, chiefly on the region of the Upper Mississippi.

ers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed that the French people, on those days, avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements, much more, indeed, than they can see in certain night conferences and obscure meetings in various parts among the tombs.

"When questioned relative to their gayety on Sundays, they will answer, that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior, are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they say they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sunday will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the remainder of the week.

"Such are the religious sentiments of a people void of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners, and innocent recreation, and who present their daily orisons at the throne of Grace with as much confidence of success as the most devout Puritan in Christendom."*

The *costume* of the early French was plain, simple, and unique, differing but little from that of the Creole and Acadian French of Louisiana at the present time, as seen upon the Lafourche, the Teche, and in the Acadian settlements of Opelousas and Attakapas.

The winter dress of the men was generally a coarse blanket *capote*, drawn over their shirt and long vest. The *capote* served the double purpose of cloak and hat; for the hood, attached to the collar behind, hung upon the back and shoulders as a cape, and, when desired, it served to cover the whole head from intense cold. Most commonly, in summer, and especially among the boatmen, *voyageurs*, and *courriers du bois*, the head was enveloped in a blue handkerchief, turban-like, as a protection from solar heat and noxious insects. The same material, of lighter quality, and fancy colors, wreathed with bright-colored ribbons, and sometimes flowers, formed the fancy head-dress of the females on festive occasions: at other times they also used the handkerchief in the more patriarchal style.

* See Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 316, 317.

The dress of the matrons was simple and plain; the old-fashioned short jacket and petticoat, varied to suit the diversities of taste, was the most common over-dress of the women. The feet in winter were protected by Indian moccasins, or the more unwieldy clog-shoe; but in summer, and in dry weather, the foot was left uncovered and free, except on festive occasions and holydays, when it was adorned with the light moccasin, gorgeously ornamented with brilliants of porcupine quills, shells, beads, or lace, ingeniously wrought over the front instead of buckles, and on the side flaps.

The *idiom* of these villagers, especially in those of the Illinois country and Upper Louisiana, was in many points different from that of the European French, both in the pronunciation and in the signification of words. In general terms, the Illinois idiom seemed destitute of that nervous and animated brilliancy of expression peculiar to the Parisian French: In the Creole French of Louisiana, at this time, there is perceptible a slow, drawling, or nasal sound of many words, which gives to conversation a languid air, not often seen in Europe. Yet the Creole French tongue is more pure than might have been expected, after a protracted separation of nearly a century from the parent country, and much of the time under a foreign dominion, with the introduction of a foreign language among them.*

Under the French dominion, the government was mild and paternal; a mixture of civil and military rule, without the technicalities of the one or the severity of the other. The commandant was invested with despotic authority; yet he rarely exercised his power otherwise than in a kind and paternal manner, and for the general welfare of his people. In return, he received not only their obedience and respect, but also their love.

The peculiar manners and customs of these French settlements at first, and for an age afterward, isolated, and a thousand miles from any other civilized community, became characteristic and hereditary with their descendants, even to the present time. From their first settlement on the Illinois and at Kaskaskia, one hundred and fifty years ago, they have uniformly enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the Indian tribes. From long intercourse, and by assimilating themselves

* See "The Far West."

in a great measure to the habits and customs of the native tribes, and by their peaceable and conciliatory characters, they had become almost identified as brothers. While the Anglo-Saxon race was establishing colonies along the Atlantic coast, from the close of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, ever restless and discontented, were struggling with the savage occupants for the sterile and sandy shores of Virginia and New England, and the rocky barriers of the interior, the French, far removed from civilization, in the very heart of the continent, and surrounded by every thing in nature which could fascinate the eye or delight the fancy, in peace and friendship with the tribes, lived contented, happy, and prosperous, in the full enjoyment of the "terrestrial paradise of America."*

In the appearance of the "patriarchal homestead," among the country settlements, there was something peculiarly interesting, which reminds us strongly of a primitive simplicity but rarely seen in the present day. The patriarchal homestead of detached settlements stands in the middle of a spacious inclosure, used as a common yard for several generations. This inclosure may contain one or two acres, and sometimes less; it is the residence of the oldest member of the family, who possibly has occupied it for more than half a century. Each child or grand-child, who, having arrived at the years of maturity, and become the head of a family, may be found settled in a small thatched or mud cottage at one side of the paternal inclosure, rears up a flourishing young family, which, with their increase, are branches of the original family, having a community of interest and feeling. At length, the aged patriarch becomes surrounded by a dozen growing families of his own lineage, until the third and fourth generations will be found living in perfect harmony, each family occupying its own cottage around the patriarchal roof. Scenes of this kind are yet seen upon the French coast above and below New Orleans, upon the Lafourche, the Teche, and other French settlements of Louisiana, in the region of Opelousas and Attakapas.

As their lands were generally held in common, and vacant lands were free to all, the relation of landlord and tenant was unknown; vested rights of chartered companies were equally unknown, and no inflated and unfeeling aristocracy lorded it over the humble poor, reduced to a dependant and servile peas-

* See "The Far West," vol. ii., p. 155.

antry. The wealth of all consisted in their good name, and in their unrestrained freedom to enjoy the bounties of nature. Some possessed more personal property than others; but wealth gave no exclusive privileges. Superiority depended alone upon superior merit.

The common people, in their ordinary deportment, were often characterized by a calm, thoughtful gravity, and the saturnine severity of the Spaniard, rather than the levity characteristic of the French; yet, in their amusements and fêtes, they exhibited all the gayety of the natives of France. Their saturnine gravity was probably a habit, adopted from the Indian tribes with whom they daily held intercourse, and in whose sense of propriety levity of deportment on ordinary occasions is esteemed not only unbecoming, but unmanly. The calm, quiet tenor of their lives, remote from the active bustle of civilized life and business, imparted to their character, to their feelings, to their general manners, and even to their very language, a languid softness which contrasted strongly with the anxious and restless activity of the Anglo-Saxon race, which is fast succeeding to the occupancy of their happy abodes. With them hospitality was hardly esteemed a virtue, because it was a *duty* which all cheerfully performed. Taverns were unknown, and every house supplied the deficiency. The statute-book, the judiciary, and courts of law, with their prisons and instruments of punishment, were unknown; as were also the crimes for which they are erected among the civilized nations of Europe. Learning and science were terms beyond their comprehension, and their technicalities were unheard. Schools were few, and *learned men* were rare; the priest was their oracle in matters of learning, as well as in the forms and observances of religion. The village school was the great source and fountain of book-knowledge, and there the rising generation might acquire all the elements of a complete education for a French villager.

On politics and the affairs of the nation they never suffered their minds to feel a moment's anxiety, believing implicitly that France ruled the world, and all must be right. Worldly honors and distinctions were bubbles unworthy a moment's consideration or a moment's anxiety. Without commerce, they knew not, nor desired to know, the luxuries and the refinements of civilized communities. Thus day after day passed

by in contentment and peaceful indolence. The distinction of wealth or rank was almost unknown; all were upon a natural equality, all dressed alike, and all met as equals at their fêtes and in their ball-rooms.

The virtues of their primitive simplicity were many. Punctuality and honesty in their dealings, politeness and hospitality to strangers, were habitual; friendship and cordiality toward neighbors was general; and all seemed as members of one great family, connected by the strong ties of consanguinity. Wives were kind and affectionate; in all respects, they were equal to their husbands, and held an influence superior to the females in most civilized countries. They had entire control in all domestic concerns, and were the chief and supreme umpires in all doubtful cases. Did a case of casuistry arise, who so well able to divine the truth, or so well qualified to enforce the decision, as the better half?

Among the villagers, we have said, there were few distinctions; the more enterprising became, of course, more wealthy, by trade and traffic with the Indians, in the purchase and sale of furs, peltries, and other commodities supplied by the native tribes.

The "*traders*" kept a heterogeneous stock of goods in their largest room, where their assortment was fully displayed to the gaze of the purchasers. The young men of enterprise, wishing to see the world, sought occupation and gratification as *voyageurs* or boatmen, as agents for the traders, or as hunters, to visit the remote tribes upon the furthest sources of the Mississippi and the Missouri, in company with the trading expeditions which annually set out from the Illinois country.

Mechanic trades, as a means of livelihood, were almost unknown; the great business of all was agriculture, and the care of their herds and flocks, their cattle, their horses, their sheep, and their swine, and each man was his own mechanic.*

Thus lived the French in New France and Louisiana, until after the Canadian provinces had been wrested from the French crown by the arms of England, and the English power was extended over the Illinois in 1765. But a change came over their peaceful abodes. Should Frenchmen submit to the hated dominion of England, their most inveterate national enemy? Many preferred to leave their homes and their fields, and to

* See "*The Far West*," vol. i., p. 163.

seek new abodes under the dominion of France, which still prevailed west of the Mississippi. The French settlements of the Illinois then began to decline ; and, to prevent their entire abandonment, the English governor, instructed by his government, gave assurances that their religion should be protected, and their rights and property remain inviolate under the dominion of Great Britain. Many consented to remain ; but many retired to Western Louisiana. Then it was that the French settlements began to extend upon the west side of the Mississippi, within the present limits of the State of Missouri.

But their peace was soon interrupted here. Rumor soon proclaimed that all Western and Southern Louisiana had been ceded to Spain. The rumor was too true ; for already they were subjects of the Spanish king. Although the Spanish authority was not formally extended over them for five years, yet these five years were years of trouble, suspense, and disappointment.

The government of Spain, like that of France, was mild and paternal ; nor did the Spanish authorities care to interfere with the established usages and customs of the French population, but extended every indulgence which could be desired from a kind and lenient government. A few years served to dispel all dissatisfaction at the change of rulers, and the French villagers and voyageurs, for thirty years more, continued to enjoy their "terrestrial paradise," under their ancient forms of government and the Catholic religion, on the west side of the Mississippi.

Nor was their peace again disturbed until the Anglo-Americans from the United States began to approach the Mississippi in the regions of the Illinois and Old Kaskaskia. This approach, however, was only the precursor of a new era, with themselves, in Upper Louisiana, and of a total change in their happy and retired mode of life. A few years brought the unwelcome news that all Louisiana had been ceded to the United States, and that soon a new system of jurisdiction was to be extended over them.

Previous to the cession of Louisiana to the United States in 1803, the French had become assimilated in feelings with their Spanish rulers, who wisely combined the laws of Spain and France. "The laws of Spain were introduced only so far as related, generally, to municipal arrangement and real estate ;

while the common law of France governed all contracts of a social nature, modified by, and interwoven with, the customs of the people. Each district had its commandant, and each village its syndic; besides judges in civil affairs for the province and officers of the *militia*, a small body of which was stationed in every district, though too inconsiderable to afford much protection to the inhabitants. These rulers were appointed by the governor at New Orleans, to whom there was the right of an appeal. The lieutenant-governor, who resided at St. Louis, was commander of the troops. Thus the government was a mixture of civil and military; and though arbitrary to the last degree, yet we are told the rod of domination was so light as scarcely to be felt.

"However this may be, it is certain they did not well relish, at first, the change in the administration of justice when they came under the jurisdiction of the United States. The delays and the uncertainty attendant on trial by jury, and the multifarious technicalities of our jurisprudence, they could not well comprehend, either as to its import or utility; and it is not strange that they should have preferred the more prompt and less expensive decisions of the Spanish tribunals."*

* Stoddart's Louisiana.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST COLONIZATION OF LOUISIANA UNTIL THE CLOSE OF CROZAT'S MONOPOLY.—A.D. 1698 TO 1717.

Argument.—Retrospect of the Illinois Settlements.—D'Iberville undertakes to Colonize Lower Louisiana.—Sails with his Colony from Rochelle, September 24th, 1798.—Leaves the West Indies, and reaches Florida in January, 1699.—Casts anchor at Isle Dauphin.—Disembarks his Colony on Ship Island.—Sets out to explore the Mouth of the Mississippi.—Enters that River on the 2d of March.—Finds Letter of De Tonti to La Salle, dated 1685.—Returns by way of the Bayou Iberville to Bay of St. Louis.—Builds Fort Biloxi, May 2d.—Sails for France.—English Attempts to pre-occupy Louisiana.—The British King bribes Hennepin to lie.—British Colony arrives in the Mississippi.—Condition of the Colony at Biloxi.—Bienville superintends the Colony as Governor.—Explores the Channel of the Mississippi.—Iberville returns with another Colony.—Builds a Fort on the Bank of the River.—Ascends the River as far as the Natchez Tribe.—Selects a Site for Fort Rosalie.—The Natchez Indians.—Their Customs and Religious Ceremonies.—Interview with the "Great Sun."—Boundary between Louisiana and Florida compromised.—The Colony at Biloxi reduced by Sickness and Death.—Exploring Parties.—Unrivalled Water Communications.—Death of Sauvolle, Commandant.—Iberville retires to France.—His Death in 1706.—Extravagant Mining Credulity continues.—Explorations for Mines.—Feeble Condition of the Colony from 1704 to 1710.—Louisiana made Independent of Canada.—Bienville Governor-general.—Banks of the Mississippi neglected.—Crozat's Monopoly granted, 1712.—Extent of Louisiana defined in his Grant.—Population of the Colony in 1713.—Crozat's Enterprise, Zeal, and Plans of Trade.—He is excluded from Trade with Florida and Mexico.—Settlements extend.—Natchitoches on Red River settled.—Trading-posts established.—Disappointment and Failure of his Plans.—Expenditures of Crozat up to 1716.—Fort Rosalie built in 1716.—The new Governor, L'Epinal, arrives with Troops.—Crozat surrenders his Charter in 1717.—Condition of the Colony at his Surrender.

We have already seen that, from the exploration of the Mississippi by La Salle, in 1682, emigrants, *voyageurs*, and traders from Canada continued to visit and occupy portions of the Illinois region, as well as a few points on the Upper Mississippi. Many of those who had first accompanied La Salle in his perilous advance south and west of Lake Michigan became permanent settlers, attached to the mild climate and the prolific soil. Thus small French settlements began to be made in the vicinity of La Salle's trading-posts more than a thousand miles in advance of the settlements of Canada, where the unambitious white man dwelt in peace with the red man of the wilderness. Other restless spirits and hardy adventurers from Canada longed to see the region which had been described by La Salle and others as the most delightful country on earth. The

veteran Chevalier de Tonti had remained in command on the Illinois while La Salle was in France organizing his colony for Lower Louisiana; and in 1685, having heard of his arrival with his colony in the West Indies, he had descended the river with a party of Canadians and Indians to greet him and his colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. Finding no vestige of his colony, and unable to obtain any certain intelligence of his fate, he returned to the Illinois, where he remained at the head of affairs until the year 1700, when he descended the river again with twenty Canadians to greet the new colony of Iberville.* Occasionally, before this time, the traders and voyageurs, as well as the Jesuit missionaries, had descended the river from the Illinois country to the Chickasâ and Natchez Indians; but after the arrival of Iberville's colony, these adventurous voyages were more frequent.

[A.D. 1698.] The court of France had been engaged in wars and political intrigues, and nothing toward colonizing Louisiana had been effected since the disastrous expedition of La Salle. Twelve years had elapsed, but his discoveries and his unfortunate fate had not been forgotten. At length, in 1698, an expedition for colonizing the region of the Lower Mississippi was set on foot by the French king. It was placed under the command of M. d'Iberville, who had been an experienced and distinguished naval commander in the French wars of Canada, and a successful agent in establishing colonies in Canada, Acadie, and Cape Breton. D'Iberville was a man well qualified for the undertaking; his judgment was mature, his manner stern, and his decision and action prompt in the execution of his plans.

He was willing, after encountering the snows and icebergs of Hudson's Bay and St. Lawrence, to transfer the theatre of his operations to the burning sands of Florida. Desirous of distinction also in the South, and willing to serve his country in any sphere, he accepted the trust of colonizing the Lower Mississippi. The Spaniards had already formed a settlement and taken formal possession of the coast of West Florida, and Pensacola had become a fortified town, with a colony of three hundred Spaniards from Vera Cruz.

In the summer of 1798, D'Iberville entered upon the command of the enterprise of colonizing Louisiana. With his little

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 195.

fleet of two frigates, rating thirty guns each, and two smaller vessels, bearing a company of marines and two hundred colonists, including a few women and children, he prepared to set sail from France for the mouth of the Mississippi. The colonists were mostly soldiers who had served in the armies of France, and had received an honorable discharge. They were well supplied with provisions and implements requisite for opening settlements in the wilderness.

It was on the 24th day of September, 1798, that this colony sailed from Rochelle.* A long and tedious voyage of seventy-two days gave them a safe anchorage in the harbor of Cape François, in the Island of St. Domingo. To D'Iberville the governor gave a hearty welcome, and bore a willing testimony to his good judgment.†

[A.D. 1699.] A large additional ship of war, rating fifty guns, commanded by Chateaufort, was detailed to escort the fleet to the shores of Louisiana; and on the first of January, 1699, the colony, thus protected, set sail from St. Domingo in search of the mouth of the Mississippi. After twenty-four days, the fleet cast anchor off the Island of St. Rose, a few miles east of the bay, known to De Soto one hundred and sixty years before as the Bay of Achusi, and subsequently designated by the Spaniards as the Bay of St. Mary de Galve.‡ A few miles up the bay was the Spanish settlement of Pensacola, protected by a strong fort and ample garrison. The fleet cruised off the mouth of Pensacola Bay for several days; but the Spanish governor, obedient to his orders, and to the maxims of the commercial system, would permit no foreign vessel to enter the harbor. Sailing further to the west, the fleet anchored off the island first called Massacre, and known to the French subsequently as Dauphin Island, lying west of the present Bay of Mobile. A few days afterward the fleet sailed westward, and the water near the coast being too shallow for the large vessel from the St. Domingo station, that vessel returned, and the frigates anchored near the Chandeleur Groups, while Iberville explored the channel between Ship Island and Cat Island, and, with his colony, landed upon Ship Island, off the mouth of the Pascagoula River. Here he erected huts for his people; and afterward discovered, by coasting in boats

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 141.

† Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 200.

‡ Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 353.

along the shore, the Pascagoula River, and the tribe of Biloxi Indians.

Having explored the coast, and ascertained from the natives the probable course and distance of the outlet of the great river St. Louis, or, as it was latterly known to the French, the "Hidden River," Iberville, on the 27th day of February, set out from Ship Island in boats, to explore the mouth, which had, as yet, never been entered from the sea. In two large barges, one commanded by himself and one by his brother Bienville, each carrying twenty-four men, Iberville moved south and westward along the coast. Three days brought them to the Balize, and they entered, on the second day of March, a wide river flowing into the sea. Father Athanase, a Franciscan, who had been a companion of La Salle in his exploring voyage in 1682, declared this to be the true River St. Louis. The water was turbid, and moved in a vast volume to the sea, its surface bearing down large quantities of floating timber. It could be no other than the Perdido, or "Hidden River." Iberville doubted the father's opinion. He expected to have seen a more expansive mouth, and could not believe this to be the mighty river of the West. The barges, however, were directed to proceed up the stream, and soon afterward he concurred in the opinion of the worthy father. As they advanced, all doubt was dispelled when he beheld in the hands of the Indians, near Bayou Goula, articles which had been distributed by La Salle in 1682; here, also, safely preserved by the wondering natives, he found a letter, written in 1685 by De Tonti to La Salle. Not far from this, as they ascended, he saw in the possession of the natives a portion of a coat of mail, which, in all probability, had remained in the country since the disastrous expedition of De Soto, one hundred and sixty years before. The letter of De Tonti was dated April 20th, 1685, and expressed the extreme disappointment of the chevalier in failing to meet La Salle with his colony, which he knew had already sailed from France. In this letter the chevalier further stated that he had departed from Canada for the St. Louis River, by way of the lakes and Illinois; that he had descended the river to the sea, with a party of twenty-five Canadian French and thirty Indians, in order to join the colony which La Salle had led from France for the settlement of Louisiana; that, having continued near the mouth, as had been previously agreed, and not having been

able to obtain any intelligence of him or his colony, he had returned to the Illinois.*

After several days spent in exploring the country, and holding intercourse with the Indian tribes near the mouth of Red River, Iberville, with his party, descended the river to the outlet of Bayou Iberville, or Manchac. Here being informed of an inland route through to the Bay of St. Louis, he first explored the pass through Bayou Manchac and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, and returned to the settlement on Ship Island, which names were then given by Iberville himself.

Soon afterward, Iberville selected a site, and began to erect a fort upon the northeast shore of the Bay of Biloxi, about fifteen miles north of Ship Island. Here, upon a sandy shore, and under a burning sun, upon a pine barren, he settled his colony, about eighty miles northeast from the present city of New Orleans. This occupation, protected by a fort, under the command of Sauvolle, with four bastions, and defended by twelve cannon, was the sign of French jurisdiction, which was to extend from the Bay of Pensacola on the east to the Rio del Norte on the west.†

Having thus located his colony, and protected them from the danger of Indian treachery and hostility, he made other provision for their comfort and security, and then set sail for France, leaving his two brothers, Sauvolle and Bienville, as his lieutenants; the first to command the fort, and the other as general superintendent of the colony under him.

The movements in France for the colonization of Louisiana had not been unobserved by England. The jealous eye of that grasping power had been observing closely the preparations for colonizing Louisiana and the shores of the Mississippi. "Father Louis Hennepin had been taken into British pay under William III., and had published his new work, in which, to bar the French claim of discovery, he had, with impudent false-

* Martin, vol. i., p. 143, 144.

† According to Martin, Bancroft, and others, the present Bay of Biloxi is the point where Iberville made his first location on the main land, and erected his fort, defended by twelve pieces of cannon; but Stoddart says this fort, afterward known as "old Biloxi," was upon the *Perdido Bay*, twelve miles west of Pensacola. As the French subsequently claimed to the Perdido River and Bay, which was finally agreed upon as the boundary between Louisiana and Florida, in consequence of a prior occupation, we incline to the opinion that Stoddart, who was personally acquainted with the coast, is correct. See *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 24, 26, 42, and 136, 137; see, also, Martin, vol. i., p. 145, and Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 201.

hood, claimed to have himself first descended the Mississippi to the sea." Then it was he interpolated his former narrative with a journal of his pretended voyage down the river. This had been published in London, at the very time the fort at Biloxi was in progress; and at once an exploring expedition and colony, under the auspices of Coxe, a proprietor of New Jersey, was dispatched also to explore the mouths of the Mississippi, under the escort of a British vessel of war,[†] commanded by Captain Barr.

The condition of the French colony on Ship Island and on the Bay of Biloxi was far from pleasant. The barren sands of the coast promised but little in point of agriculture, and the burning suns of the tropics made many sigh for the cool breezes of Hudson's Bay. A truce with the Spaniards of Pensacola might be obtained, but the Indians were also to be conciliated. The latter had already been visited on the Mississippi by Fathers Montigny and Davion, and were considered allies of the French.

Bienville, during the absence of Iberville, lost no opportunity of extending his explorations, and was indefatigable in his exertions to secure the prosperity and perpetuity of the colony. Every opportunity of conciliating the native tribes, as he explored the bays and rivers upon the coast, was duly improved, by attaching them to the French interest, and impressing them with the magnificence of France.

In September, while exploring the channel of the Mississippi, with his boats and lead-lines, a few miles below the present site of New Orleans, Bienville perceived a British corvette of twelve guns slowly moving up the stream. Nothing daunted at his defenseless condition, he sent a flag on board the English ship to Captain Barr, informing him that he was within the dominions of his most Christian majesty; that if he persisted in ascending the river, he should be compelled by his duty to use the force at his command to resist their advance: he signified that there were strong defenses a few miles above, and that he had ample means to enforce obedience to his demands. The Britons grumbled and turned about, but declared that Captain Wood had discovered the river and country nearly fifty years before,[‡] and that they would return with force sufficient to main-

* Bancroft's United States, vol. iii., p. 202. Also, Martin, vol. i., p. 149.

† N. A. Review, Jan. 7, No. 1839.

tain their claim. The English had seen with a jealous eye the advances of the French from Canada to the Upper Mississippi, and now they were making active advances upon the Lower Mississippi. The British crown was anxious to prevent these latter advances into what was claimed as a part of the British provinces. England was willing to supplant the French in the occupancy of the country, and to reap the advantages of their discoveries. But the attempt on the part of Captain Barr to explore the Mississippi was abandoned, and he was seen no more by the French. The point at which he made his return, in commemoration of that circumstance, has since been known as the "English Turn."*

Having failed to dislodge the French from the Mississippi, the English authorities in Carolina subsequently lost no opportunity for annoying the settlements on the Mobile, through the Indian tribes. Yet England still held a nominal claim westward to the Mississippi, while Spain could only protest against the separation of what she was pleased to call the government of Mexico; for France was destined to hold the Valley of the Mississippi, as it were in trust, for a people yet unborn, as an asylum for oppressed humanity.

During the past summer, sickness and bilious fever had made sad ravages among the unacclimated Europeans and Canadians. Many had died from diseases incident to the climate; and the troops had also suffered severely, and their numbers had been greatly reduced. Above all, the commandant of Fort Biloxi, M. Sauvolle, had died during the summer, leaving the youthful Bienville sole commandant and superintendent of the province.

But early in December following, D'Iberville returned with an additional colony and a detachment of troops, in company with several vessels of war.† Up to this time, the principal settlements had been at Ship Island and on the Bay of Biloxi: others had been begun at the Bay of St. Louis and on the Bay of Mobile. These were made as a matter of convenience, to

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 149.

† Among the colonists and officers of the province were St. Denys and Maton, with sixty Canadians. In this arrival came also Lesueur, a geologist who had been sent out to examine some greenish earth which had been seen high up the Mississippi by Dugay and Hennepin in 1680. Iberville brought the king's commission to Bienville as governor of the province, and Boisbriant as commander of the fort. Martin, vol. i., p. 150, 151.

hold and occupy the country ; for his principal object was to colonize the banks of the Mississippi itself. When he learned that the English meditated a settlement on that river, and had sent an exploring expedition to examine its channels and shores, he resolved no longer to defer the occupation of the river by a military post. Accordingly, on the 17th of January, 1700, he set out from the Bay of St. Louis for the exploration of the Mississippi, in search of a suitable site for a fort. He soon selected a point, supposed to be above ordinary high water, about fifty-four miles above the mouth, and about thirty-eight miles below the present city of New Orleans. Upon this ridge, not far from Poverty Point, he located a small colony and erected a small fort.*

[A.D. 1700.] About the middle of February, the veteran Chevalier de Tonti arrived on the Lower Mississippi, with a party of Canadian French from the Illinois. He found Iberville at his newly-erected fort, arranging the settlements for the colonization of the Lower Mississippi. The experience of De Tonti, his knowledge of the Indian language and customs, and his acquaintance with several tribes on the river, rendered him a valuable acquisition to the new colony. With his aid, Iberville determined to ascend the river and explore the country upon its banks, and form friendly alliances with the native tribes of the interior. Accordingly, he hastened to detail a suitable party, in company with De Tonti and Bienville, to ascend the river in barges and canoes. The voyage was continued as far as the Natchez tribe, nearly four hundred miles from the mouth. On the voyage, D'Iberville landed at various points, and formed friendly alliances with such tribes as were seen ; thereby securing for his colony the friendship and hospitality of the natives, and receiving in person an earnest of future friendly intercourse. He had commenced the exploration of Red River as he passed up, but determined to defer it to a future time.

D'Iberville was well pleased with the Natchez tribe and with their country. This tribe was found to be powerful and highly improved : they had made considerable advances toward civilization ; yet, by recent wars, they had been reduced to about twelve hundred warriors. The Natchez country was deemed the most desirable in the province ; suitable for the principal colony, and for the headquarters of the future

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 151.

provincial government; and here he selected an elevated bluff as the site for the future capital of the province. It was the bluff where the city of Natchez now stands. The site was distinguished by the name of "Rosalie," in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain, who had received that name at the baptismal fount.* He designed to establish a fort at this point, as the sign of French jurisdiction; but Fort Rosalie was not erected by his successors until sixteen years afterward. The Count of Pontchartrain had been the friend and patron of Iberville's plan of colonizing the Mississippi, which received all the aid which his influence as minister of marine affairs could give.

In many particulars, the Natchez tribes differed, in the time of Iberville, from the neighboring tribes and nations, both in their appearance and in their mode of civilization. They exerted an extensive influence over the neighboring tribes, several of which were in alliance with them. Of all these allies, the Tensas were strongest in their resemblance, in their persons, their manners, and their religion.

Their religion, in some respects, resembled that of the fire-worshippers of Persia. Fire was the emblem of their divinity; the sun was their god: their chiefs were called "suns," and their king was called the "Great Sun." In their principal temple a perpetual fire was kept burning by the ministering priest, who likewise offered sacrifices of the first fruits of the chase. In extreme cases, they offered sacrifices of infant children, to appease the wrath of the deity. While Iberville was there, one of the temples was struck by lightning and set on fire. The keeper of the fane solicited the squaws to throw their little ones into the fire to appease the angry divinity, and four infants were thus sacrificed before the French could prevail on them to desist from the horrid rites.†

After Iberville reached the Natchez tribe, the Great Sun, or king of the confederacy, having heard of the approach of the French commandant, determined to pay him a visit in person. As he advanced to the quarters of Iberville, he was borne upon the shoulders of some of his men, and attended by a great retinue of his people. He bade Iberville a hearty welcome, and showed him the most marked attention and kindness during his stay. A treaty of friendship was concluded, with permission

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I, p. 152.

† Idem.

to build a fort and to establish a trading-post among them: which was, however, deferred many years.

"The grand chief of the tribe was revered as of the family of the sun, and he could trace his descent with certainty from the nobles; for the inheritance of power was traced exclusively through the female line. Hard by the temple, on an artificial mound of earth, stood the hut of the 'Great Sun;' around it were grouped the cabins of the tribe. There, for untold years, the savage had freely whispered his tale of love; had wooed his bride, by purchase, from her father; had placed his trust in his manitous; had turned at daybreak toward the East, to hail and worship the beams of morning; had listened to the revelations of dreams; had invoked the aid of the medicine-men to dance the medicine-dance; had won titles of honor by prowess in war, and had tortured and burned his prisoners. There were the fields where, in spring, the whole tribe had gone forth to cultivate the maize and vines; there the scenes of the glad festival at the gathering of the harvest; there the natural amphitheatres, where councils were convened and embassies were received, and the calumet of reconciliation passed in solemn ceremony from lip to lip; there the dead had been arrayed in their proudest apparel," supplied with food for their long journey; and there the requiem was chanted by women, in mournful strains, over their bones; and there, too, when a great sun died, persons of the same age were strangled, as his escort into the realms of shades.*

D'Iberville returned to the fort erecting above the mouth of the Mississippi, while Bienville, accompanied by St. Denys, a few Canadians, and a number of Indians, ascended Red River as far as the Yatassee tribe of Indians, who then dwelt chiefly upon the south side of Red River, upon the Bayou Pierre, about thirty miles above the site of the present town of Natchitoches. After a short time spent on the north side of Red River, in the vicinity of the salines, Bienville returned, leaving St. Denys to prosecute the exploration of the country on Red River far into the West.

Soon afterward, late in April, Lesueur set out with twenty men and Indian guides for the country of the Sioux, high up the Mississippi, in quest of mineral wealth.†

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. iii., p. 359, 360.

† Martin, vol. i., p. 153. Stoddart's *Sketches*, p. 37.

[A.D. 1701.] The Spanish governor at Pensacola, unable to expel the French by force, continued to remonstrate against their settlements within the limits of Florida. The English had departed from the Mississippi, and more was now to be apprehended from the Spaniards than from the English. .

[A.D. 1702.] Although Iberville considered the colonization of the banks of the Mississippi his chief object, yet the headquarters of the commandant remained at Biloxi. In the spring of 1702, war had been declared by England against France and Spain, and by order of the King of France the headquarters of the commandant were removed to the western bank of the Mobile River. This was the first European settlement within the present State of Alabama. The Spanish settlement at Pensacola was not remote; but as England was now the common enemy, the French and Spanish commandants arranged their boundary between Mobile and Pensacola Bays to be the Perdido River, and both concurred in resisting the common enemy.

Dauphin Island Harbor, near the entrance of Mobile Bay, was used as a convenient station for the fleet during the summer; and although in a sterile pine region, it served as an excellent shelter for the ships, and for many years afterward it was an important port.

English emissaries from Carolina and Virginia penetrated westward to the head waters of the Tombigby and Alabama Rivers, and excited the Indian tribes to hostilities against the Spanish and French settlements near the coast. Others from Virginia penetrated westward to the Wabash, and excited the northwestern Indians against the settlements and traders of the Illinois country.* Instigated by them, the Coroas had killed the Jesuit Foucault, a missionary among the Natchez.

The whole colony of Southern Louisiana as yet did not number thirty families besides soldiers.† Bilious fevers had cut off many of the first emigrants, and famine and Indian hostility now threatened the remainder. But Iberville had been indefatigable in his exertions to protect and provide for the colony. He had, by his detachments, partially explored the remotest regions; the channels and passes of the Mississippi had been explored; the outlets and bayous of the Atchafalaya, Plaquemines, La Fourche, and Manchac, as well as the lake routes,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 159-164.

† Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 205.

had been discovered; aided by the Canadian French, the great tributaries of the Mississippi had been explored for more than a thousand miles; the Indian tribes had been conciliated, and were the friends of the French; and missionary stations had been established among them by Jesuits from Canada. The general extent and natural resources of the province were known. St. Denys, in the year 1700, had explored Red River, with a party of French and Indians, for nearly a thousand miles. Other parties had explored the lower portions of the Washita and Yazoo. The Arkansas River had likewise been explored far above the present town of Little Rock. Lesueur had likewise explored the Upper Mississippi as far as the St. Peter's River, in search of precious metals of silver and gold.* But all their dreams of precious stones and metals led them only into the remote wilds of the West, to sicken and die, or to return filled with disappointment.

In all the explorations and excursions throughout this vast province, the splendid water-courses, the great high-ways of nature, afforded, by means of boats and canoes, facilities of travel unsurpassed in the world. The light canoe, propelled by the vigorous arm of the voyageur, traversed the most rapid streams with speed but little inferior to the power of steam. Did a rapid or perpendicular fall obstruct the channel, the same sturdy hands dragged the light canoe over the rapid, or carried it around the falls and over the portage.

[A.D. 1704.] The colony had suffered much from sickness. We have said Sauvolle had fallen an early victim to bilious fever, leaving the youthful Bienville in command of the province. D'Iberville, attacked with yellow fever in the West Indies, had escaped with his life; but his health was gone. Unable to sustain the influence of a tropical climate, he had retired to France; after more than a year, he attempted to do service in the West Indies, but here he was attacked with a

* Nothing was done the first two years except to explore the country and form friendly alliances with the numerous tribes of Indians. Stoddart, on the authority of a MS. narrative of La Harpe, during his long service, says that Lesueur ascended the St. Peter's River to the mouth of the Blue Earth River, where in 1702 he erected a fort, called "L'Huillier," in latitude $44^{\circ} 13'$ north, which was abandoned the next year on account of the hostility of the Sioux. Other posts on the Upper Mississippi, above the Wisconsin, were abandoned at the same time.

A settlement and mission were established on the Washita, probably at Sicily Island, in 1703, and another on the Yazoo.—See *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 27.

In 1703, the mineral explorers ascended the Missouri as far as the Kansas River, and finding the Indians friendly, they erected a fort on an island above the mouth of the Osage River.—*Idem*, p. 28.

severe disease, which terminated his life at Havana, early in July, 1706. In him the colony, as well as the French navy, lost a hero worthy their regret.* Thus perished the bold and persevering founder of the province of Louisiana, a martyr to the glory of France, as La Salle had been a few years before.

[A.D. 1710.] Louisiana was as yet only a vast wilderness, nominally under the jurisdiction of France. During the first ten years of the colony, the population had been repeatedly augmented by additional emigrants from France, and some from Canada. Yet they merely lived; prosper they could not, since agriculture was neglected, and the improvident emigrants were scattered over a vast country, vainly searching for gold and silver and precious stones, or seeking wealth in the paltry traffick of furs and skins purchased of the Indians. Those who remained stationary were settled upon the barren shores of Mobile, of Biloxi, and of St. Louis Bay, with an uncertain dependence upon hunting and fishing, or the precarious bounty of the savages. Many of them, with childish confidence, seemed to have expected annual supplies from France, or that the natives would continue to supply their wants. Led away by the most unreasonable hopes as to the spontaneous products of the country, they deemed labor or provident attention on their part wholly superfluous. They even entertained the belief that the wool of the buffalo, which abounded in the prairies, would yield a valuable commodity for export. Instead of building comfortable houses for permanent residence, they roamed to the most remote regions in quest of mines of precious metals. Every new specimen of earth, to their distempered imaginations, was some valuable mineral; every brilliant ore or carburet was pure gold. Nor was the government of France free from the delusion. The ministry had directed that a number of buffaloes should be caught and tamed, to propagate their species in France, for the sake of their wool. Large quantities of earths were shipped to France from the Upper Mississippi, to be assayed by experienced smelters, in hopes of proving it a valuable oxyd of some precious metal. The most extravagant tales of designing men were received with the greediness of entire belief;† rewards were paid to those who gave intelligence of valuable mines, and extravagant discoveries multiplied in proportion to the rewards offered.

* Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 205.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 155.

Hence it is not strange that the colony suffered from want little short of starvation. Several times the colony was driven to extreme suffering for want of the necessary staff of life; and in the year 1701, disease had succeeded to famine, for most of the colonists had sickened, and death had reduced the entire number to one hundred and fifty souls. Three years afterward, or in the year 1704, the same suffering was experienced for food. The horrors of famine and pestilence combined were averted only by the timely relief afforded by the Spanish governor of Pensacola.* For many years the colony was much harassed by Indian hostilities, incited by the British emissaries and traders from Carolina; instead of increasing the number of settlers in compact settlements, the colonial government was anxious to spread them thinly over a vast territory; hence they were easily cut off by the savages. The first maritime trade with the colony was in January, 1709, ten years after the landing of Iberville's colony. This was by a vessel laden with provisions, brandy, and tobacco from Havana, for the purpose of trade;† but the colonists had nothing to barter but hides and peltries, obtained from the natives.

The whole history of the small colonies in Louisiana, for ten years, had been only a tissue of the friendly or hostile relations between detached parties or settlements, and the different Indian tribes; of difficulties encountered by the settlers in their continual efforts to extend the power and influence of France over the savages by treaty or by trade. But now they began to perceive their error. They became convinced that the wealth of Louisiana was in the soil, susceptible of producing every thing requisite for any community. When agriculture began to flourish, provisions became plenty. The colony soon assumed the appearance of a regularly-organized community. Indian girls were employed as servants in private families; twenty negro slaves were now in the colony, and other evidences of luxury appeared. Yet the male population, refusing to labor, amused themselves in every species of idleness. The colony now presented a population of only three hundred and eighty souls, distributed into five settlements, remote from each other. These were on Ship Island, Cat Island, at Biloxi, Mobile, and on the Mississippi. The meager soil of the islands and of the coast, the marshes of the Mississippi,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 161, 162.

† Idem, p. 169.

where D'Iberville had erected a small fort, at the mercy of every flood of the river, and the noxious insects and reptiles, no less than the sighing of the pines near Mobile, warned the new emigrants to seek homes further inland. The French court began likewise to see that a change in the government and general policy of the province of Louisiana was requisite. The colony, so far, had failed to meet the expectations of the crown or the people of France, and a change was indispensable.

Heretofore the settlements of Louisiana had been a dependence on New France or Canada, although separated by a wilderness of two thousand miles in extent. Now it was to be made an independent government, responsible only to the crown, and comprising also the Illinois country under its jurisdiction.

[A.D. 1711.] The government of Louisiana was accordingly placed in the hands of a governor-general. The headquarters, or seat of the colonial government, was established at Mobile, and a new fort was erected upon the site of the present city of Mobile.* Dirou d'Artaguette, as commissary ordonnateur, arrived early in the year 1711, and entered upon his duties. De Muys, the governor-general, had died on the voyage.

It was determined that the colonists should depend upon their own exertions and industry for the principal necessities of life; that agriculture should be fostered, and that the land, which heretofore had been neglected, should be taxed to supply those necessities; that France would supply only such articles as could not be produced in the province. But the settlements were as yet confined to a few sandy islands, and to the sterile coast from Mobile Bay westward to the Bay of St. Louis, and they could not hope to succeed in tilling a barren soil; although the lakes and bays supplied them in abundance with all kinds of fish and water-fowl, they required bread, the product of a generous earth.

Bienville had been appointed governor-general of the province; he had before seen the necessity of agricultural settlements, and his eye had rested upon the deep alluvions of the Mississippi, which were covered with heavy forests and an impenetrable undergrowth of cane, vines, and briars. To remove these, not only time, but vast labor, was required. Yet Bienville had seen that no agricultural colony could prosper near

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 343.

Mobile, and he sought to form settlements on the Mississippi alluvions.

Although exploring parties had been sent to the remotest portions of the province; although every Indian tribe had been visited, yet not one permanent settlement had been made on the banks of the Mississippi; not one vestige of civilized life had been made upon the most fertile regions of the vast province; not one field or village greeted the traveler's eye, if we except the small fort of Iberville, toward the mouth, which had now been abandoned. The government of France, embarrassed and burdened with debt, was unable to maintain the helpless colony.

[A.D. 1712.] In France, it was still believed that Louisiana presented a rich field for enterprise and speculation. The court, therefore, determined to place the resources of the province under the influence of individual enterprise. For this purpose, a grant of exclusive privileges, in all the commerce of the province, for a term of fifteen years, was made to Anthony Crozat, a rich and influential merchant of France. His charter was dated September 26th, 1712. At this time the limits of Louisiana, as claimed by France, were very extensive. As specified in the charter of Crozat, it was "bounded by New Mexico on the west, by the English lands of Carolina on the east, including all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the Isle of Dauphin, heretofore called *Massacre*; the River St. Louis, heretofore called *Mississippi*, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois, together with the River St. Philip, heretofore called *Missouri*, the River St. Jerome, heretofore called *Wabash*, with all the lands, lakes, and rivers mediately or immediately flowing into any part of the River St. Louis or *Mississippi*."*

Thus Louisiana, as claimed by France, at that early period embraced all the immense regions of the United States; from the Alleghany Mountains on the east, to the Rocky Mountains on the west, and northward to the great lakes of Canada. As Bancroft observes, "Louisiana was held to embrace the whole Valley of the Mississippi. Not a fountain bubbled on the west of the Alleghanies but was claimed as being within the French empire. Half a mile from the head of the southern branch of the Savannah River is 'Herbert's Spring,' which flows into

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 178, 179. See, also, Stoddard, p. 133-135.

the Mississippi; strangers who drank of it would say that they had tasted French waters."*

On the west, France claimed to the Bay of St. Bernard, fifty miles west of the Rio Colorado, where La Salle, in 1685, located his unfortunate colony, the remains of which, if any remained, are supposed to have been destroyed or carried off by the Spaniards in 1689.† A large portion of the states of Mississippi and Alabama, not drained by the Mississippi River, were also a part of Louisiana, and so remained for more than sixty years, or until the dismemberment in 1763.

Up to this time, in thirteen years, there had been not less than twenty-five hundred settlers of all kinds introduced into Louisiana, who had been distributed in distant explorations and scattered settlements on the coast west of Mobile. Many had died; some had remained in the Illinois country. Yet the colony had been a source of great expense to the crown. Already 689,000 livres, or about \$170,000,‡ had been expended, when the value of money was not reduced by paper.

[A.D. 1713.] The French population in all this region was still only a few hundred indolent and ignorant colonists, besides a few troops in the forts. At the time Crozat's charter was granted, the whole number of settlers in Lower Louisiana consisted chiefly of twenty-eight families, whose occupation, besides fishing and hunting, was the cultivation of small tracts of sterile lands for gardens, in the pine regions around the bays of Biloxi, St. Louis, and Mobile. The soldiers, distributed in the several garrisoned forts, consisted of one hundred and seventy-five men, comprising two companies of infantry with fifty men in each, and seventy-five Canadian volunteers. There were also at this time twenty negro slaves, a few Jesuits and Franciscans, and king's officers. The whole number of Europeans in Lower Louisiana was three hundred and eighty souls, and about three hundred head of cattle. There were also a few settlements on the Kaskaskia and Wabash Rivers, as well as upon the Illinois. Such was the feeble condition of the colony in Louisiana, the whole commerce of which was secured to M. Crozat as a monopoly, together with the privilege of working all the mines.

Yet Crozat entered upon the enterprise with zeal and ac-

* Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 343.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 203.

‡ Stoddart's Sketches, p. 29.

tivity. He expected to derive great profit from the fur-trade and traffick with the Indians. But the prospect of discovering rich mines of gold and silver held out to his enraptured vision sources of boundless wealth, and tempted enterprise and expense. In the line of commercial trade, the demands of the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, Florida, and the West Indies promised the most certain revenue of the precious metals. The commerce of these countries he vainly hoped to monopolize by favor, intrigue, or otherwise.

Among the many exclusive privileges granted by his charter, besides the trade and commerce of the province, and of all the Indian tribes, and the exclusive privilege of working all the mines of precious metals, was that of importing from the coast of Africa, for sale, one ship-load of negroes every year.

"La Motte Cadillac, now royal governor of Louisiana, became his partner; and the merchant proprietary of Detroit sought fortune by discovering mines and encroaching on the colonial monopolies of Spain." "But the latter attempt met with no success whatever."* A vessel was sent to Vera Cruz with a rich cargo for sale, but it was not allowed to dispose of its merchandise, and every Spanish harbor in the Gulf of Mexico was closed against the vessels of Crozat. The occupation of Louisiana itself was deemed an encroachment upon Spanish territory.

Failing in this quarter, M. Crozat caused settlements or trading-posts to be made in the most remote parts of the province, while explorations were extended into the most distant known tribes. Under St. Denys, a settlement and trading-post was established on Red River, on the site of the present town of Natchitoches, in the present State of Louisiana. St. Denys also explored Red River much further, and advanced on a tour of observation as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte, the present western limit of Texas.† About the same time, a

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 347.

† St. Denys, in 1714, was dispatched with thirty men to Natchitoches, for the purpose of forming a settlement. He was also instructed to explore the country westward, and to observe the movements of the Spaniards on the Rio Bravo, and to see whether they had advanced over that river into Louisiana. He found that they had formed a settlement on the west side of the Rio Bravo, where they had erected a fort, which was called the *presidio* of St. John the Baptist. No settlement had then been made by them east of that river; but they claimed jurisdiction over the country eastward to Red River, under the name of the province of "Texas," signifying "friends," because the Indians were friendly.

small settlement and trading-post was established on the Yazoo, and on Sicily Island, and high up the Washita, on the site of the present town of Monroe, afterward known as the "post of Washita." M. Charleville, one of M. Crozat's traders, penetrated the Shawanese tribes, then known as the "Chouanoes," upon the Cumberland River. His store was situated upon a mound near the present site of Nashville, on the west side of the Cumberland River, near French-lick Creek, and about seventy yards from each stream.*

[A.D. 1714.] Soon afterward, with the aid of a band of Choctås, a fort was built on the Coosa River, two leagues above the mouth of the Tallapoosa, upon an isthmus, where both streams approach within a few hundred yards of each other. This post was nearly four hundred miles above the mouth of the Alabama River; a garrison was placed in it, and the post was subsequently called "Fort Toulouse." The site was the same occupied by "Fort Jackson" just one hundred years afterward.

[A.D. 1715.] In all his calculations and expectations, M. Crozat was doomed to be sadly disappointed. After nearly three years spent in fruitless negotiations with the Spanish viceroy of Mexico relative to commercial intercourse with the Spanish ports on the Gulf of Mexico, and after much delay, vexation, and expense, his vessels were prohibited from trading in any of the Spanish ports. He then attempted to institute commercial relations by land for supplying the interior provinces of New Mexico; but his goods were seized and his agents imprisoned, after a persevering effort of nearly five years.†

The same year, more effectually to hold the country, the French established a small post and mission upon the upper tributaries of the Sabine: the post was known as the post "Le Dout," and was in existence until the treaty of 1763, when Louisiana was ceded to Spain. Another small post had also been erected about thirty miles west of the present town of Nacogdoches, which also was kept up for many years.

During the first thirty years after the settlement of Louisiana, the French commandants kept a watchful eye upon the Spaniards, and sent frequent detachments to the western parts of Texas.—See Stoddart's Sketches, p. 30, 31, and 41.

* See Haywood's History of Tennessee.

† In 1715, La Motte sent St. Denys as envoy to Mexico, to negotiate a treaty of colonial commerce with the viceroy. In this he was successful; and friendly relations were established between the French of Louisiana and the Spanish settlements of the Rio Bravo during the years 1716 and 1717. In 1718, St. Denys was again in Mexico as agent of La Motte and Crozat, with valuable merchandise to exchange for such articles and commodities as were useful in Louisiana. But the viceroy had died, and his successor, regardless of treaty obligations, seized St. Denys as a smuggler and spy,

The trade with the Indians also failed to meet his expectations. The English emissaries from Carolina were active in their efforts to excite the tribes east of the Mississippi to hostilities against the French. Where this was impracticable, they endeavored to annoy the French trade by supplying the same articles at reduced prices. The mines of Louisiana were principally of lead, copper, and iron, all of which were found in great abundance; but they were not profitable. Much money had been spent in searching for gold and silver, without any recompense. Failing to realize any profit from all his contemplated resources, he was unable to meet his engagements with his workmen, agents, and troops, and dissatisfaction ensued. He had expended 425,000 livres in his operations, and had realized from all the sources of trade only 300,000, leaving him the loser of 125,000 livres, or about \$30,000.* His partner, La Motte, the governor, had died recently.

[A.D. 1716.] As yet no permanent settlement had been made at Natchez. A few traders and hunters had frequented that beautiful region, and some stragglers had taken up their abode among the Natchez Indians. A difficulty had occurred, and some Frenchmen had been plundered, and one or two had been murdered. A feeling of hostility manifesting itself among some of the tribe, it was deemed expedient and prudent to erect a fort and to place a small garrison in the Natchez country. Bienville, who was now again governor of the province, repaired to the Natchez tribe in June, and, after settling the difficulty with much sternness and severity, he began the erection of the fort, which had been previously ordered by the king's government. A garrison of eighteen men, under the command of M. Pailloux, was left to defend the post and protect the traders.†

This fort was erected on the site selected by his brother Iberville sixteen years before, and the name by him selected was now confirmed, and the post was called "Fort Rosalie." This fort was situated remote from the bluff which overlooks the river. Its site was probably near the eastern limit of the

confined him in a dungeon, and confiscated his goods as contraband. St. Denys, for more than two years, had been married to a Spanish lady of noble descent; and at length the viceroy, to satisfy popular feeling, liberated him to the city bounds. In September, 1718, he escaped on horseback, and at length, after more than six months, reached Louisiana in April, 1719.—See Stoddart's *Sketches*, p. 33, 34; also, Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 191. * *Idem*, p. 35. † Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 190.

present city of Natchez. This gave Natchez precedence, as a settlement, over every other upon the Mississippi south of the Illinois country.

[A.D. 1717.] Early in the following year, L'Epinaï arrived at Mobile as governor of the province, with M. Hubert, ordonnateur-commissaire. The same arrival brought also fifty emigrants for the establishment of new settlements, and three companies of infantry to re-enforce the garrisons at the different posts.

Through the intrigue of England, the Spanish ports were now all closed against Crozat's vessels, and the interior being cut off from his trade, his plans had all failed. He had been indefatigable in urging his commercial operations; but loss or misfortune lay in his path, and none of his plans prospered. At length, despairing of the ultimate success of his enterprise in a savage country, and having already expended large sums of money without any profit, Crozat determined to abandon the whole scheme. He accordingly petitioned the king to revoke his charter, or to permit him to surrender it to the crown. The king complied with his request, and accepted the surrender of his charter in August, 1717. The government of the colony reverted solely into the hands of the king's officers, and Crozat retired to France.

During the period of Crozat's charter, the colony continued to languish; the settlements increased slowly, and were confined chiefly to the River and Bay of Mobile, and other parts of the coast westward from Biloxi. Two small settlements had been commenced on Red River, near Natchitoches and at Alexandria. Although Crozat had introduced many settlers, so that the entire European population had nearly doubled their numbers, yet the whole number of colonists was still only seven hundred souls, of all ages, sexes, and colors. Several small forts had been erected. Among them was the one on the Coosa River, called Fort Toulouse, and the other at Natchez, known as Fort Rosalie. These were merely block-houses, inclosed with palisades to protect the inmates from surprise by the Indians, and to shelter the traders, with their goods and families.

As Mr. Bancroft observes, "For the advancement of the colony, Crozat accomplished nothing. The only prosperity which it possessed grew out of the enterprise of humble indi-

viduals, who had succeeded in establishing a little barter between themselves and the natives, and a petty trade with neighboring European settlements. These small sources of prosperity were cut off by the profitless but fatal monopoly of the Parisian merchant. The Indians were too powerful to be resisted by his factors. The English gradually appropriated the trade with the natives, and every Frenchman in Louisiana, except his agents, fomented opposition to his privileges. Crozat resigned his charter.”*

CHAPTER VI.

LOUISIANA UNDER THE “WESTERN COMPANY” UNTIL THE FAILURE OF LAW’S “MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.”—A.D. 1717 TO 1722.

Argument.—Enthusiasm in France for colonizing the Mississippi.—The Western Company succeeds to the Monopoly of Louisiana.—Charter of the Company.—Its Privileges, Powers, and Term of Existence.—Extravagant Expectations of the Company.—Arrival of the Company’s Officers, Troops, and some Colonists at Mobile.—Bienville appointed Governor.—He desires to extend Settlements upon the Mississippi.—Selects the Site of New Orleans.—Establishes a Military Post on it.—Company refuse to leave Mobile as Headquarters.—Mining Delusion excludes Agriculture.—Extensive Mining Arrangements in 1719.—Bienville’s Agricultural Views embraced by the Company.—Dependent Condition of Louisiana.—Several large and small Colonies from France arrive.—The Spaniards establish Settlements and “Missions” east of the Rio del Norte.—La Harpe maintains his Post near Natchitoches.—Spanish Encroachments.—Correspondence of the Spanish Commandant, De la Corne, with La Harpe, in 1719.—Negro Slavery introduced into Louisiana by the Western Company.—Different early Importations from Guinea.—Value of Slaves.—Sources from which the African Slave-trade is supplied.—Changes in the Government of Louisiana in 1719.—Superior Council organized.—Headquarters removed to Biloxi.—Emigrants and Troops arrive in 1720.—War with Spain.—Operations at Mobile and Pensacola.—The latter captured and burned by the French.—Spanish Incursions from Santa Fé to the Missouri and Arkansas.—Fort Orleans built on the Missouri.—Plan of Defense for the Upper Mississippi.—Lesueur occupies a Post on the St. Peter’s.—Fort Chartres commenced.—Becomes a strong Fortress.—Difficulties in Southwestern Louisiana.—Bienville resolves to occupy Texas.—His “Order” to Bernard La Harpe.—La Harpe’s Occupation of the Bay of St. Bernard.—Indian Hostilities east of the Mississippi.—“Fort Condé” built on the Alabama.—Increase of Population by different Arrivals.—Colonies.—Convicts.—Females from the Houses of Correction in Paris.—Interdiction of Convicts to Louisiana.—Arrival of Emigrants and Slaves.—New Orleans becomes the Capital of the Province.—Embarrassment of the Western Company.—Sufferings of the Colonies and Scarcity of Food.—Revolt of Troops at Fort Condé.—New Orleans in 1723.—Picture of Law’s celebrated Scheme.—Its Character.—False Basis.—Credit System.—Mining Delusion.—Schemes for procrustinating the Catastrophe.—Bursting of the “Bubble.”—Calamitous Consequences of an inflated Currency.

[A.D. 1717.] “THE Valley of the Mississippi inflamed the imagination of France; anticipating the future, the French na-

* Hist. of United States, vol. iii., p. 348.

tion beheld the certain opulence of coming ages as within their immediate grasp; and John Law, who possessed the entire confidence of the regent, obtained the whole control of the commerce of Louisiana and Canada.* Trade, commerce, and inexhaustible wealth were to spring up in the solitudes of America.

No sooner had Crozat surrendered his charter, than others were anxious and ready to enter the same field of adventurous enterprise. A company was organized and received the royal charter, under the name of the "Western Company," connected with Law's Bank of France, and sharing its privileges. This charter conferred upon the Western Company much more extensive powers and privileges than those granted to M. Crozat. The plan of this company was not unlike that of the British "East India Company," and possessed powers and privileges nearly equal. But the plunder of a savage wilderness could not yield such immense revenues as an ancient, wealthy, and effeminate empire. Hence the French West India Company ultimately failed in its operations.

The Western Company had a legal existence, by the charter, of twenty-five years. It was vested with the exclusive privilege of the entire commerce of Louisiana and New France, and with authority to enforce its rights. It was authorized to monopolize the trade of all the colonies in the provinces, and of all the Indian tribes within the limits of that extensive region, even to the remotest source of every stream tributary in any wise to the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers; to make treaties with the Indian tribes; to declare and prosecute war against them in defense of the colony; to grant lands, to erect forts, to levy troops, to raise recruits, and to open and work all mines of precious metals or stones which might be discovered in the province. It was permitted and authorized to nominate and present men for the office of governor, and for commanders of the troops, and to commission the latter, subject to the king's approval; to remove inferior judges and civil officers; to build and equip ships of war, and to cast cannon. The king also granted for the use of the company all the forts, magazines, guns, ammunition, and vessels pertaining to the province.†

Among the obligations imposed upon the company was the stipulation to introduce into the province of Louisiana, within

* Bancroft's U. States, vol. iii., p. 349.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 200-202.

the period of their chartered privileges, six thousand white persons and three thousand negro slaves, and to protect the settlements against Indian hostilities.

It was vainly hoped, on the part of France, that the Western Company would exert a powerful influence in colonizing the vast regions of the Mississippi Valley, while the company looked forward to certain inexhaustible sources of wealth: but what are exclusive privileges in a savage wilderness? Where there are few and destitute settlements, of what value are the spoils?

[A.D. 1718.] In the following spring, early, three of the company's ships arrived in the port of Mobile, having on board M. Boisbriant, the king's lieutenant for Louisiana, bearing the king's commission to M. Bienville as governor of the province, M. Hubert, "director-general" of the company's affairs, besides three companies of infantry, and sixty-nine colonists. Such was the first step of the company to subdue the great Valley of the Mississippi.*

Bienville again entered upon his duties as governor and lieutenant-general of the province. He still deemed it expedient to remove the headquarters of the colonial government from the sterile regions near Mobile Bay, and to establish it upon the banks of the St. Louis or Mississippi River. Upon the sterile lands around Mobile Bay, and the Bays of St. Louis and Biloxi, no agricultural colony could prosper, and without agriculture the province could not be sustained. Upon the fertile alluvions, and the rich hills bordering on the Mississippi and its tributaries, an agricultural community might succeed, and supply the whole colony with all the products necessary to sustain life, and yield a competence to the emigrating colonies. He accordingly resolved to encourage the extension of settlements upon the banks of the Mississippi itself.

In view of this object, he selected a site for a town, and placed fifty men to clear off the grounds, as the location of the future capital of the province, and to erect barracks for the troops. The ground selected was that which is now covered by the lower portion, or French part, of the present city of New Orleans; a name given by Bienville in honor of the dissolute but generous regent of France, and a name which it retains to this day. But M. Hubert, the director-general of

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 202.

the company, refused to remove the offices and the warehouse of the company from Mobile. Of course, Bienville's new settlement remained but little more than a small military post, remote from the settlements. Next spring the river overflowed its banks, the new settlement was completely inundated, and the site seemed to present an uncertain location for a city. The troops were stationed again at Mobile; yet, subsequently, a small military post was renewed at New Orleans, although for three years Bienville's headquarters remained at Mobile. M. Hubert could not agree that the commercial dépôt of the company should be removed from a sea-port which afforded a direct intercourse with the West Indies, whence they could derive the earliest intelligence from France. M. Hubert considered the site of New Orleans an inland point, remote from maritime advantages, and subject to frequent inundations, which must render it unhealthy. Agriculture was not the object of the company, so much as trade and the rich mines supposed to exist in the interior.

The delusion which dreamed of rich mines of silver and gold in Louisiana still haunted the minds of the company and its agents. The most influential men in the province were eager to encourage the search for the precious metals. Notwithstanding the failure of Crozat, the company were willing to believe that the failure resulted more from unskillful assayers than from absence of gold. To remedy this defect, a numerous company of miners and assayers, not less than two hundred in number, was to be sent to Upper Louisiana, under the direction of Francis Renault, "director-general of the mines of Louisiana." Every agent and every trader was required carefully to observe and report the presence of any rich ores which might be discovered in their distant rambles. The inexhaustible soil was neglected as a too tardy source of wealth.*

Yet Bienville, confident that the prosperity of the colony depended upon its agricultural resources, and knowing that nothing was to be expected by the company from free trade with the Mexican provinces or Florida, persisted in his efforts to transfer the colonists to the banks of the Mississippi. The disastrous experiment of M. Crozat was sufficient evidence of this fact; and what was to be gained by the exclusive commerce and trade of a colony which consisted of only a few

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 210-216.

hundred indigent, lazy people, scattered thinly over a savage wilderness? Such was the reasoning of Bienville.

The attainment of riches from the mines of precious metals in Upper Louisiana was equally preposterous. Mines there were, of purest lead, of iron, of copper, and other metals; but not of gold or silver. At length the directory concurred with Bienville, that, after the fur trade with the Indians, the next most desirable source of revenue to the company would spring from a densely settled country of civilized people. It became, therefore, an object of primary importance to encourage the emigration of industrious and useful citizens from France, who should establish regular agricultural settlements upon the fertile lands which spread through the alluvions of the Mississippi, its large tributaries and bayous. To accomplish this object, large grants of land were made to influential and enterprising men, for the purpose of establishing new colonies upon the Mississippi. The largest grants were located upon the banks of the river, within three hundred miles above New Orleans; others were located upon Red River, upon the Washita, upon the Yazoo, and upon the Arkansas. The grant on the Arkansas was made to the noted John Law himself, the Scotch financier, who was now at the head of the Bank of France, and controlled the financial operations of the company as well as of France. Law stipulated to colonize the Arkansas with fifteen hundred German emigrants from Provence, in France, and to keep up a sufficient military force for their protection against Indian hostility. Other grants were upon similar conditions; the number of emigrants to be furnished were proportioned to the extent of the grant.* A change in the condition of the colony was about to be introduced by the new policy which had been adopted; and preparations were active in France, by the different grantees, in collecting their emigrants who were willing to visit the great Valley of the Mississippi.

Although, up to this time, agriculture had been entirely neg-

* Among the grants made for colonies was one to John Law, of twelve miles square, upon the Arkansas; one on the Yazoo to Leblanc and others; one to M. Hubert and others, merchants of St. Malves; one to Bernard de la Harpe, above Natchitoches; one to De Meuse, at Point Coupée; one to St. Reiné, at the Tunicas; one to Dirou D'Artaguet, at Baton Rouge; one to Paris Duvernay, at Bayou Manchac, on the west side of the river; one to Du Mays, at Tchoupitoulas; one to the Marquis d'Anconis; one to the Marquis d'Artagnac, at Cannes Brulées; one to De la Housaie and La Houpe, on the opposite side; one to Madame de Mezières; one to Madame de Chaumonot, at Pascagoula.—See *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 207.

lected in Lower Louisiana, yet upon the Illinois and Wabash agricultural products had become staples of a valuable trade. In the South, although blessed with a soil unsurpassed in fertility, and a climate inferior to none in the world for agricultural productions, the colonists had been dependent on France, or upon the caprice of chance and circumstances, for all their supplies. Instead of locating themselves upon the fertile hills above Bayou Manchac, or upon the deep alluvions of the river, they had all disembarked upon the crystalline sands of Dauphin Island, where they were often reduced to a state of want and suffering by any accidental interruption in the arrival of supplies expected from France.

Whatever the mines of Upper Louisiana might ultimately yield, it had become evident that the true wealth of Louisiana had been entirely neglected. This neglect had several times reduced the infant colony to the verge of destruction. Twenty years had now elapsed since the first settlement of Louisiana by Iberville, and yet the people were dependent upon France for all their supplies, except such as were derived from the chase or the prolific waters, unless supplied from the precarious bounty of the savages. Thrice had the colony been on the verge of famine; and fortune, not their own enterprise, rescued them from starvation.

Meantime the Spaniards were advancing from Mexico to the east side of the Rio del Norte, and were establishing their claims to the province of Texas by actual occupation. During the last two years, they had established several "missions," or fortified settlements, in Western Texas; and others were contemplated as far east as the Adaës, near Natchitoches, and upon the Delta of Red River. Advancing from the "Mission of St. John Baptist," on the Del Norte, they had erected the mission of San Antonio de Bexar, on the northeast side of the San Antonio River. Advancing still further, they erected the "Mission of La Bahia," on the San Antonio River, not thirty miles north of the Bay of St. Bernard, which they designated *Espiritu Santo*, and near the present town of Goliad. These towns are the oldest Spanish settlements in Texas, and were occupied as early as the year 1716. During the Spanish dominion over Louisiana, they became places of great importance. Goliad, as its name implies, was "the place of strength." One hundred years after its first settlement, "it contained sev

eral thousand inhabitants," and, situated upon a high, rocky bluff, upon the bank of the San Antonio River, "its fortifications, which were built almost entirely of stone" by the Spaniards, were deemed impregnable.

Soon after the establishment of these posts, the Spaniards advanced to Nacogdoches, upon the waters of the Angelina, a tributary of the Nechés. Having established a "mission" at this point also, they advanced eastward to the Adaës, in the vicinity of the present town of Natchitoches. Here they established the "Mission of San Miguel de Linarez," upon the banks of the Adaës, and the settlement is still commemorated in the adjacent lake, now known as "Spanish Lake."*

Such were the advances of the Spaniards toward the Mississippi as early as the years 1716 and 1718.

Among the most noted "missions" of Western Texas, in subsequent years, were those of the Alamo, in Bexar; San José and Conception, situated a few miles below the city of San Antonio; and Espiritu Santo, near Goliad.

The French kept a jealous eye toward the approaches of the Spaniards from Mexico; but such was the feeble condition of the colonies in Louisiana, that the country west of the Mississippi had not been occupied until the year 1718, when emigrants began to arrive for that portion of the province.

[A.D. 1719.] During the past year, Bernard de la Harpe had received a grant for a colony on Red River, near the present site of Natchitoches. Late in the autumn he arrived with a colony of sixty settlers, and near the close of December reached the point of his location. He had orders to occupy the country with a military post, and to explore it westward. Having selected his situation, in January he began to make a permanent settlement, and to construct a military post on the present site of Natchitoches. From this point,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 204-209. In 1718, the principal eastern settlement of Mexico was the Presidio of St. John the Baptist, six miles west of the Rio del Norte. The same year settlements and missions were extended into the western portion of Louisiana, or what was known to the Spaniards as the province of "Texas." A mission was established among the Adaës Indians, within twenty miles of the Natchitoches tribe. This was the mission of San Miguel de Linarez. The following year, 1719, two friars, accompanied by a few soldiers, joined the mission among the Adaës, to catechise them, among whom several Frenchmen had settled. At the same time, the Spaniards had established several missions among the Assinai Indians, residing about thirty miles east of Nacogdoches, or nearly one hundred and forty miles west of Red River, and in the region designated by them New Philippine.—See Stoddard, p. 142. Also Moore's Texas, ed. 1840, p. 74.

subsequently, during the summer, he explored the country westward, far into the province of Texas, and lost no opportunity of conciliating the Western tribes, and of opening with them a friendly intercourse by means of trading-posts established among them.

Early in the spring, other colonies began to arrive for some of the principal grants. Among these, the first large colony was that of M. Dubuisson, who arrived in April at Mobile, with sixty families, to settle a grant made to Paris Duvernay, on the right bank, or west side, of the Mississippi, opposite the Bayou Manchac, or Iberville. In June one of the company's vessels arrived, with upward of eight hundred emigrants, for different grants and settlements. These proceeded from the harbor of Dauphin Island, by way of the Bay of St. Louis, through Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, to the Mississippi, as the others had done, to seek their respective locations. Among them were seventy emigrants for the settlement of a grant made to M. de la Housaie, on the Mississippi, opposite to the Cannes Brulée Bayou; also, seventy settlers for a grant made to M. de la Houpe, adjoining the last. Among them were also twelve small colonies, of fifteen persons each, for the settlement of twelve other small grants; also thirty young men, to serve as clerks at the different offices and dépôts of the company. This vessel also contained a number of convicts from Paris, whose sentence had been commuted to transportation.

In the autumn, sixty emigrants arrived at Mobile, for the settlement of M. de la Harpe on Red River. About the same time, M. Brizart arrived, with a colony for a settlement upon the Yazoo River, where Fort St. Peter was afterward built. Besides those who came as colonists for particular grants, there were, from time to time, many arrivals of individuals and families from France, who were at liberty to choose their own locations and settle at pleasure. Accessions of this kind continued gradually to increase the numbers of the several colonies.

Among the valuable emigrants of this year, we must not omit a colony of miners, two hundred in number, under the direction of Philip Francis Renault, son of Philip Renault, a noted iron-founder at Consobré, near Maubeuge, in France. Renault, as "director-general of the mines" under the Western

Company, with his colony, proceeded to the Illinois country, where he entered upon the duties of his office. As the mining interest never prospered, many of these, subsequently, were incorporated with the villagers and agriculturists of the Illinois country. Others engaged in mining operations on the east and west banks, far above the Wisconsin River.

The jealousy of Spain kept a watchful eye upon the advance of the French settlements west of the Mississippi. On the east, the line between Louisiana and Florida had been mutually arranged, and the Perdido was the dividing stream; but on the west no such arrangement had been made. While France claimed westward as far as the Bay of St. Bernard, west of the Colorado River, Spain claimed the territory eastward, from Mexico nearly to the Mississippi itself. The Spanish authorities had advanced their settlements, as before observed, from Texas as far east as the village of Adaës, on the Bayou Adaës, near "Spanish Lake," and within nine miles of Natchitoches, where La Harpe had erected a military post, and was now establishing a regular French colony.

Such was the state of claims and boundaries between the French province of Louisiana and the Spanish province of Texas in January, 1719, when La Harpe arrived at Natchitoches. Having ascertained that the Spanish commandant of Texas, Don Martin de la Corne, had established several missions in Western Louisiana, forming a chain of settlements from Nacogdoches to the Adaës, and was also preparing to form a settlement on Red River, at the Caddo village, La Harpe determined to act with promptness and decision. He proceeded, early in February, to explore and occupy the river and country above the Spanish settlements. On the 21st of April, with a detachment of troops, he had proceeded as far as the Yatassee village, one hundred and fifty leagues by the river above Natchitoches. Here he established a trading-post for the company, and on the 27th he laid the foundation of a fort at the Natsoo village.* This post was about two hundred miles above the head of the Great Raft, and near the parallel of 33° 30' north latitude, and probably not far from the mouth of North Little River, in the southern angle of the present county of Hempstead, in the State of Arkansas.

The Spanish commandant of Texas remonstrated against

* Darby's Louisiana, p. 22. See, also, Stoddart's Sketches, p. 142-145.

this intrusion upon the territory of his province; and in June La Harpe received from Don de la Corne the following laconic communication, requiring him to abandon the country, which was claimed as a part of the Spanish province of Texas, viz.:

"MONSIEUR,—I am very sensible of the politeness that M. de Bienville and yourself have had the goodness to show me. The order I have received from the king, my master, is, to maintain a good understanding with the French of Louisiana. My own inclinations lead me equally to afford them all the services that depend upon me; but I am compelled to say, that your arrival at the Nassonite village surprises me very much. Your governor could not have been ignorant that the post you occupy belongs to my government, and that all the lands west of the Nassonites depend upon New Mexico. I recommend you to give advice of this to M. Bienville, or you will force me to oblige you to abandon lands that the French have no right to occupy.

I have the honor to be, sir,

"DE LA CORNE,

"Trinity River, May 20, 1719."

To which the gallant La Harpe returned the following answer, viz.:

"MONSIEUR,—The order of his Catholic majesty, to maintain a good understanding with the French of Louisiana, and the kind intentions you have yourself expressed toward them, accord but little with your proceedings. Permit me to inform you that M. de Bienville is perfectly informed of the limits of his government, and is very certain that the post of Nassonite depends not upon the dominions of his Catholic majesty. He knows, also, that the province of Lastekas, of which you say you are governor, is a part of Louisiana. M. de la Salle took possession in 1685, in the name of his most Christian majesty; and since the above epoch, possession has been renewed from time to time.

"Respecting the post of Nassonite, I can not comprehend by what right you pretend that it forms a part of New Mexico. I beg leave to represent to you, that Don Antoine du Miroir, who discovered New Mexico in 1683, never penetrated east of that province or the Rio Bravo. It was the French who first made alliances with the savage tribes in this region; and it is natural to conclude that a river which flows into the Mississippi, and the lands it waters, belong to the king, my master.

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"If you will do me the pleasure to come into this quarter, I will convince you that I hold a post which I know how to defend.

I have the honor to be, sir,

"DE LA HARPE.*

"Nassonite, July 8, 1719."

The French continued to hold the country in question, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the Spaniards, and never ceased to claim the jurisdiction westward to the Rio del Norte, up to the cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1762. For several years, the Spanish post and settlement on the Trinity was maintained; but the settlement of the Adaës, near the French post of Natchitoches, was abandoned. Each commandant at their respective posts, on Red River and on the Trinity, resolved to permit the other quietly to occupy his post, and to secure each the friendship and alliance of the neighboring tribes, while war was ravaging the seaboard of Florida and Louisiana.

Experiments had shown that the fertile soil of the Mississippi, as well as the climate, were well adapted to the cultivation of tobacco, rice, and indigo. But laborers were few, and the climate sickly to European emigrants. The European constitution was ill adapted to endure the labors of the field during the long summers and under the burning suns of Louisiana, and to withstand the chilling dews and fogs of night. In the attempt many had sickened and died, and the survivors deemed life and health more precious than the redundant wealth of the fields.†

Negroes from Africa had been successfully employed in the fields and in the low grounds of Virginia and Carolina, as well as in the Islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, under a tropical sun.‡ Experience had proved that, by nature, they were well adapted to withstand such a climate as that of Louisiana. Under these considerations, the company resolved to introduce African negroes to cultivate the fields, and to open plantations among the dense undergrowth and heavy forests of the Mississippi. Two ships were accordingly dispatched to the coast of Africa for a

* See Darby's Louisiana, p. 23, 24. The correspondence between the French and Spanish commandants is placed by Martin among the occurrences of 1730. See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 219-223. This, however, is an error. The inquiring reader may consult the "American State Papers," Boston edition of 1819, vol. xii., p. 106, 107, for the elaborate discussion of the Louisiana boundaries, by Don Onis and John Q. Adams. † Darby's Louisiana, p. 22. ‡ Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 210.

cargo of slaves. These vessels made a prosperous voyage, and late in autumn they returned with five hundred African negroes, in company with three vessels of war. They disembarked at Pensacola, which had been captured from the Spaniards by the French troops of Louisiana soon after the irruption of hostilities.

With a portion of the slaves which were sent to New Orleans the directors of the company opened a large plantation on the west bank of the river, nearly opposite the post at New Orleans. This was done as an example to others, and to test the advantages which were to be derived from this species of labor. This was the first extensive slave plantation in Louisiana, owned, too, by a company with chartered privileges. The remainder of the cargo was sold to emigrants and opulent settlers in different parts of the province, but chiefly for the agricultural settlements on the Lower Mississippi.

Such was the first importation of African slaves into Louisiana as a cargo from Guinea; and for several years the importation of negroes was one of the most profitable monopolies of the company. During Crozat's monopoly but few slaves had been introduced, and those by private persons as domestic property. Although Crozat's charter conferred the privilege of introducing "one ship-load of negroes annually," it does not appear that he availed himself of the privilege.

[A.D. 1720-1722.] The second cargo of slaves introduced into Louisiana consisted of five hundred African negroes, which arrived in the company's ships at Mobile during the summer of 1720. The third cargo, consisting also of five hundred Africans, arrived at Mobile on the first of April, 1721.* The fourth cargo of slaves consisted of two hundred and ninety African negroes on board a Guineaman, which arrived at Mobile in the spring of 1722. The fifth cargo of slaves arrived in another Guineaman in August following, and consisted of three hundred African negroes.

During the existence of the company, for several years afterward, their agents continued to supply the demand for slaves in the agricultural interest of Louisiana from the same source, the number varying from one to three hundred annually. The common price for a good negro man was about one hundred and fifty dollars, or about six hundred livres. For a healthy

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 234.

woman, the ordinary price was about one hundred and twenty-five dollars, or five hundred livres;* the livre being equal to twenty-five cents Federal money. Such was the origin of African slavery in Louisiana.

While France and Spain, during the next half century, were endeavoring to supply their American colonies with negro slaves as laborers on their plantations, England, true to her system of monopolies, was contending for the monopoly of the slave-trade in the supply, not only of her own provinces, but also those of France and Spain. To this policy of England, encouraged by British legislation, and fostered by royal favor, posterity owes the fact that one sixth of the population of the United States, a moiety of those who now dwell in the states and territories nearest the Gulf of Mexico, are descendants of Africans.

The colored men imported into the American colonies were sought all along the African coast, for thirty degrees together, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's, from the great Desert of Sahara to the kingdom of Angola, or, perhaps, even to the borders of the land of the Caffres. They were chiefly gathered from gangs that were marched from the far interior, so that the freight of a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion: of those brought to our country, some were from tribes of which the skin was a tawny-yellow; others varied, not only in the hues of the skin, but in the diversities of features which abound in Africa among the varieties of the negro race.†

"The purchases in Africa were made in part of convicts punished with slavery, or mulcted in a fine, which was discharged by the proceeds of their sale; of debtors sold, though but rarely, into foreign bondage; of children sold by their parents; of kidnapped villagers; of captives taken in war. Hence the sea-coast and the confines of hostile nations were laid waste. But the chief source of supply was from swarms of those born in a state of slavery; for the despotisms, the superstitions, and the usages of Africa had multiplied bondage."

"In the upper countries, on the Senegal and Gambia, three fourths of the inhabitants were not free; and the slave's master was absolute lord of the slave's children." Hence the

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 217.

† Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 402.

European slave-trader only converted their bondage into a servitude among Christians instead of pagans and Mohammedans. "In the healthy and fertile uplands of Western Africa, under a tropical sun, the reproductive power of the prolific race, combined with the imperfect development of its moral faculties, gave to human life in the eye of man himself an inferior value. Humanity did not respect itself in any of its forms in the individual, in the family, or in the nation."*

Among the changes ordered by the directory of the company was the removal of the headquarters of the commandant-general to Biloxi Bay, now known as New Biloxi. Accordingly, in December following, a detachment of troops was sent to build a principal dépôt, erect barracks, and dwellings for the officers and commandant-general.

Another change introduced into the government of Louisiana this year was the institution of a "Superior Council," agreeably to an edict of the king issued in September. The Council at headquarters had heretofore been the sole tribunal in the colony for the adjudication of civil and criminal cases. Now the increase of population and the extension of settlements required judicial tribunals in various portions of the province. The directors of the company, or its agents, with two of the most notable inhabitants of the vicinity, were constituted inferior courts in remote parts of the province for all civil cases. The same, with four of the principal inhabitants, might act in criminal cases, subject to an appeal to the Superior Council.†

The Superior Council was composed of the commandant-general, the king's two lieutenants, a senior counselor, three other counselors, the attorney-general, and a clerk, associated with such of the company's directors as might be in the province. The quorum was fixed at three members in civil, and five in criminal cases. All cases, original as well as appellate, as the last resort, were acted upon, and judgments given without costs to the parties litigant.‡ Such was one of the advantages enjoyed under the royal government of France and Spain.

[A.D. 1720.] Early in February, 1720, five hundred and eighty-two emigrants arrived at Mobile for the settlements in different portions of Louisiana. Among these were many females taken from the hospital-general of Paris. They served

* Bancroft, vol. III., p. 403.

† Martin, vol. I., p. 215, 216.

‡ Idem, p. 215.

to augment the population of the colony, and might ultimately contribute largely to the permanent strength of the province; yet they were not likely to add much to the elevation of character and the moral worth of the settlements.*

During the summer the colony received a large increase of population by the arrivals of settlers for the different grants. Among them were a colony of sixty settlers for the grant of St. Catharine among the Natchez Indians. They were followed soon afterward by two hundred and fifty others, for the same grant, in charge of Bouteux. Every arrival now brought colonies for the respective grants. Within a few months preceding the winter, the arrivals for the different grants amounted to five hundred and fifty settlers, besides workmen, soldiers, and officers.†

New interests were daily awakened in France by the enthusiastic proprietors, and new prospects of wealth were held out to induce emigration. Hence the colony continued to augment its population rapidly. White European emigrants, allured by the hope of wealth, and fascinated by the glowing descriptions of the magnificence of the country, continued to come, and every month witnessed their arrival.

In the mean time, since March, 1719, war had raged between France and Spain, and the province of Louisiana became involved in hostilities with the Spaniards of Florida and Mexico. The settlements of Louisiana had presented a continual scene of military display and hostile preparation. So soon as war had broken out, Bienville determined to reduce Pensacola by force of arms before re-enforcements should arrive from Mexico. Accordingly, in April, he had assembled his forces, with a party of Canadians, and about four hundred Indians; with these, and a few armed vessels, he made a sudden descent on Pensacola. The fort was assailed from the harbor by the armed vessels, and by the French infantry and Indians from land; and after a severe attack, and a brave resistance of five hours, the commandant surrendered to the French forces. Bienville held possession near forty days, when the arrival of a powerful Spanish armament off the bay compelled him to abandon the place and retire to Mobile. Here he was blockaded for thirteen days, in the port of Isle Dauphin, by a superior Spanish squadron, which vainly attempted to subdue

* Martin, vol. i., p. 224.

† Idem, p. 226.

the French posts on Dauphin Island by a furious bombardment.*

The war continued to harass the frontier settlements of Louisiana contiguous to the Spanish provinces. In September, M. de Serigny had received orders to reduce the fort and town of Pensacola. The whole disposable force of Louisiana was now required to invest the fort on the land side, while the fleet advanced by sea. Bienville, with his land forces, and a considerable body of Indians, again advanced from Mobile to Pensacola. After a close investment by land and sea, the fort and town were carried by assault. The citizens were spared, but the town was given up to the pillage of the Indians. Besides the artillery and munitions of war, the French took eighteen hundred prisoners. Soon afterward, several Spanish vessels, laden with stores and provisions, entered the port, ignorant of its occupation by the French, and they were likewise captured. But the French occupancy was of short duration, for the apprehended arrival of a large fleet from Vera Cruz induced the French commander to burn the town, blow up the forts, and to retire to the port of Mobile.

Nor was the war with the Spaniards confined to the sea-coast and the deltas of the Mississippi and Red River. The traders and hunters from Santa Fé had discovered the route across the great American desert, and detachments of cavalry had penetrated across the upper branches of the Arkansas to the Missouri, and to the Upper Mississippi, and had witnessed the advance of the French in that quarter. The Missouri tribes inhabiting this region were in alliance with the French, and espoused their interests. To check their advance in this quarter, the Spanish authorities had planned the extermination of the Missouris and the French settlements, to be replaced by a Spanish colony from Mexico. Their plan was to excite the Osages to war with the Missouris, and then take part with them in the contest. For this purpose, an expedition was fitted out from Santa Fé for the Missouri. It was a moving caravan of the desert—armed men, horses, mules, families, women, priests, with herds of cattle and swine to serve for food on the route, and to serve for increase in the new col-

* Stoddart's Sketches, p. 37, 38. After vainly attempting to reduce the French posts and fort of Isle Dauphin, the approach of a large French fleet, under M. de Serigny, caused the Spaniards to abandon the blockade and retire to Pensacola.—Stoddart, p. 39.

ony. In their march they lost the proper route, the guides became bewildered, and led them to the Missouri tribes instead of the Osages. Unconscious of their mistake, as both tribes spoke the same language, they believed themselves among the Osages instead of their enemies, and without reserve disclosed their designs against the Missouris, and supplied them with arms and ammunition to aid in their extermination. The wily savages perceived the fatal mistake, but encouraged the error. They requested two days to assemble their warriors for the contemplated expedition, in which they were rejoiced to engage. The appointed time had nearly elapsed, and the following morning was the time to march. More than one hundred muskets were distributed among the warriors; but to the Spaniards the next morning never rose. Before the dawn of light the Missouris fell upon their treacherous enemies, and dispatched them with an indiscriminate slaughter. The priest alone was spared; his dress had spoke him a man of peace, and he was reserved to bear the sad tidings to Mexico. Thus the Spanish treachery came home upon their own heads.*

This disaster apprised the commandant-general of Louisiana of the designs of the Spaniards to advance into Upper Louisiana. To arrest any further attempt, a French post was designed for the Missouri. In due time, M. Burgmont, with a detachment of troops, was dispatched from Mobile to the Missouri River. He took possession of an island in that river, above the mouth of the Osage, upon which he built a fort, which he called "Fort Orleans."

War continued to rage between the rival powers, and the maritime portions of Louisiana and Florida were the theatre of colonial hostilities. The Indian tribes had been leagued in with the interests of the respective colonies, and carried on their marauding excursions against the enemies of their respective friends.

The late expedition from Santa Fé to the Missouri, although overwhelmed with disaster, evinced the possibility of other expeditions by the same route for the destruction of the French settlements in the Illinois country or Upper Louisiana. Fort Orleans, high up the Missouri, was already in progress as an outpost; but to protect these important settlements from a disastrous invasion, it was deemed expedient to erect a strong

* Stoddart, p. 39. See, also, Wetmore's Gazetteer of Missouri, ed. 1837, p. 206.

military post upon the Mississippi itself. The Lower Mississippi, also, had been threatened from the same quarter. The necessity of securing the western bank of that river against the hostile incursions of the Spaniards, was evident to the Western Company as well as to Bienville, the royal commandant. Hence, after the demolition of Pensacola, the attention of the company was directed to an extensive plan of defense against the inroads of the Spaniards from Mexico. A chain of forts was begun, to keep open a communication from the mouth to the sources of the Mississippi.

M. Paugér, a royal engineer, proceeded to make a complete survey of the mouth of the Mississippi, and all the passes, bars, and channels below the present site of New Orleans city. By this survey, it was ascertained that the site selected by Bienville might be made a commercial port; that the practicability of bringing shipping up the river was beyond a doubt.* The point selected by him three years before was now about to become the great commercial port of the province. The advantages of a port on the river were manifest to all, and the "directory," unable to withstand the force of Bienville's influence and the evidence of their own senses, yielded a reluctant assent to the removal of the company's principal dépôt and their offices to New Orleans.

About the same time, Lesueur, with a detachment of ninety men, advanced up the Mississippi, and up the St. Peter's River to the Blue Earth River among the Sioux, by his estimate, a distance of seven hundred and sixty leagues from the sea; and there, at the mouth of the Blue Earth, he erected a fort and a trading-post for the company; and, with all the usual formalities, he took possession of the country in the name of his most Christian majesty.†

At the same time, the commandant of the Illinois country, M. Boisbriant, under instructions from the king, commenced the erection of a strong fortress on the east bank of the Mississippi, about twenty-five miles below Kaskaskia. This fort, which was not completed until eighteen months afterward, was called "Fort Chartres," and was designed as the headquarters of the commandant of Upper Louisiana. It was a regular fortress, built of solid masonry, and was deemed one of the strongest French posts in North America for many years afterward.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 233.

† Idem.

It was completely impregnable to any power which could then have been brought against it.*

[A.D. 1721.] Having secured Upper Louisiana from Spanish invasion, the colonial authorities, with the hearty concurrence of the directory, proceeded to secure the occupation of the country west of the Mississippi, as far as the Colorado, and eastward to the sources of the Mobile River. The company had never lost sight of Western Louisiana, although the Spaniards had claimed it as a part of New Mexico, and had established temporary posts and missions as far east as the Trinity and the Sabine Rivers. The directory considered it a part of Louisiana, over which they claimed a monopoly of the Indian trade, and from which they desired the exclusion of the Spanish missions. During the past year, Bernard de la Harpe, one of the most enterprising commandants of Louisiana, had led an exploring detachment from the Mississippi to the Rio Bravo del Norte; he had traversed the country from the Washita and Arkansas westward to the sources of Red River. After a tour of six months, and a laborious ramble of more than fifteen hundred miles, visiting the different tribes of Indians in his route, he returned to New Orleans in the month of January, 1721, to report the result of his explorations to the colonial government.

From the first operations of the company, the directory had evinced great anxiety for the occupation of the western frontier, with settlements and colonies west of the Sabine; but Bienville, adhering to his policy of concentrating the settlements near the Mississippi, had declined sending colonies to a remote wilderness, where they would be exposed alike to the

* For the gratification of the curious, we give a more particular account of this principal French fortress on the Mississippi. It was begun in 1720, and completed eighteen months afterward. It was erected in the vicinity of *Prairie du Rocher*, and was originally one mile and a half from the river bank. Its form was quadrilateral, with four bastions built of stone, and well cemented with lime. Each side was three hundred and forty feet in length; the walls were three feet thick and fifteen feet high. Within the walls were spacious stone barracks, a spacious magazine, two deep wells, and such buildings as are common in such posts. The port-holes, or loops, were formed by four solid blocks of freestone properly shaped. The cornices and casements about the gates were of the same material. It was greatly repaired and enlarged in 1750.

In 1770, the river broke through its banks and formed a channel near one of the bastions, and in two years afterward, two bastions being undermined, the English abandoned it in 1772. It was then suffered to fall to decay, and in 1809 it was a splendid ruin, grown over in its area with forest-trees, vines, and weeds. Some of the trees then were from seven to twelve inches in diameter. See *Stoddart's Sketches*, p. 234.

A good description of this fort, as it appeared in 1765 and in 1829, may be seen in *Hall's Sketches of the West*, vol. i., p. 154-157.

hostility of the Indians and the treachery of the Spaniards. At length, yielding to their urgent desires, he resolved to take formal possession of the country on the Colorado, and near the Bay of St. Bernard.

Accordingly, on the 10th of August, 1721, he issued the following order to M. de la Harpe, viz. :*

"ORDER.

‡ We, Jean Baptiste de Bienville, chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, and commandant-general for the king in the province of Louisiana :

"It is hereby decreed that M. de la Harpe, commandant of the Bay of St. Bernard, shall embark in the packet, the 'Subtile,' commanded by Beranger, with a detachment of twenty soldiers, under M. de Belile, and shall proceed forthwith to the Bay of St. Bernard, belonging to this province, and take possession in the name of the king ; and the Western Company shall plant the arms of the king in the ground, and build a fort upon whatsoever spot appears most advantageous for the defense of the place.

"If the Spaniards or any other nation have taken possession, M. de la Harpe will signify to them that they have no right to the country, it being known that possession was taken in 1685 by M. de la Salle, in the name of the King of France, &c.

"BIENVILLE.

"August 10th, 1721."

La Harpe proceeded upon the hazardous enterprise, and established the post agreeably to his orders ; but the Indians were in alliance with the Spaniards, and strongly opposed the settlement. Unwilling to expose his colony to savage massacre, he determined to abandon so perilous a place. In October following he returned to New Orleans, and reported to the commandant-general that he had coasted three hundred leagues west of the Mississippi, and that on the 27th of August he had entered a fine bay, with eleven feet water at half tide ; that his weak force and the hostility of the savages prevented him from making a permanent establishment ; that the bay known to the French as the Bay of St. Bernard was the same known to the Spaniards as the bay of Espiritu Santo, and is in latitude 29° 12' north, and in longitude 282° east from Ferro. He also gave

* See Darby's Louisiana, p. 25.

the extent of Louisiana upon the Gulf of Mexico, from this bay eastward, at about one hundred and sixty leagues.*

The colonial government continued to claim the territory westward to the Colorado and beyond, and several attempts were subsequently made to establish settlements west of the Sabine. Settlements were also attempted, with subsequent failure, high up Red River, and upon the Upper Arkansas.

The Spaniards, in the mean time, pushed their settlements and missions eastward to the Colorado; and parties of Spanish cavalry from Santa Fé had infested the region west of the Sabine, until the French were compelled to retire toward the Mississippi.

In the mean time, forts and trading-posts were extended eastward upon the waters of the Tombigby and Alabama Rivers. The fort at Mobile was removed to the west shore of the Mobile Bay, and, being strongly fortified, was called "Fort Condé." The fort on Biloxi Bay was enlarged, and called "Fort St. Louis." Another fort was advanced into the Indian country to the head of navigation on the Alabama River, two leagues above the mouth of the Tallapoosa; this was called "Fort Toulouse."†

In each of these were placed suitable garrisons to defend them against Indian hostility, and to protect the agents of the company from the depredations of the savages, instigated by British traders from Carolina. Trading-posts were established with the friendly Choctás upon the Tombigby, and upon the Pearl and Pascagoula Rivers.

In the mean time, during the war, which had now terminated, between the French and Spanish kings, the colonies of Louisiana had suffered much, and the company had become greatly embarrassed by the interruption of trade and the hostilities of the Indians; yet they had exerted themselves with energy to sustain the colonies in the province. The population had been gradually augmented by emigrants introduced by the company's ships, besides convicts and indigent females from the houses of correction in Paris, introduced by the king's vessels. But the former of these classes were not desirable emigrants for a new colony, and, upon the petition of the directory, the king had interdicted the transportation of convicts to Louisi-

* Darby's Louisiana, first ed., p. 28. Also, Stoddart, p. 39, 40.

† See Martin's Louisiana. Also, Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 348, 349.

ana after the 9th day of May, 1720.* The latter were not so objectionable; for, although they would add but little to the good morals of the colonists, they were a valuable acquisition to a new and growing colony. Several hundred of these indigent females, taken from the hospital-general and the houses of correction, were subsequently introduced into Louisiana, and contributed largely to the future population.

Emigrants for the different colonies had arrived during the past year. Early in January, one of the company's ships had arrived at Mobile with three hundred settlers for Madame Chaumonot's grant on the Pascagoula River. In February, another vessel had arrived with one hundred emigrants and passengers for different colonies and grants on the Mississippi; also with them came eighty girls from the Salpêtrière, a house of correction in Paris. Early in March, one of the company's vessels had arrived at Mobile, with two hundred emigrants for John Law's grant on the Arkansas. They proceeded from Mobile, by way of the lakes and Iberville Bayou, to the Mississippi, and thence to the Arkansas. A portion of them settled about sixty miles above the mouth of that river, at a point long afterward known as the "Post of Arkansas." Others advanced further up the river, and settled upon the margins of the great prairies which lie southeast of Little Rock.

[A.D. 1722.] The numerous arrivals of colonists and emigrants during the last two years had increased the population so rapidly in the new and uncultivated country, which had not yet developed its agricultural resources, that the supply of grain and breadstuffs was insufficient for their supply. A scarcity, bordering on famine, was the consequence. Supplies from France were irregular and insufficient; and the troops and many of the colonists were compelled to disperse among the friendly tribes of Indians, in order to procure food and sustenance. Others were compelled to sustain themselves and their families by the precarious supplies derived from fishing and hunting. Distress and gloom overspread the settlements; many sickened and died for want of wholesome food; added to the influence of a new and unhealthy climate. Yet emigrants from France continued to arrive. Near the first of June, one vessel arrived at Mobile with two hundred and fifty emigrants for the different settlements.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 224.

Bienville urged his agricultural settlements as the only protection against such dearth in future. Negroes continued to arrive for the agricultural establishments, which were opening on the river alluvions, the governor having already abandoned Mobile and St. Louis Bay.

Instead of the sterile sands of Mobile and Biloxi, he had caused the colonies to be located upon the fertile alluvions of the Mississippi; and he now prepared to remove the headquarters of the provincial government to New Orleans. With the consent of the directory, the company's principal establishment was also to be removed to New Orleans early in November following; and buildings for the governor and for the company's officers, and warehouses, were to be erected.

[A.D. 1723.] The following year opened with New Orleans the provincial and commercial capital of Louisiana. The superior judgment of Bienville, relative to the great commercial advantages of New Orleans over Mobile and Biloxi, has been approved by the verdict of posterity. The site which, according to the interested judgment of M. Hubert,* "never would be any thing more than a *dépôt* for goods" under a privileged company, has in less than a century become the great commercial emporium of a powerful union of states which have sprung up in the Valley of the Mississippi, and also the political capital of one of the richest states in that union.

Yet the company had become greatly embarrassed in their financial affairs. The war with Spain, for two years, had cut off all maritime commerce; the inland trade with the Spanish provinces of Mexico and Florida had been entirely prohibited; many of the Indian tribes, influenced by emissaries from Mexico, Florida, and from the English settlements of Carolina, had shown a hostile attitude, and had committed depredations upon the trade of the interior; the troops in garrison, suffering under privations and want, had become disgusted with their situation, and were disaffected; the garrison at Fort Toulouse had revolted during the last year, and out of twenty-six soldiers, twenty departed for the English settlements of Carolina; but overtaken by Villemont, the commandant, with a body of Choctás, some of the unhappy wretches were put to death

* M. Hubert had been director-general of the company's affairs, and personally was interested in a large planting establishment upon the grant formerly made to him on the St. Catharine Creek, in the Natches country, where he had desired to establish the headquarters of the colonial government, and a principal *dépôt* of the company.

on the spot; part were reserved for a more ignominious death, and, conducted to Mobile, were retained to grace a military execution. Even the wilderness could not moderate the barbarism of military discipline.

About the same time, the hostile bands of the Chickasas had destroyed Fort St. Peter, on the Yazoo, and had massacred the garrison and colony with indiscriminate butchery.* The Creeks, on the head waters of the Alabama, and the Chickasas of the Tombigby, had likewise evinced hostile intentions, under the instigation of English traders. War had also broken out among the tribes on the Missouri and Upper Mississippi Rivers, and threatened the interruption of trade in that quarter.

Under all these embarrassments, the company struggled on, in hopes of more propitious times. The expenses already had far exceeded the proceeds of every branch of trade. Before the beginning of the year 1722, the expenditures had amounted to 1,163,256 livres, or nearly \$366,000, without any equivalent return.† Now the heaviest loss had come upon them, from the failure of Law's financial schemes, which had spread confusion into every department of the company's affairs; for they were intimately blended with his "Bubble," known as the "Mississippi Scheme."

In the mean time, settlements were concentrating around New Orleans; cabins, houses, a church, and other public buildings had been rapidly progressing for the residence of the governor, the company's agents, and their commercial operations. In January, when visited by Charlevoix, it contained, besides the church, the company's warehouse, and a few other wooden buildings, near one hundred cabins, and about two hundred inhabitants, besides troops and government officers.‡ The population increased continually, and soon after the first of August, this year, the public buildings for the governor and the company having been completed, Bienville removed his headquarters to the city, and in November following, Delorme, the director-general of the company, removed the stores and offices under his control from the Bay of Biloxi to the same point.§

The embarrassed condition of the company caused them to resort to various means and devices to enable them to continue their operations, and to increase their available resources.

* See Martin, vol. i., p. 352. Also, Stoddart, p. 47.

† Martin, vol. i., p. 246.

‡ See Stoddart, p. 38.

§ Martin, vol. i., p. 252.

The price of negro slaves, of which they held the monopoly, was increased from six hundred livres for men to six hundred and seventy livres, or from about one hundred and fifty to nearly one hundred and seventy dollars, payable in three annual instalments, of rice and tobacco. Rice was receivable at twelve livres per barrel, and tobacco at twenty-six livres per hundred pounds. The value of the Mexican dollar was made equivalent to four livres in all transactions with the company's agents in Louisiana; the livre was thus made equivalent to twenty-five cents of the Federal money of the United States.*

But the failure of "Law's Mississippi Scheme" did not, in Louisiana, fall upon the Western Company alone. Its disastrous consequences were experienced in every part of the province, from the slave and the humblest peasant up to the governor himself, and the wealthy proprietors in the oldest settlements. That it may serve as a beacon-light to future legislators, to warn them from the disastrous consequences which result from legislative enactments, designed to expand the circulating medium, but which, in reality, only drive the real currency of a country from circulation by substituting a fictitious representative, we subjoin the following graphic sketch from the inimitable work of the eloquent Bancroft.

"The Mississippi Scheme" was a system of credit, devised and proposed by John Law, a native of Scotland, for the purpose of extricating the French government from the embarrassment under which it struggled by reason of the enormous state debt. "The debt which Louis XIV. bequeathed to his successor, after arbitrary reductions, exceeded two thousand millions of livres; and, to meet the annual interest of eighty millions, the surplus revenues of the state did not yield more than nine millions; hence the national securities were of uncertain value, and the national burdens exceeded the national resources. In this period of depression, John Law proposed to the regent a credit system, which should liberate the state from its enormous burden, not by loans, on which interest must be paid—not by taxes, that would be burdensome to the people, but by a system which should bring all the money of France on deposit. It was the faith of Law that the currency of a country is but the representative of its moving wealth; that this representative need not, in itself, possess an intrinsic value,

* Martin, vol. i., p. 246, 256.

but may be made, not of stamped metals only, but of shells or paper; that where gold and silver are the only circulating medium, the wealth of a nation may at once be indefinitely increased by an arbitrary infusion of paper; that credit consists in the excess of circulation over immediate resources; and that the advantage of credit is in the direct ratio of that excess. Applying these maxims to all France, he gradually planned the whimsically gigantic project of collecting all the gold and silver of the kingdom into one bank. At first, from his private bank, having a nominal capital of six million livres (of which a part was payable in government notes), bills were emitted with moderation; and while the despotic government had been arbitrarily changing the value of its coin, his notes, being payable in coin, at an unvarying standard of weight and fineness, bore a small premium. When Crozat resigned the commerce of Louisiana, it was transferred to the 'Western Company,' or Company of the Mississippi, instituted under the auspices of Law. The stock of the corporation was fixed at two hundred thousand shares, of five hundred livres each, to be paid in any certificates of public debt. Thus nearly one hundred millions of the most depreciated of the public stocks were suddenly absorbed. The government thus changed the character of its obligations from an indebtedness to individuals to an indebtedness to a favored company of its own creation. Through the bank of Law, the interest on the debt was discharged punctually, and, in consequence, the evidences of debts, which were received in payment for stock, rose rapidly from a depreciation of two thirds to par value. Although the union of the bank, with the hazards of a commercial company, was an omen of the fate of 'the system,' public credit seemed restored as if by miracle.*

The mines, and commerce, and boundless extent of Louisiana were now invoked to sustain the public credit and the bank. "The human mind is full of trust; men in masses always have faith in the approach of better times; humanity abounds in hope. The Valley of the Mississippi inflamed the imagination of France; anticipating the future, the French nation beheld the certain opulence of coming ages as within their immediate grasp; and John Law, who possessed the entire confidence of

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 349-351.

the regent, obtained the whole control of the commerce of Louisiana and Canada."*

"The ill success of La Salle, of Iberville, of Crozat, the fruitlessness of the long search for the mines of St. Barbe, were notorious; yet tales were revived of the wealth of Louisiana; its ingots of gold had been seen in Paris. The vision of a fertile empire, with its plantations, manors, cities, and busy wharves, a monopoly of commerce throughout all French North America, the certain products of the richest silver mines, and mountains of gold, were blended in the French mind into one boundless promise of untold treasures. The regent, who saw opening before him unlimited resources, the nobility, the churchmen, who competed for favors from the privileged institution, the stock-jobbers, including dukes and peers, marshals and bishops, women of rank, statesmen and courtiers, eager to profit by the sudden and indefinite rise of stocks, conspired to reverence Law as the greatest man of the age."†

"In January of 1719, the bank of Law became, by a negotiation with the regent, the Bank of France, and a government which had almost absolute power of legislation, conspired to give the widest extension to what was called credit. The contest between paper and specie began to rage, the one buoyed up by despotic power, the other appealing to common sense. Within four years a succession of decrees changed the relative value of the livre not less than fifty times, that, from disgust at fluctuation, paper at a fixed rate might be preferred. All taxes were to be collected in paper; at least, paper was made the legal tender in all payments. To win the little gold and silver that was hoarded by the humbler classes, small bills as low even as ten livres were put in circulation."‡

To absorb the enormous issues, a new scheme was put in operation. Two kinds of paper bills, payable on demand, and certificates of stock, were put abroad together. To absorb its issues, new shares of the Mississippi, or Western Company, were constantly created and offered for sale, under its new name of "Company of the Indies." "The extravagance of hope was nourished by the successive surrender to that corporation of additional monopolies. The trade in Africans, the trade on the Indian seas, the sale of tobacco, the profits of the royal mint, the profits of farming, the whole revenue of France, till

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 349.

† Ibidem, p. 350, 351.

‡ Ibidem, p. 355.

a promise of a dividend of forty per cent. from a company which had the custody of all the revenues, and the benefit of all the commerce of France, obtained belief, and the shares which might be issued after a payment of a first instalment of five hundred livres rose in price a thousand per cent. Avarice became a phrensy, its fury seized every member of the royal family, men of letters, prelates, women. Early in the morning, the exchange opened with beat of drum and sound of bell, and closed at night on avidity that could not slumber. To doubt the wealth of Louisiana provoked anger. New Orleans was famous at Paris as a beautiful city almost before the cane-brakes began to be cut down. The hypocrisy of manners, which, in the old age of Louis XIV., made religion become a fashion, revolted to libertinism, and licentious pleasure was become the parent of an equally licentious cupidity." The system perpetuated its own absurdities, and plunged its votaries still further into ruin. "In the course of sixteen months more than two thousand millions of bills were emitted. The extravagances of stock-jobbing were increased by the latent distrust alike of the shares and of the bills; men purchased stock because they feared the end of the paper system, and because, with the bills, they could purchase nothing else."* The fraud grew too apparent, and the Parliament protested that the people were robbed and defrauded of nearly their whole income. "To stifle doubt, Law, who had made himself a Catholic, was appointed comptroller-general; and the new minister of finance perfected the triumph of paper by a decree that no person or corporation should have on hand more than five hundred livres in specie; the rest must be exchanged for paper, and all payments, except for sums under one hundred livres, must be paid in paper. Terror and the dread of informers brought, within three weeks, forty-four millions into the bank. In March, a decree of council fixed the value of the stock at nine thousand livres for five hundred, and forbade certain corporations to invest money in any thing else; all circulation of gold and silver, except for change, was prohibited; all payments must be made in paper, except for sums under ten livres. He who should have attempted to convert a bill into specie would have exposed his specie to forfeiture, and himself to fines. Confidence disappeared, and in May, bankruptcy was avowed by a decree which reduced the value of bank notes by a moiety."

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 356.

"When men are greatly in the wrong, and especially when they have embarked their fortunes in their error, they wilfully resist light. So it had been with the French people; they remained faithful to their delusion, till France was impoverished, public and private credit subverted, the income of capitalists annihilated, and labor left without employment; while, in the midst of the universal wretchedness of the middling class, a few wary speculators gloried in the unjust acquisition and enjoyment of immense wealth."*

"Such was the issue of Law's celebrated system, which left the world a lesson which the world was slow to learn, that the enlargement of the circulation quickens industry *so long only* as the enlargement continues, for prices then rise, and every kind of labor is remunerated; that, when this increase springs from artificial causes, it must meet with a check, and be followed by a reaction; that, when the reaction begins, the high remunerating prices decline, labor fails to find an equivalent, and each evil opposite to the previous advantages ensues; that, therefore, every artificial expansion of the currency, every expansion resting on credit alone, is a source of confusion and ultimate loss to the community, and brings benefits to none but those who are skillful in foreseeing and profiting by the fluctuations."

Such was the state of things in Louisiana for several years after the downfall of Law, and his system of finance in France and French America. Who then would have believed that in less than one hundred and fifteen years from that time, the Valley of the Mississippi would have been the theatre of delusions almost as great, under a new system of credit held out by a hundred banking institutions and chartered monopolies, as rotten and as baseless as Law's Bank of France? Such was the currency of the Valley of the Mississippi, among five millions of people, for four years after the year 1834.

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 357.

CHAPTER VII.

LOUISIANA UNDER THE "WESTERN COMPANY," FROM THE FAILURE OF LAW'S "MISSISSIPPI SCHEME" TO THE NATCHEZ MASSACRE.—
A.D. 1723 TO 1729.

Argument.—State of the Colony of Louisiana.—Disastrous Effects of Law's Failure in 1722.—Origin of the "German Coast."—Louisiana divided into Nine Judicial Districts.—The Mining Delusion still haunts the Company.—First Outbreak of Hostilities among the Natchez Indians.—Bienville's stern and cruel Demands.—His Treachery and Revenge against the Natchez.—Their Feelings toward the French.—Threatening Attitude of Indian Tribes.—Crops and Plantations destroyed by Equinoctial Storm.—Colony threatened with Famine.—Swiss Troops Revolt.—Financial Difficulties.—Population in 1723.—Royal Edicts for Relief of Debtors.—Prosperity in 1724–6.—Province supplied with Ecclesiastics and Nuns.—Chevalier Perrier appointed Governor of the Province.—Bienville retires.—Colonial Prosperity and Trade in 1726–7.—Indigo, Fig, and Orange introduced.—"Cassette Girls."—Land Titles recorded.—Prosperous Condition in 1728.—Population.—Trade.—Indications of Indian Hostilities disregarded by Company.—French Aggressions and Intolerance toward the Natchez Tribe.—Indian Impatience of Revenge.—French Indifference to Danger.—Chickasá Conspiracy.—Chopart's Aggressions among the Natchez.—Conspiracy of the Natchez Chiefs for Revenge.—Chopart's Insensibility to Danger.—Colony on the St. Catharine destroyed by the Indians, November 28, 1729.—Massacre, and the Slain.

[A.D. 1723.] THE failure of Law's financial schemes fell heavily upon Louisiana. The rapid expansion of the circulating medium throughout the province during the first three years of his operations, and the consequent sudden prostration of all business upon his failure, involved the interests of the company, and embarrassed their operations for advancing the population and prosperity of the province. Although emigrants from France and Canada continued to arrive at New Orleans and upon the Illinois, yet the remote settlements in Lower Louisiana, such as those upon the Arkansas, the Yazoo, and the Washita, were in a great measure deserted by the starving and discontented colonists.

The number of settlers remaining at Law's grant on the Arkansas in 1722 had been reported by La Harpe at forty souls. The settlement at Fort St. Peter was still more feeble, with only thirty acres of land in cultivation; that on the Washita was but little better.

So soon as Law's failure affected the regular supplies to his colony on the Arkansas, they were on the verge of starvation,

and were neglected by his agents. Disappointed in their expectations, and finding themselves deserted in the midst of savages, who viewed them with a jealous eye, they resolved to abandon their settlement, and, if possible, return to Europe. They were chiefly Germans from Provence, and, situated remote from the other French settlements, they departed for New Orleans, determined to seek passage in the first vessel bound for France. The directors of the company, and the commandant-general, unwilling to permit the pernicious influence of their example in leaving the province, induced them to remain and settle near New Orleans. For this purpose, a grant of sufficient land was made for their use, and was located about twenty miles above New Orleans, on both sides of the river. This land was allotted to them as a permanent home, and was divided among them in such tracts as they individually required. This was the beginning of the "German Coast" of Louisiana, which, for several years afterward, supplied the city of New Orleans and the troops with rich horticultural products.*

Heretofore Louisiana had been a subordinate dependence, under the jurisdiction of the Governor-general of Canada. It was now determined to erect it into an independent government; and accordingly, early in the year 1723, the province of Louisiana was divided into nine districts, for civil and military purposes. Each was under the jurisdiction of a commandant and a judge, who administered the military and civil concerns of their respective districts.† Sometimes the same person filled both offices.

Notwithstanding the company had embarked largely in agriculture, and had established large plantations on the river, still it refused to abandon the idea of discovering boundless wealth in the mines of Missouri. They still believed that gold and silver mines were to be found in the Illinois country, al-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 246.

† The nine military districts were as follows, viz.:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. District of the Alibamons. | 6. District of the Yazoo. |
| 2. " of Mobile. | 7. " " Illinois and Wash. |
| 3. " " Biloxi. | 8. " " Arkansas. |
| 4. " " New Orleans. | 9. " " Natchitoches. |
| 5. " " Natchez. | |

M. Boisbriant, who arrived in March, 1723, was the king's lieutenant; Bienville was governor and commandant-general; M. Loubois, a knight of St. Louis, was commandant at Fort St. Louis, on the Biloxi; M. Latour, lieutenant-general of the province; Delorme, director-general of the company.—Martin, vol. i., p. 246-7.

though M. Renault, "director-general of the mines," had failed to discover them with his company of two hundred miners. Desire begets credulity; and the directory, ever ready to receive and encourage extravagant accounts of mines, offered rewards proportionate to the importance of the discovery. With such incentives, they could not fail to be amused with the most marvelous exhilarating discoveries. Men are prone to deception without reward; and how much more for recompense! In this way the attention of the company continued to be diverted to the search of mines in distant regions, as far as the sources of the St. Peter's, the Arkansas, the tributaries of the Missouri, and even to the Rocky Mountains,* while they neglected the increasing hostile indications among the Chickasas, the Natchez, and other tribes immediately contiguous to their principal settlements. Under the mining delusion these indications were deemed unworthy of serious attention. Anxious to establish trading-posts with remote and unknown tribes, they neglected to protect their settlements from hostile tribes at their very doors, while their own uncontrolled agents were fanning the flame of discord among their allies on the Lower Mississippi.

This year witnessed the first outbreak among the Natchez Indians, and many of the settlers on the St. Catharine were murdered by the hostile warriors. The difficulty began in a quarrel between a warrior and a sergeant in Fort Rosalie. One Indian was killed, and another was wounded, by an unprovoked fire from the guard. To revenge this outrage, the Indians committed frequent depredations upon the settlements, and at different times had killed a number of the settlers on the St. Catharine. One act of violence brings on another, and at length a party of eighty warriors made a bold attack upon the settlements, but were finally repulsed with the loss of seven of their number. They had, however, killed or taken away a number of horses, hogs, and cattle from the plantations, and had captured and murdered two planters, whose heads were afterward found severed, and their bodies dishonored.†

* Martin, vol. i., p. 252.

† A few days after the difficulty, M. Guenot, superintendent of the St. Catharine grant, while riding in the road, was shot and wounded by an Indian from his concealment. Next day, the Indians attempted to seize a cart-load of provisions, which was guarded by a few soldiers. The Indians concealed themselves in the high grass, and by the first fire killed one negro and wounded another.—Martin, vol. i., p. 244.

At length a chief, called the "Stung Serpent," interposed his influence and authority, and with difficulty he finally succeeded in putting a stop to further revenge. Soon afterward, with other principal "suns," he came to Fort Rosalie to arrange affairs, and to prevent further hostilities. A reconciliation took place, which was ratified by sundry presents made by the French to the chiefs. The whole matter was subsequently laid before Bienville, the commandant-general. He approved the treaty, and ratified the stipulations entered into by his inferior officers, and all former animosities between the Indians and the French appeared to have been consigned to oblivion. But Bienville secretly determined to inflict a severe chastisement upon the tribe.* Having placed the Indians off their guard, and removed all apprehension of danger from their minds by friendly assurances, he made his arrangements to take them by surprise. Accordingly, a few months afterward, suddenly and unexpectedly, Bienville arrived at Fort Rosalie with seven hundred troops. An attack was immediately made upon their villages, and the defenseless and unsuspecting natives were slain without mercy, and their towns consumed by fire. During four days, detachments of troops were ravaging the country, laying waste their fields, burning their houses, and killing such as fell into their hands. At length Bienville agreed to desist from further hostilities, provided the "suns" would deliver to him a certain obnoxious chief, who held the title of a sun.† No alternative but submission was left them; they must surrender another victim to the French vengeance, and that victim a Sun, or they must sacrifice their people and their families to the armed soldiery of the French. At length they consented to hold a council, and several of the chiefs waited upon him, and proposed to surrender common warriors as vicarious sacrifices, instead of the "sun." Bienville sternly refused: the chiefs and suns of the council were forcibly detained, and some of them confined in irons, until the obnoxious chief or his head should be produced. In hopes of preserving the life of the sun, a warrior volunteered to die in his place, and his head

* In recording the difficulties between the Natchez Indians and the French of St. Catharine, Martin has strangely confused dates and transactions. Part of the occurrences by him are placed under the year 1716, and part under the year 1723 (see vol. i., p. 189, 190, and 254). This confusion of dates in Martin's Louisiana is by no means uncommon. See Stoddart's Sketches, p. 47, 48, for a proper detail of Natchez difficulties.

* Stoddart's Sketches, p. 48.

was carried to Bienville; but he refused to receive the supposititious head. Another warrior volunteered to die, and his head was presented to the inexorable Frenchman. This, in like manner, was refused. Nothing but the veritable head of the obnoxious sun would be received. By the laws and usages of the Indians, a full atonement had been made, and a full ransom had been paid for the life of the sun; but Bienville was inexorable for the blood of the sun. At length the sun resolved to surrender himself, and thus procure the release of his companions, who were still held as hostages for his delivery. Having succeeded in his stern demands, he released the captive suns and returned triumphant to New Orleans, having reaped all his laurels from peaceable and unresisting Indians.

From this time, the Natchez Indians despaired of ever being able to live in peace with the French. They saw that all their former friendships, their favors, and their forbearance were repaid by every species of personal injury, ingratitude, and usurpation; they saw plainly that either themselves or the French must be totally destroyed, and it was the dictate of nature to consult their own safety. They had found that the intolerance and the usurpation of the French increased with their numbers and power; hence they became, in their intercourse, shy, reserved, and distrustful; yet, resolved upon ultimate revenge, they were cautious in devising the means of future vengeance and safety. Such was the state of things among the Natchez Indians until the summer of 1729, when a new aggression on the part of the French compelled them to resist, and to resolve upon the defense of their homes, and the graves of their fathers.*

The Chickasaws had again exhibited hostile indications, and omitted no occasion to harass the settlement on the Yazoo. The post on the Yazoo was a stockade, feebly defended by less than twenty men. Fort Rosalie was but little better than a pile of rotten timbers, garrisoned by sixteen soldiers. Yet the company seemed to enjoy confident security, although Bienville had not failed to warn their agents of the danger. The Spaniards, also, were advancing their settlements rapidly into Western Louisiana.†

Yet the impending vengeance of the Indian tribes was still withheld. Their unwelcome neighbors disregarded their displeasure, and added provocation to injury. Thus commenced

* Stoddart's Sketches, p. 49.

† Martin, vol. I., p. 256.

the first breach of peace and confidence between the Natchez tribes and the French of Louisiana.

In addition to all the other misfortunes of the times, which operated severely upon the people of Louisiana, was that of a terrible equinoctial storm on the 11th of September. The crops had just approached maturity, and the whole southern portion of the province was greatly injured. Such was the violence of the storm at New Orleans, that the church, the hospital, and thirty houses were leveled with the ground; three vessels lying in the river were thrown ashore and nearly destroyed. Much damage was sustained at Mobile, Biloxi, and Natchez. Several vessels at Biloxi were entirely lost. The crops of rice were destroyed; many houses of the planters were blown down, and their plantations otherwise injured. The scarcity of provisions, in consequence, was greatly increased, and famine seemed to stare them in the face. Supplies from France were cut off by the financial embarrassments of the mother-country consequent upon the failure of Law's schemes; and many began to despair at the continuation of the untoward circumstances which brooded over the colony. Many, discouraged at these things, longed to see once more the vine-clad hills of France. Even the troops began to evince a spirit of insubordination and revolt. This was a new source of alarm. Fort Toulouse, among the Alibamons, had been deserted by the garrison, who attempted to escape to their friends in Carolina. More recently, a serious revolt had occurred close to headquarters; nor were those in command so fortunate as to capture and punish the offenders. A company of Swiss troops had been placed on board a schooner in the Bay of Biloxi, in order to sail to the new headquarters at New Orleans. But they dreaded the dangers and privations of the Mississippi swamps no less than the sterile sands and lagoons of Biloxi, and their hearts were set upon seeing the desirable settlements of South Carolina. No sooner had the schooner left the bay, than the officers and soldiers, rising in open revolt, compelled the master and crew to sail for Charleston, where they all finally arrived in safety, with all their baggage, arms, and munitions.*

To multiply the resources of the province and extend its agriculture, this year, at the request of a number of planters, the

* Martin, vol. i., p. 255.

company procured a supply of indigo seeds. It had been ascertained that the soil and climate of Louisiana were well adapted to the cultivation of indigo; and many were anxious to embark in the enterprise. The following year may be said to be the period when indigo was introduced as a staple product of Louisiana.

[A.D. 1724.] In the last six years the company had introduced four thousand and forty-four settlers into the province, besides one hundred and fifty galley-slaves, and several hundred females from the different houses of correction of Paris, and fourteen hundred and forty-one African slaves. The agricultural resources of the country were just beginning to develop the real wealth of Louisiana; but it was now only that the people began to feel the full effects of the financial experiments of the Scotch financier.

It was now perceived that his paper money, or his representative of money, which had been so extensively introduced into the whole business of Louisiana, had, in fact, not only reduced the nominal value of silver and gold, but that it had driven both from circulation and from the province. The nominal value of every species of property had increased with the supply of the paper representative. The facilities of obtaining this imperfect representative of money had removed all the restraints which a prudent economy and long experience had established for the regulation of business and the proper accumulation of property.

A raging thirst for the rapid accumulation of wealth had followed; this had begotten a spirit of extravagance and speculation, upon which had been ingrafted the most ruinous credit system. This system had been approaching a crisis for more than twelve months. Now the crisis was past: the only circulating medium had suddenly become depreciated, and ceased to represent half the silver formerly represented by it. Very soon creditors refused to receive it at any rate of discount, and it became utterly useless. Specie was scarce, and now became proportionably increased in its relative value. The people were left deeply involved in heavy debts, contracted when the relative value of silver had been reduced and a vast amount of the fictitious representative was in circulation: now they were to pay only in specie: this was equivalent to an onerous augmentation of their debts beyond the possibility of payment.

Legislative interference was loudly demanded; and the only relief possible depended upon a reduction of the amounts owed, or in facilitating the payment of them. The latter mode was adopted by the king.*

The accounts throughout the province had heretofore been kept and estimated in livres as the unit denominated in their money transactions. By several edicts of the king, progressive in their operation, Mexican dollars were made the principal circulating medium. This being effected, the next step was to increase the *relative* value of Mexican dollars in Louisiana. From long custom and usage, each Mexican dollar was equal to four livres. Mexican dollars became the sole circulating medium; and, for the benefit of debtors, the king issued his edict, declaring that the legal value of every Mexican dollar in Louisiana should be equal to seven and a half livres, and should be a legal tender in that ratio. This was justice to the debtor, but the creditor complained that injustice was done to him. The debtor was favored at the expense of the creditor. Still, in its general effects and operation in the province, it might be called sheer justice between man and man. At length, by other edicts of the king, the relative value of a Mexican dollar was gradually reduced to its former value of four livres, and all within the space of ten months.

Such are the consequences of all attempts to inflate the currency by arbitrary and factitious representations of money.

The upper portion of Louisiana was harassed with Indian hostilities, on the part of hostile tribes on the western side of the Missouri River, probably instigated by the Spanish emissaries from Mexico. During the state of hostile feeling among these tribes, the "Fort Orleans," on the Missouri River, was utterly destroyed, and the garrison and the little colony contiguous were totally exterminated by some unknown bands; thus sharing the same fate experienced by the Spanish colony, in the same region, about three years before.†

[A.D. 1725.] Bienville continued to administer the government with great firmness, and often with great wisdom. The settlements gradually revived, and the province continued gradually to augment its population, while the embarrassments of the last two years had nearly passed over. Before the close of the year 1725, the province had in a great measure recovered from the effects of financial embarrassments.

* Martin, vol. i., p. 256-7.

† Stoddart's Louisiana, p. 45, 46.

[A.D. 1726.] During the following year, agriculture began to flourish, and a healthy state of trade began to pervade every department of the province. Emigrants, both from Canada and France, continued to arrive.

Early in this year, the company made arrangements with the Jesuits to supply the different posts and settlements with priests, missionaries, and ecclesiastics. Father Petit, superior of the Jesuits, was to reside in New Orleans. The Jesuits engaged to keep at least fourteen priests of their order in the colony, besides missionaries at the different posts, and especially at St. Peter's, on the Yazoo, for the purpose of forming friendly alliances with the Indians, and to propagate the Catholic faith among them. They were to be paid and provided for by the company's agents. Arrangements were also made for the introduction of a number of Ursuline nuns, to take charge of the education of females and the care of a hospital, assisted by several other sisters of charity; but they did not arrive in the city until the summer of the following year.*

In the autumn, the government of Louisiana passed out of the hands of Bienville, who was superseded by M. Perrier as commandant-general of the province. Bienville, with great propriety, has been called the father of Louisiana. He arrived in 1799 at Dauphin Island, as a midshipman, at the age of eighteen years. Three years afterward, he succeeded Sauvolle, an elder brother, as governor of the province and commandant of Fort St. Louis; and, with but two intermissions, he had been invested with the office of governor and commandant-general of the province ever since.

The province continued to improve in prosperity for nearly two years after M. Perrier entered upon the duties of governor. Emigrants from France and Canada continued to swell the general population, and to augment the resources of the province. The agricultural products of the older settlements, in the Illinois country and on the Wabash, yielded a bountiful supply to the new colonies and settlements on the Lower Mississippi. In these regions, wheat, flour, maize, beef, pork, bacon, leather, tallow, hides, bees' wax, bears' oil, and many other useful articles, were produced in abundance. In Lower Louisiana, tobacco and rice had been produced in considerable quantities; and indigo, which had been introduced within

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 261-264.

three years, had already become a valuable staple product. The fig-tree had been introduced from Provence, and the orange-tree from Hispaniola,* and both were now common about New Orleans.

In the month of December, the company's ships brought over a number of poor young girls, but of good moral character, as emigrants to the colony. Each of them was supplied with a small box, or "cassette," containing a few articles of clothing, from which they were known as the girls "*de la cassette*," and were placed under the care of the nuns until they could be provided for in marriage.†

Already lands had become valuable in the settlements, and litigation began to test the validity of titles; and, to prevent the frequent recurrence of disputed claims, the directory issued an order requiring those holding grants to come forward and have them duly authenticated, under penalty of fine and forfeiture. Larger grants, not properly improved, were reduced; or, on failure to comply with the terms, were formally revoked.

[A.D. 1728.] The colony was now in its highest prosperity. Although it had languished until placed under the control of the Western Company, yet under their management it had reached a degree of population, and advance in agriculture and commerce, highly creditable to the company and honorable to France.

The company now had controlled the province for eleven years; they had raised it from a few hundred idle, indolent, and improvident settlers around the Bay of Mobile, and along the coast west of that place, near the Bays of Biloxi and St. Louis, to a flourishing colony of several thousand souls, many of whom were industrious, enterprising, and productive citizens. In the year 1717, when the company took charge, agriculture had been neglected and was almost unknown, except a few small gardens for private use. The rich alluvions of the Mississippi had presented no attractions for the indolent settlers; all had collected on the barren shores from the Bay of Mobile westward, or had wandered over the vast regions in search of traffick with the Indians. Now agriculture had begun to flourish on the fertile alluvions of the river, capitalists had become interested in the staple products of the soil, and considerable portions of rice,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 263.

† Idem, p. 265.

tobacco, and indigo had already been exported. Eighteen hundred negro slaves had been imported from Africa, and twenty-five hundred redemptioners, or laborers from France, had been introduced, liable to serve three years for those who paid the expenses of their emigration. The military force in the province had been augmented from less than three hundred to eight hundred and fifty troops.* Settlements were formed on the Mississippi, and the city of New Orleans had become a large commercial port. Many pleasant cottages lined the banks of the river for more than twenty miles above the city; settlements had grown up on Red River, and on the Washita, at Natchez, and on the Yazoo. In the Illinois and Wabash countries there had been a large accession to the agricultural population, and an active trade had sprung up from the Illinois and Wabash countries to the ports of New Orleans and Mobile. Each settlement had now been provided with a regular government for the administration of justice; religious instruction had been provided for each settlement; clergymen and chapels were common in the old settlements, and missions were established in the new. But a severe check to colonial prosperity was soon to be experienced.

For several years a spirit of jealous dissatisfaction had appeared among several of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi. The Chickasaws had never been sincerely friendly to the French, and were continually urged to hostilities by English emissaries from Carolina. The Natchez, and other tribes south of them, although in alliance with the French, had several times wavered in their friendship, and were only restrained by fear. This state of feeling among the tribes had been observed for years by the commandant-general, who had often urged upon the directory of the company the necessity of preparing more effectually to protect the settlements. M. Perrier, since his appointment, had also urged upon them the necessity of carrying out the suggestions of Bienville. The directory, however, had disregarded all his admonitions and plans of defense. They deemed his apprehensions as groundless, and possibly somewhat influenced by a desire to increase the number of troops under his command, in order to magnify his own importance and to acquire a more active command.† Thus they inferred that he would willingly embroil the province in

* Martin, vol. i., p. 266.

† Idem, p. 270.

an Indian war, that he might display his military skill and prowess in conducting it to a successful termination. Still M. Perrier continued to warn them of the necessity of preparing to meet the impending danger. But his warnings were unheeded. The directory could see nothing in the occasional murders and depredations of the Indians, more than had been common from the earliest periods of the colony.

Notwithstanding all the signs of restless impatience on the part of the Indian tribes, the French officers and agents took no prudent steps to soothe their hostile feelings, or to quiet their jealous apprehensions. The Indian plainly saw the rapid strides of ambition, which sought to possess their entire country, and which must ultimately, if not arrested, prove the destruction of their nation, or their expulsion from the land of their fathers. On the other hand, the French appeared to view the Indians as beings without rights, whom they might strip of their lands and homes at pleasure. Every aggression on the part of the French only served to rouse up the slumbering vengeance of the savage, and to impress upon him more firmly the necessity of revenge, and the maintenance of his rights and his liberty. The impatience with which the Indian beheld his insolent oppressor, and the destroyer of his peace, was but little calculated to cause him to conciliate the unwelcome guests. Such were the feelings mutually existing between the French and the Natchez Indians.

The French, influenced by mercenary motives, had no forbearance for what they considered insolence in the Indian. Hence they became arrogant, domineering, and unjust in their demands, and dealt with them in no measured harshness. Trivial offenses and depredations were punished with extreme rigor upon the savage; but his demands for justice against the white man were disregarded, and revenge was left to rankle in his breast. Above all, the commandant at Fort Rosalie, M. Chopart, had long been obnoxious to the Natchez chiefs, and he, in turn, took pleasure in making them feel his power when opportunity offered for harassing them.

This state of reciprocal ill-will became known to the English agents and emissaries from Carolina, who hoped to see their European rivals embroiled with the numerous tribes east of the Mississippi. Nothing, of course, was done by them to prevent a result so much desired by the British cabinet.

Instead of giving due attention to these things, the company had been preparing expeditions to explore the Missouri River in search of silver and gold-mines, or sending exploring detachments into the remote western portions of Louisiana. The forts near the sea-board, which were mostly beyond the danger of Indian hostilities, employed nearly all the efficient force of the province, while those in the midst of the disaffected Indians were in a decayed state, and but feebly defended.

In this state of affairs the Chickasâs, who had always entertained a jealous hostility to the French, conceived the propriety of an attempt to exterminate the defenseless colony. For this purpose, the chiefs devised a plan of extermination, and with much secrecy and address engaged several of the other tribes in the conspiracy. The Natchez chiefs engaged with ardor in the plan; so did many of the Choctâs and Yazoo tribes, as well as those upon the Tensas west of the Mississippi. The conspirators attempted to engage the Northern tribes in a similar and simultaneous conspiracy against the French settlements in the Illinois and Wabash countries. Attempts were made also by the Chickasâs to excite the small tribes in the vicinity of Red River and north of the Bayou Iberville. Such were the general feelings of the Indians preceding the fatal massacre of the French settlements.

The Chickasâ conspiracy, however, was never carried into effect. From some unknown cause, it was frustrated before the period for execution arrived; or, as some suppose, the period had not arrived when the Natchez chiefs, from some unforeseen cause, were induced to anticipate the day. It is certain that the Chickasâs were displeased at their exclusion from a participation in the massacre. They also suspected the Choctâs of treachery.* Various tales have been invented to account for the manner in which the Natchez massacre superseded the Chickasâ conspiracy. The general impression is, that the number of days to elapse, after the new moon, previous to the general massacre, was designated by a bundle of reeds, one of which was to be withdrawn every day by a chief; and that each tribe or village had this record; and that, by accident or design, the bundle at the Natchez towns had been robbed of several reeds, thereby accelerating the day. Possibly the Natchez chiefs, in their premature attack, may

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 270, 271.

have been instigated by some new and unexpected aggression ; or, possibly, they may have been influenced by the arrival of a large supply of ammunition, military stores, and goods, which had been received at the company's warehouse near Fort Rosalie.* Certain it was that the Chickasâs took a deep interest in the success of the enterprise.

Chopart became more and more obnoxious to the Natchez chiefs. His arbitrary and despotic conduct toward them cherished in the savage a growing impatience for revenge, while a disdainful resentment caused him to exercise his brief authority with increasing severity against the Indians.†

It was but recently that Chopart had made new aggressions upon the Indians' rights. Early in the summer, he had required the Indians to abandon one of their villages, that he might occupy the site with a plantation. This was the village of the "White Apple" chief, which spread over nearly three miles in extent.‡ Chopart summoned the "sun," and required him to cause their huts to be removed to some other place, and their fields to be laid waste. The indignant chief replied, "that their fathers, for many years, had occupied that ground, and that it was good for their children still to remain on the same." The commandant resorted to threats of violence to enforce his commands, and the chief retired and called a council to determine the proper course of policy. At length, after a promise of one basket of corn and one hen for every cabin, after the corn should have matured and the fowls were grown, for indulgence until that time, Chopart condescended to grant a respite to his commands.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 272, 273.

† Such had been the overbearing conduct of M. Chopart, that the chiefs had formerly complained to the commandant-general, M. Perrier, who had summoned M. Chopart to New Orleans to answer for his conduct. He had succeeded in explaining matters to the governor in such manner as to justify himself with the commandant-general, who subsequently reinstated him in his command at Fort Rosalie. On his return, he indulged in many vexatious exactions upon the Indians, to gratify his spite ; and as a part of this course, demanded the removal of their village.—See Stoddart, p. 49.

‡ It was no uncommon thing, in the early explorations of the Spaniards and French, in Louisiana and Florida, to see Indian villages scattered for miles along a fertile plain, each cabin or house surrounded by extensive fields of corn, pumpkins, beans, &c. De Soto, in Florida, passed through some towns, which, with their fields, spread out for five or six miles. Since the encroachments of the white man, these scattered villages are more rare.

The site of the White Apple village was situated about twelve miles south of the present city of Natchez, near the mouth of Second Creek, and three miles east of the Mississippi. The site was occupied by the plantation of Colonel Anthony Hutchens, an early emigrant to Florida. All vestiges of Indian industry have disappeared, except some mounds in the vicinity.

Time passed slowly, and all appeared quiet and peaceable; but the nation was highly incensed at the unjust demand. As the time approached for the destruction of their village, the chiefs sat in council, to devise the most proper course for representing the injury and defending their rights. It was determined not to limit their revenge to the obnoxious individual, but to effect the total overthrow of the whole colony. The settlement was to be destroyed; the men were to be put to death, and the women and children were to be reduced to slavery. The plan was to be confided alone to the warriors and chiefs. Runners were sent to every village, both of the Natchez and their confederates, with the signal of preparation. Bundles of reeds were prepared, each having an equal number. One of these bundles was to be sent to every village, with instructions to keep it until the new moon. Then, for every day afterward, at the rising of the sun, one reed was to be withdrawn, until only one remained. The attack was to be made on the day that the last reed was withdrawn. The plan, thus arranged, awaited only the fatal day.*

Suspicion of some fatal conspiracy was afloat in the settlements; many feared the rankling vengeance of the savage, and various indications seemed to apprise them of some approaching catastrophe; but they were unheeded by the commandant of Fort Rosalie, whose avarice and self-will blinded his perception of visible danger.

Chopart had been warned of the approaching danger; but he affected to despise it, and is said to have threatened violence to his monitor. The settlements, accordingly, remained in doubtful security, and unprotected, until the fatal day disclosed the bloody tragedy. The Indians, under their respective chiefs, were prepared to make the preconcerted attack on the different portions of the settlements. At the St. Catharine's settlement, the signal was to be given by the "Great Sun" from Fort Rosalie. The signal to the surrounding settlements was to be the smoke and flames of the fort and the adjacent buildings, accompanied by the shouts and yells of the victorious warriors.

The corn and poultry had been paid for the respite to the devoted village, and to all appearance the Indians and French were inclined to mutual friendship and forbearance;† but they

* See Stoddart's Louisiana, p. 50, 51.

† Stoddart states that the massacre was arranged to take place at the time of pay-

remembered the deceptive truce of Bienville six years before, and now they were resolved to improve upon his example.

Indian tradition asserts that the preconcerted massacre was kept a profound secret, confined only to the chiefs and warriors, and that none others were permitted to have any knowledge of the plan; that the women especially were excluded from a knowledge of the conspiracy; that at length the wife of a chief, or sun, from various appearances, suspected that some momentous enterprise was in contemplation, and, after various artifices and devices, she succeeded in gleaning from her son the contemplated plan of massacre. She immediately took steps to communicate to the white men the imminent danger which awaited them. The information was communicated to the commandant of Fort Rosalie, M. Chopart, who derided the fears of his informant, and threatened with punishment those who should give currency to the rumor.*

Under this fatal security, the whole colony was left entirely unguarded and unprepared for danger; some were in their houses, some in the fields, and others dispersed through the settlements. The fort itself was not in a state of defense, and the garrison was negligent and unsuspicious of the danger so near at hand. The women and children, as usual, were engaged in the ordinary avocations of domestic employments, thoughtless and unconcerned as to the calamity which was about to overtake them.

Such was the state of things in the province until near the close of November, 1729. At length the fatal day arrived. It was the 28th day of the month. Early in the morning the Great Sun repaired, with a few chosen warriors, to Fort Rosalie, and all were well armed with knives and other concealed weapons.

The company had recently sent up a large supply of powder and lead, and provisions for the use of the post. The Indians had recourse to stratagem to procure a supply of ammunition, pretending they were preparing for a great hunting excursion. Before they set out, they wished to purchase a

ing the tribute to the commandant; but it is not probable that the payment of the tribute would have been deferred until the last of November, when the corn would have been ripe for gathering, in this latitude, by the middle of September, at furthest. The probability is, that the tribute had been paid in due time, to quiet suspicion.—See Stoddart, p. 51.

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 371; and Stoddart's Sketches, p. 51, 52.

supply of ammunition, and they had brought corn and poultry to barter for powder and lead. Having placed the garrison off their guard, a number of Indians were permitted to enter the fort, and others were distributed about the company's warehouse. Upon a certain signal from the Great Sun, the Indians immediately drew their concealed weapons, and commenced the carnage by one simultaneous and furious massacre of the garrison, and all who were in and near the warehouse.*

Other parties, distributed through the contiguous settlements, carried on the bloody work in every house as soon as the smoke was seen to rise from the houses near the fort.

The massacre commenced at nine o'clock in the morning, and before noon the whole of the male population of the French colony on St. Catharine (consisting of about seven hundred souls) were sleeping the sleep of death. The slaves were spared for the service of the victors, and the females and children were reserved as prisoners of war. Chopart fell among the first victims; and, as the chiefs disdained to stain their hands with his despised blood, he was dispatched by the hand of a common Indian. Two mechanics, a tailor and a carpenter, were spared, because they might be useful to the Indians.

While the massacre was progressing, the Great Sun seated himself in the spacious warehouse of the company, and, with apparent unconcern and complacency, sat and smoked his pipe while his warriors were depositing the heads of the French garrison in a pyramid at his feet. The head of Chopart was placed in the center, surmounting those of his officers and soldiers. So soon as the warriors informed the Great Sun that the last Frenchman had ceased to live, he commanded the pillage to commence. The negro slaves were employed in bringing out the plunder for distribution. The powder and military stores were reserved for public use in future emergencies.

While the ardent spirits remained, the day and the night alike presented one continued scene of savage triumph and drunken revelry. With horrid yells they spent their orgies in dancing over the mangled bodies of their enemies, which lay strewn in every quarter where they had fallen in the general carnage. Here, unburied, they remained a prey for dogs and

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. I, p. 272, 273; and Stoddart's Sketches.

hungry vultures. Every vestige of the houses and dwellings in all the settlements was reduced to ashes.*

Two soldiers only, who happened to be absent in the woods at the time of the massacre, escaped to bear the melancholy tidings to New Orleans. As they approached the fort and heard the deafening yells of the savages, and saw the columns of smoke and flame ascending from the buildings, they well judged the fate of their countrymen. They concealed themselves until they could procure a boat or canoe to descend the river to New Orleans, where they arrived a few days afterward, and told the sad story of the colony on the St. Catharine.

The same fate was shared by the colony on the Yazoo, near Fort St. Peter, and by those on the Washita, at Sicily Island, and near the present town of Monroe. Dismay and terror were spread over every settlement in the province. New Orleans was filled with mourning and sadness for the fate of friends and countrymen.

The whole number of victims slain in this massacre amounted to more than two hundred men, besides a few women and some negroes, who attempted to defend their masters. Ninety-two women and one hundred and fifty-five children were taken prisoners. Among the victims were Father Poisson, the Jesuit missionary; Laloire, the principal agent of the company; M. Kollys and son, who had purchased M. Hubert's interest, and had just arrived to take possession.†

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 272, 273.

† Idem, p. 272.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOUISIANA UNDER "THE WESTERN COMPANY" AFTER THE NATCHEZ MASSACRE : EXTERMINATION OF THE NATCHEZ TRIBES.—A.D. 1729 TO 1733.

Argument.—Consternation in Louisiana after the Natchez Tragedy.—The Governor, M. Perrier, prepares to invade the Natchez Country.—Loubois leads on the French Troops and Allies.—Lesueur leads on the Choctás.—Lesueur arrives on the St. Catharine with his Choctá Allies.—They attack the Natchez Towns and return victoriously.—Loubois arrives with the Artillery.—After a short Siege, the Indians propose an Armistice.—Loubois permits the Natchez Warriors to escape him.—Erects a terraced Fort and retires to New Orleans.—The Natchez Tribes retire to Black River, and there Fortify themselves.—The Chickasás espouse the Natchez Cause.—English Intrigue active among the Chickasás.—Chouacas Tribe exterminated by the French and Negro Troops.—Negro Insurrection arrested.—Military Strength of the Province.—Small Re-enforcement arrives from France.—M. Perrier advances his Forces to Black River.—Invests the Natchez Strong-hold.—Negotiations for Capitulation.—The "Great Sun" and fifty-two Indians surrendered.—Perrier's Demand refused, and the Cannonade opens again.—The Besieged abandon the Fort during a dark and stormy Night.—Many are overtaken and captured.—The French Army return to New Orleans with their Prisoners.—The Prisoners are sold into West Indian Slavery.—The Remnant of the Natchez Tribe imbodyes on Red River.—They attack the French Post at Natchitoches, and are repulsed with great Loss.—Termination of the Natchez War.—Personal Characteristics of this Tribe.—State of the Province at the Close of the War.—The Company resolve to surrender their Charter.—The King's Proclamation announces its Acceptance, April 10th, 1732.—Retrospect of the Province under the Company.—The Crown purchases the Company's Effects, and the Royal Government is established.

[A.D. 1729.] So soon as the Natchez disaster was known at New Orleans, the whole city and settlements presented a scene of general commotion and consternation. M. Perrier, the commandant-general, made the most active preparations for avenging the loss of the French settlements by waging a war of extermination against the tribes concerned in the conspiracy. A vessel was immediately dispatched to France for troops and military supplies. Two vessels were ordered up the river as far as Bayou Tunica, to observe the movements of the savages and to afford protection to such individuals as may have escaped the tomahawk and scalping-knife in any of the settlements. Couriers were dispatched to Mobile, to Red River, and to Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, to summon the several commanders to prepare for co-operation with their respective commands. Emissaries and agents were sent to the Choctás, and to all the tribes in alliance with the

French from the head waters of the Alabama to the Cumberland, and even to the Illinois tribes. Every house in the city, and every plantation, was furnished with arms and ammunition for defense out of the company's store-house; the city was fortified, and placed in a state of complete military defense against any possible attack of savages.*

The brave and enterprising Lesueur, ever ready to engage in remote excursions, had gone to rouse and organize the Choctâs on the Tombigby for an immediate campaign, while M. Perrier prepared to march with the troops drawn from the posts and settlements near Mobile and Red River. Three hundred regular troops were taken from the posts, and three hundred militia from the lower settlements joined his standard for the invasion of the Natchez country. But just as M. Perrier was about to take up the line of march for the hostile towns, his attention was suddenly arrested by an alarming danger close at hand. The late disaster, and the contemplated departure of the troops and most of the able-bodied men from the settlements, had prompted some of the slaves on the large plantations to improve the occasion by an attempt to overpower the whites and assert their liberty. To suppress the threatened insurrection, and to punish the instigators of the plot, M. Perrier was compelled to defer his departure for a few days.

In the mean time, the Chevalier M. Loubois, with the main body of troops, set out for the Natchez country, in order to effect a junction with Lesueur and his Choctâ allies from the east. As he proceeded northward, he received re-enforcements at Baton Rouge and Point Coupée, besides a few Tunica Indians in the vicinity of Red River.

[A.D. 1730.] As Loubois advanced toward the Natchez towns, he was met by two Natchez chiefs with proposals for peace; though, doubtless, their real object was to spy out his forces, and to devise some plan of treachery. Their terms were extraordinary and arrogant, and the assurance with which they were urged induced M. Loubois to advance cautiously, lest he might be overpowered by their superior numbers.

As the condition of peace, with the surrender of their prisoners and a general amnesty, they demanded no less than two hundred barrels of powder, two thousand flints, four thousand bullets, two hundred knives, and an equal number of axes, hoes,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 276.

shirts, coats, and pieces of gingham; besides twenty laced coats, twenty laced hats with plumes, twenty barrels of brandy, and as many of wine.*

Loubois could view the extraordinary proposition in no other light than a bold attempt at defiance against the French forces, and he continued his march with caution, awaiting reinforcements from below.

In the mean time, the ever-successful Lesueur had won the Choctás to his aid, and, advancing from the Tombigby with six hundred warriors, had augmented his force near Pearl River to twelve hundred auxiliaries. With this formidable body of allies he arrived upon the St. Catharine on the morning of the 28th of January. Here he encamped, vainly to await the arrival of the forces under M. Loubois, who had not yet entered the Natchez country.

The Indian runners soon brought intelligence that the Natchez chiefs were utterly ignorant of the arrival of the Choctá warriors from the east, and were spending the night in carousals and dancing. This intelligence coming to the ears of the warriors, they became impatient, and, disregarding all restraint, next morning about daybreak, in spite of Lesueur's urgent entreaties, they fell upon the Natchez villages with great fury. After a conflict of three hours they returned to camp, bringing, as the trophies of their prowess, sixty Indian scalps, and eighteen Indian prisoners, besides fifty-one women and children, and two men rescued from captivity. The men were the two mechanics who had been spared in the general massacre of November.

The Choctás also recovered from captivity one hundred and six negro slaves. Their loss in this affair, having found their enemies unprepared for defense, was only two warriors killed and eight wounded.† After skirmishing a few days, most of the warriors dispersed, and returned to their towns.

The Natchez warriors, now apprised of the hostile movements against them, lost no further time in idle carousal, but proceeded with great diligence to secure their women and children by a strongly-fortified camp. All their military art was put in requisition; and all the available labor, to secure themselves against the attacks of the Choctá warriors and the strong military force advancing from New Orleans.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 277.

† Idem, p. 278.

The interval for defensive operations was short; for in ten days, Loubois, with a force of fourteen hundred men, including French and Indians, appeared before the Indian strong-hold. Yet, by this time, the Natchez warriors had intrenched themselves strongly, and were determined upon a brave resistance. The besieging force was nearly eleven hundred Frenchmen, besides three hundred Indians, and such of the Choctâs under Lesueur as still remained to take part in the contest.

The fort was regularly invested; trenches were opened, and the artillery was planted upon the batteries. But on the seventh day of the investment, and after many skirmishes by the Indian allies, in which the Natchez warriors fought with great desperation, the besieged sent a flag with propositions for a conditional surrender of prisoners.

The proposition stipulated that the Natchez chiefs would surrender the remaining French prisoners, to the number of more than two hundred souls, provided the artillery were removed from before the fort and the siege abandoned. At the same time, they declared that a refusal to meet their proposition should be followed by the immediate destruction of all their prisoners by fire.

In order to preserve the lives of the helpless victims still in their power, Loubois consented to accede to their terms. A suspension of hostilities for ten days was agreed upon, for the purpose of conducting the negotiations.

Yet Loubois designed to wreak his vengeance upon the hostile Indians so soon as the prisoners should have been secured. As yet, but little damage had been effected by the artillery, although eleven field-pieces were at his command. The engineers were inexperienced, and his supply of ammunition had become nearly exhausted. Meanwhile, he was exerting every means to hasten forward a supply of ammunition and military stores from New Orleans.

The Indians, suspecting treachery on the part of the French, resolved to improve the occasion during the suspension of hostilities, and provide for their own escape.

At length, on the 25th of February, negotiations had been concluded. The artillery had been removed, the batteries demolished, and the prisoners were to be surrendered on the following day in front of the fort.

During the night of the 25th, the Natchez chiefs and war-

riors, with their women and children, together with their plunder and personal effects, silently retired from their intrenchments, leaving a small guard with the prisoners until daybreak, and before morning they had crossed the river and were beyond pursuit. M. Perrier found the prisoners in the fort agreeably to the treaty, but the enemy had fled. The French were astonished at the dextrous manœuver, but it was useless to pursue the fugitives.

A few days afterward, M. Loubois advanced to the bluff on the bank of the river and commenced a terraced fort, which was supplied with cannon and munitions, and a garrison of one hundred and twenty men.* This was the beginning of the terraced Fort Rosalie, the remains of which are still visible on the brink of the bluff, just below the city of Natchez. After a military occupancy of nearly seventy years by the troops of France, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States successively, this fort was finally abandoned about the year 1800.

Having left Fort Rosalie in command of his lieutenant, M. Loubois dismissed his Indian allies, and returned with the Southern troops to New Orleans, where he delivered the rescued prisoners into the arms of their sympathizing friends.

The further prosecution of the Natchez war was deferred until re-enforcements and supplies should have arrived from France. Although hostilities for the present were suspended, the Indians were well assured in their own minds that a terrible vengeance was still meditated against them. To escape the fury of their enemies, they determined to abandon their homes and their country, with the bones and ashes of their ancestors, and seek safety and protection among their red brethren west of the Mississippi. This vengeance was the more to be dreaded, since the French had succeeded in securing the alliance of several powerful tribes of the South, as well as those upon the Illinois and Wabash rivers.

Under these circumstances, the whole tribe resolved to disperse from the eastern side of the Mississippi. The largest portion, led by the Great Sun and the principal chiefs, sought an asylum and a place of defense upon the Lower Washita, on "the point" between Little River and the Washita, just below the mouth of Little River, where the Washita assumes the name of Black River. On the peninsula rises a lofty terraced mound

* Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 58. Also, *Martin*, vol. 1, p. 279.

of earth, surrounded at irregular distances, from three to six hundred yards, with many smaller mounds and embankments, which are the remains of the Natchez earthworks in their first retreat. The whole area embraced in these remains is probably not short of four hundred acres, comprising, besides the large mound, twelve smaller ones. This point, when securely fortified by the Indians, must have been one of the strongest Indian fortresses ever known to white men; and here the Natchez "suns," with the flower of their nation, determined to make a stand to meet the coming storm.* Yet other portions of the tribe sought an asylum among the Chickasâs, who were willing to espouse their cause.†

[A.D. 1731.] It was not long before the warlike Chickasâs, urged by their Natchez allies and refugees, began their preparations to meet the vengeance of the French in defense of their friends; and the English of Carolina did not long withhold their counsel from the wavering Chickasâs.

The jealousy of England toward the French colonies in Louisiana had never slept. Although domestic troubles between the people and the proprietaries of Carolina had given the French a temporary exemption from English intrigue among the Chickasâs and some of the more southern tribes, yet the English traders and emissaries in the Chickasâ nation were ever ready to seize any occasion to annoy the French. Affairs in Carolina had now been settled, except collisions on the South with the Spaniards of Florida and their Indian allies. Treaties of peace and amity had been concluded with the tribes of the interior, as far as the Muskogees, or Creeks. During the past year, the proprietaries had sold out their interest to the crown, and a royal governor had been duly installed over Carolina.

* This point, at the junction of the Washita and Little River, is a remarkable point, such as was generally termed by the French "*Trois Rivières*," or *three rivers*; because, unlike the ordinary confluence of two streams, it presents the appearance of *three rivers* coming together. The union of the Washita and Little River forms Black River, which immediately receives the Tensas from the east. Thus *three rivers* unite to form the *fourth*. These are all deep and wide rivers.

The principal central mound, or terrace, is about one hundred yards long and fifty wide at the base. It rises as a pyramid to the height of thirty feet, then recedes, with a terrace on every side, and rises more than thirty feet higher in a conical form. Major Stoddart, who examined it in 1804, estimated the elevation of the principal summit at eighty feet. The author viewed it in 1844, when, having been cleared of the trees and undergrowth, it was in cultivation. The traces of circumvallation are very evident, and the smaller mounds stand around at unequal distances, varying from two hundred to six hundred yards from the central turret.

† See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 280-283. Also, Stoddart's Sketches, p. 58.

No sooner had the royal government been fully established, than it attempted, by treaties of peace and alliance, to convert the tribes on the Western frontiers of Carolina into subjects and allies of Great Britain.

"Early in the year 1730, Sir Alexander Cummings, a special envoy, guided by Indian traders to the Keowee River, summoned a general convention of the chiefs of the Cherokee nation to meet at Nequassee, in the Valley of the Tennessee. They came together in the month of April, and were told that King George was their sovereign."* English traders had already established themselves among the Chickasâs, who also became the steadfast allies of the English. This relation to England necessarily implied a settled hostility to the French.

Preparations for prosecuting the Natchez war engaged a large share of M. Perrier's attention, and he lost no opportunity of urging the matter before the company. Yet the whole effective force in the province, at this time, consisted of only six hundred and fifty French troops and two hundred Swiss mercenaries, distributed in ten different forts and military posts. The militia of the province, exclusive of the Illinois country, amounted to eight hundred men,† These comprised the whole available force with which M. Perrier was to carry on his contemplated war of extermination. The Indian allies would augment the whole to nearly two thousand men and warriors.

In the mean time, a new danger had sprung up at home, in the midst of the settlements near New Orleans. This difficulty proceeded from their own jealousy and imprudence. Highly susceptible to imaginary indications of savage hostility since the Natchez tragedy, the French had suspected the fidelity of the Chouacâs, a small tribe of Indians inhabiting the country between the English Turn and Lake Barataria, below New Orleans. Believing them in secret alliance with the Chickasâs, they deemed it necessary to exterminate them, in order to avoid their enmity. For this purpose, a body of negro slaves were armed and drilled to march against this devoted tribe. The negroes were accordingly led against the defenseless villages and settlements of the unsuspecting natives, who, taken by surprise, were involved in one general and indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children.

* Bancroft's United States, vol. iii., p. 332.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 281, 282.

This bloody work completed, the negroes, well pleased with their new calling, were loth to resign the musket for the hoe. At length it was ascertained that they had been planning an actual insurrection and massacre of the white settlements near New Orleans. But a timely discovery of the plot, and the prompt execution of the ringleaders and prominent abettors, sufficed to prevent the contemplated tragedy.*

In the mean time, M. Perrier had ordered a requisition of troops and militia for the campaign against the Natchez stronghold on Black River. He had issued his proclamation calling out every able-bodied man, and conjuring them to arm and equip themselves in readiness to join his standard in the contemplated campaign.

Expecting re-enforcements from Frapée, the people of New Orleans were highly rejoiced, on the 10th of August, upon hearing the arrival of one of the company's ships off the Balize, with troops and supplies for the colonies, under the command of M. Perrier de Salvert, brother of the commandant-general. But the re-enforcement was small, and the aid inefficient. The whole number of troops was only three companies of marines, comprising one hundred and eighty men. These, with the regular troops maintained in the province, amounted to less than one thousand men; a small force with which to garrison at least five or six forts, and protect numerous remote and exposed settlements.

The commandant-general was highly mortified at this small re-enforcement; yet he determined to prosecute a vigorous campaign for the chastisement of the Natchez warriors on Black River. He sought aid in person from the friendly tribes near Fort Condé, and among the Choctás. He then returned to New Orleans, and completed his levy of the militia; but the whole number of the enrollment from the Wabash to Mobile did not exceed eight hundred men. These would yield a small effective force in actual service in prosecuting a war in the heart of an enemy's country, and in the midst of powerful tribes. By the middle of November, the whole number of troops mustered into service amounted to six hundred and fifty, including regulars and volunteers, leaving only a small garrison in each of the important forts.

The Natchez refugees and the hostile Chickasás, during the past year, had lost no opportunity of harassing the settlements

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 282.

within their reach. Every Frenchman who fell into their hands upon the river, or near any remote settlement, suffered the most barbarous and cruel tortures. Such had been the dangers and horrors of the river route, that, for a time, the river trade and intercourse had been almost abandoned, and the Illinois settlements were virtually cut off from Lower Louisiana. Many persons captured by the Natchez warriors upon the river had been burned at the stake with the cruel tortures of slow fire.

On the 15th of November, the army, six hundred and fifty in number, left New Orleans for the strong-hold of the Natchez tribe on Black River. On the way, they were joined by three hundred and fifty Indian warriors, increasing the entire force to one thousand men.

[A.D. 1732.] Early in January the army reached the mouth of Black River, and proceeded slowly up its broad and gentle stream. On the 20th of January they came in sight of the enemy's principal fort. The troops were disembarked, and the fort was invested. On the following day the field-pieces and artilleryists were landed, and the siege was regularly opened. For three days the besieged made a spirited resistance; but on the 25th a flag of truce was suspended from the fort, just as the artillery was prepared to open upon it; yet M. Perrier rejected all propositions unless the "suns" and war-chiefs were delivered into his hands, and threatened utter destruction to all in case of refusal. At length, after a protracted negotiation, the Indians surrendered the Great Sun and one war-chief; but M. Perrier refused to extend quarters to the tribes unless others were also surrendered. Not being in a situation to dictate terms, they at length consented to surrender sixty-five men and about two hundred women and children, upon condition that their lives should be spared. But these sternly refused to leave their intrenchments unless the artillery was withdrawn from before the fort; they likewise demanded that the Indian allies, who were guarding the avenues of escape, should also be withdrawn. These demands were refused by the French commander, and the artillery opened a furious cannonade against the works; but it was soon silenced by heavy rain, which continued until night, when clouds and wind thickened to a tempest. Soon after dark, it was ascertained that the enemy were abandoning their strong-hold under

the shelter of the tempestuous night. They were now making their escape up Little River, and through the dense forests and swamps toward Catahoola Lake. The Indian allies were sent in rapid pursuit, and they at length captured about one hundred of the fugitives. Further pursuit was abandoned by M. Perrier, and he proceeded next day to demolish the outworks of the deserted fort. Soon afterward the Indian allies were dismissed, and the French commander prepared to return with his army and his prisoners to New Orleans. He arrived in the city on the 5th of February, accompanied by four hundred and twenty-seven captives of the Natchez tribe, among whom were the Great Sun and several principal war-chiefs.*

The Great Sun and his companions were soon afterward shipped to St. Domingo and sold as slaves. Such was the termination of this expedition, and such was the fate of the Great Sun and nearly half of his nation. Although in two campaigns they had lost many of their tribe by captivity and death, yet nearly one half of the entire nation remained; but being dispersed in detached parties, they were compelled to seek safety from the vengeance of the French. Some retired west of the Washita, some to Red River, and some joined the Chickasàs east of the Mississippi. Nearly three hundred individuals, including seventy warriors, had retired to the region west of Catahoola Lake, and others passed up the Washita. One chief, with forty warriors, had gone to join the Chickasàs, taking with them their women and children. The Yazoos and Coroas, tribes of the Natchez confederacy, were still able to bring a few warriors into the field.†

Although reduced and dispersed, the Natchez warriors had not been conquered. A few months served to recover them from their late reverses, and they still breathed vengeance against their destroyers; hence the Natchez war was not yet terminated, and the invincible courage of the warriors could be subdued only by extermination.

Toward the close of summer, the warriors, who had retired from the strong-hold upon Black River and Catahoola Lake, with other wandering bands of the dispersed tribes, collected into one body near the remote settlements of Natchitoches, on Red River. Here they determined to make another bold stand against their French enemies. Their united force comprised

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 287.

† Idem.

about two hundred warriors, burning with revenge for their disasters at Natchez and on Black River, for the loss of their Great Suns and chiefs, as well as their wives and children, who had now been sold into hopeless slavery in St. Domingo. Their first operations were directed against the French posts and settlements at Natchitoches.

The post of Natchitoches was commanded by St. Denys, a bold and intrepid officer, of great experience in Indian affairs. The hostile warriors designed the utter destruction of this remote post and settlement; but St. Denys, apprised of their designs and movements, had made ample preparation for the defense of his post. He had re-enforced his garrison by the enlistment of a few Spaniards, and others willing to serve under his command; the fort was repaired, and placed in a state of complete defense; at the same time, having secured the aid of a body of friendly Indians from the neighboring tribes, he now deemed himself able to withstand any assault which might be made by the hostile warriors.

Nor was he long in suspense as to their movements. The Natchez warriors at length approached the post, and made a furious assault upon the works; but, after a hard-fought battle of several hours, they were repulsed with great loss by the vigorous resistance of the garrison. Failing in the attack upon the fortified post, they retired to wreak their vengeance upon the Natchitoches Indians, a weak tribe in the vicinity, who were in alliance with the French. The Natchitoches village, being deserted, was entered by the hostile warriors, who proceeded forthwith to fortify it as a strong-hold for future defense.

These movements were closely observed by the vigilant St. Denys, and he lost no time in his preparations to dislodge them from their new position. Having re-enforced his detachment by volunteers, and a few more friendly Indians from the regions south of Natchitoches, he advanced to the attack of the Natchez intrenchments. By a vigorous assault, the outworks were carried by storm, and the whole fortress was soon in possession of the assailants. The Natchez warriors made a vigorous resistance, during which ninety-two of their braves, including all of their head chiefs, were slain. The remainder, overpowered by the numbers and impetuosity of the French and their allies, escaped by flight.

Thus St. Denys, with his limited resources, by his indomita-

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ble energy and courage in this brilliant achievement, had accomplished more in bringing the Natchez war to a close than the commandant-general, with the whole resources of the province. This was, in fact, the closing scene in the war, and the blow which completed the final dispersion and annihilation of the Natchez Indians as a distinct tribe.

[A.D. 1733.] The scattered remnants of the tribe sought an asylum among the Chickasâs and other tribes who were hostile to the French. Since that time, the individuality of the Natchez tribe has been swallowed up in the nations with whom they were incorporated. Yet no tribe has left so proud a memorial of their courage, their independent spirit, and their contempt of death in defense of their rights and liberties. The city of Natchez is their monument, standing upon the field of their glory. Such is the brief history of the Natchez Indians, who are now considered extinct. In refinement and intelligence, they were equal, if not superior, to any other tribe north of Mexico. In courage and stratagem, they were inferior to none. Their form was noble and commanding; their stature was seldom under six feet, and their persons were straight and athletic. Their countenance indicated more intelligence than is commonly found in savages. The head was compressed from the os frontis to the occiput, so that the forehead appeared high and retreating, while the occiput was compressed almost in a line with the neck and shoulders. This peculiarity, as well as their straight, erect form, is ascribed to the pressure of bandages during infancy. Some of the remaining individuals of the Natchez tribe were in the town of Natchez as late as the year 1782, or more than half a century after the Natchez massacre.*

To the great joy of the whole province, a partial and temporary peace with the Indian tribes now succeeded. For three years, the whole population had been in a state of continual alarm and apprehension. Every thing had presented the appearance of hostile array and military parade. The troops in the province having been insufficient for the protection of the

* The venerable Christopher Miller, of Natchez, remembers to have seen a number of Natchez warriors in the village of Natchez as late as the year 1782, during the Spanish dominion. He had also seen several of them previous to that time, at the post of Arkansas, on the Arkansas River, under Spanish occupancy. He testifies to their commanding form and noble stature, no less than to their remarkably lofty and retreating forehead.

settlements and remote posts, and at the same time to keep down the rebellious spirit of the slaves, the population was drained of its most efficient members to fill the ranks of distant expeditions, leaving the settlements at the mercy of the small tribes in their immediate vicinity. This state of things was now, fortunately, terminated for a time, and the respite was essentially necessary for the safety of the province.

But the company had been involved in enormous expenses in conducting the military defense of the settlements, and in prosecuting the Natchez war. Their losses, by Indian depredations at Natchez and other points, in the first outbreak of hostilities, had also been great. The disturbance of harmony with other remote tribes, consequent upon the Natchez war, was such as precluded any profitable trade with them, and diminished the success of trade at the remote posts. This state of things, following upon the disasters consequent upon Law's failure, alarmed the directory, who, believing that they were not secure from similar disasters in future, determined to surrender their charter into the hands of the crown, and abandon the further prosecution of their scheme. Obedient to the wishes of the "Company of the Indies," who could invest their capital more profitably in traffick and conquest upon the coasts of Guinea and Hindostan, they had petitioned the king to permit them to surrender their charter and retire from the American wilderness. The petition was readily granted, and the king had issued his proclamation, declaring the whole province of Louisiana free to all his subjects, with equal privileges and rights as to trade and commerce. This proclamation was issued on the 10th day of April, 1732, and had taken effect from its date. From this time the Western Company, which was, in fact, only a branch of the "Company of the Indies," was absorbed in the parent monopoly.

During fifteen years the Western Company had held the control and monopoly of the mines and commerce of the province. They exercised all the rights of proprietors, subject only to the approbation of the king; yet the advantage derived was not proportionate to their outlay and their expectations. For the last three years, it had been a source of continual expense and harassing vexation. During this period, the population of the province had increased but little; yet from the time when the company first assumed the control, in 1717, the prov-

ince had greatly changed. At that period, scarcely seven hundred souls, of all ages, sexes, and colors, formed the civilized population of this vast province; now the number of the colonists exceeded five thousand souls, among whom were many men of worth and enterprise. The whole number of slaves had increased from twenty souls to more than two thousand. The settlements were rapidly extending upon the fertile alluvions of the Mississippi, of Red River, of the Washita, and the Arkansas, besides the fine agricultural settlements upon the Illinois and Wabash Rivers.*

M. Salmon, as commissioner in behalf of the king, received formal possession of Louisiana from the company. The crown also purchased, through the commissioner, all the effects of the company in the province at a fair valuation, amounting to about sixty thousand dollars. The property thus transferred to the crown consisted of their warehouses, goods, stock in trade, plantations, with two hundred and sixty negroes, and all the appendages of their planting establishments.†

Under the new organization of the government, M. Perrier retained the appointment of commandant-general, and M. Salmon commissaire-ordonnateur. Loubois and D'Artaguet, both of whom had distinguished themselves in the Natchez war, were the king's lieutenants, the first for Louisiana, and the second for the Illinois country.

At this time, the settlements of Lower Louisiana had extended, at various points on the Mississippi, above New Orleans. At the German Coast, the river bank on both sides was lined by a large number of handsome cottages. Large settlements and plantations had been opened at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Point Coupée, besides many others more remote from the city. At Natchez, settlements had extended upon the St. Catharine and upon Second Creek, from its sources to the Homochitto River.

The culture of rice was extensive; tobacco and indigo had succeeded well, and formed articles of export. A flourishing trade from the Illinois and Wabash countries increased the

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 288, 289.

† In the valuation of the company's property, negroes were valued at an average of seven hundred livres, or one hundred and seventy-five dollars each. Horses were valued at fifty-seven livres, or fourteen dollars twenty-five cents each. Rice, of which there were eight thousand barrels, was rated at three livres, or seventy-five cents per hundred pounds. The value of a horse was estimated equal to nineteen hundred pounds of rice.—See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 292.

commercial importance of Louisiana. Civil government was organized, and religious instruction had been amply supplied in the different settlements. This, of course, was the Catholic faith, taught under the superintendence of the vicar-general at New Orleans, as a portion of the diocese of the Bishop of Quebec.*

The Illinois and Wabash countries, comprising all the settlements on the Upper Mississippi, from "Fort Chartres" and Kaskaskia eastward to the Wabash, and south of Lake Michigan, contained many flourishing settlements devoted to agriculture and the Indian trade.

CHAPTER IX.

LOUISIANA UNDER THE ROYAL GOVERNORS UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE CHICKASÂ WAR.—A.D. 1733 TO 1741.

Argument.—Recapitulation of Chickasâ Hostilities, and English Intrigue from Carolina and Georgia.—Bienville reappointed Commandant-general of Louisiana.—He resolves to chastise the Chickasâs.—Demands a Surrender of the Natchez Refugees.—Prepares to invade the Chickasâ Country.—Indian Alliances formed with Choctâs.—Plan of Operations to invade from the North and South simultaneously.—Bienville, with the main Army and Allies, proceeds up the Tombigby.—Is delayed by Rains.—Marches to the Chickasâ Strong-hold.—Attacks the Fortress, and is repulsed with Loss.—Retires, and finally retreats down the Tombigby.—Defeat of D'Artaguetta, with the Illinois Forces.—His Captivity and Death in the Chickasâ Country.—Bienville's Account of the Chickasâ Fort.—Chickasâs send Banners to apprise the English of their Victory over the French.—Bienville, overwhelmed with Chagrin, resolves on a second Invasion from the Mississippi.—The Plan of Invasion approved by the Minister of War.—The Grand Army proceeds up the Mississippi to Fort St. Francis.—Fort Assumption built on Fourth Chickasâ Bluff.—Delays from Sickness and Want of Provisions.—M. Celeron advances with a Detachment toward the Chickasâ Towns.—Concludes a Peace, by Bienville's Order, with a single Village.—Fort Assumption dismantled, and the Army descends to New Orleans.—Bienville retires under the Disgrace of a second Failure, and is superseded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil as Governor.—Retrospect of the Condition of the Province up to the Year 1741.

[A.D. 1733.] FROM the first settlement of Louisiana, the Chickasâ Indians, occupying all the northern half of the present State of Mississippi, and all the western half of Tennessee, had often manifested feelings inimical to the French. This feeling was known, however, to proceed from British intrigue, carried on by traders and emissaries from Carolina, which then comprised the present states of North and South

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 289.

Carolina. Aware of the bias thus produced in the minds of the Chickasâs toward the French settlements, agents and emissaries, during Crozat's monopoly, as well as under the Western Company, had endeavored to reconcile them, and to secure their neutrality, if not their friendship, by mild and amicable means. Efforts were made to establish a reciprocal intercourse with them, by means of trading-posts and formal negotiations. But the result of all such overtures was, at most, a temporary friendship, or a disguised hostility. Within the first twenty years after Iberville planted his colony on the Bay of Mobile, the Chickasâs had several times been instrumental in instigating smaller tribes and bands into hostilities against the French, while they assumed an attitude of disguised friendship. On the Mississippi, as well as upon the Tombigby, their depredations upon the traders, and occasionally their murders at remote, unprotected points, had been subjects of remonstrance and of special negotiation. Influenced by British emissaries and traders from Carolina, they had almost entirely excluded French traders, and the agents both of M. Crozat and the Western Company. In this manner did the English authorities of Carolina attempt to arrest the extension of the French settlements east of the Lower Mississippi.

The Chickasâ nation constituted a rendezvous for British emissaries, whence they might operate through the contiguous tribes; and when opportunity might offer, they could penetrate the territory of tribes in friendship and alliance with the French. In this manner, remote settlements were often placed in extreme danger by any sudden hostility excited in the contiguous tribes. As early as the year 1715, a British emissary named Young had penetrated from the Chickasâ country through all the small tribes then inhabiting the southwestern portion of the present State of Mississippi, and thence through the tribes from New Orleans to Pascagoula Bay. This man having been captured by the agent of M. Crozat, was sent a prisoner to Mobile.* The object of his mission was to form a general conspiracy or league among the tribes, for the total expulsion of the French from Louisiana. The same object was attempted by others; but, fortunately, their efforts were unsuccessful.

Such attempts on the part of the English served as a full

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 185.

justification on the part of the French to seek means of retaliation. For this purpose, in self-defense, they had encouraged the confederacy of the Yamases and the other tribes of Western Georgia, in their hostilities against the English settlements of Carolina the same year.

Eight years afterward, the Chickasâs near the Mississippi had resumed their hostilities upon the traders and voyageurs who conducted the commerce between Mobile and the Illinois country. After many such murders and robberies had been committed by them, Bienville succeeded in restoring peace and a temporary security to the river trade, without any general rupture with this nation. In a short time, however, restless desperadoes in the West resumed their attempts to harass and interrupt the river trade. This state of things had continued, with occasional intermissions, until about the close of the year 1729. About this time the Chickasâs began their efforts to form a conspiracy among all the tribes south of them, for the destruction of the French settlements throughout Lower Louisiana. In this conspiracy, the Natchez tribe had been originally only a consenting party, the Chickasâs being the principals, until circumstances urged the former to become principals in the memorable massacre of November, 1729. During the war, which resulted in the annihilation of the Natchez tribe, although the Chickasâs took no active part in the contest, they had received and given protection to the refugees of that tribe, as well as to many fugitive negroes who had escaped to them after the Natchez massacre. They also had given a refuge to the hostile warriors who escaped the arms of M. Perrier on Black River, and of St. Denys at Natchitoches, in the autumn of 1732. Such was the prelude to the Chickasâ war.

The province of Carolina, in 1732, had been divided into North and South Carolina, for the greater convenience of the royal government. The proprietaries having formally sold out their claims to the crown, from that time North and South Carolina were distinct royal provinces, under a newly-organized government of the king.* Nor was this the only movement made by the English crown to secure a footing north of the Gulf of Mexico and westward to the Mississippi. By a royal charter of George II., a new province had been planned, to embrace all the unoccupied country upon the Atlantic coast

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*; Introduction, vol. i., p. 308.

between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, and to extend from their sources westward to the Mississippi, thus interfering directly with the claims of both Spain and France.* In honor of the British king, it had been called the Province of Georgia. A colony prepared in England, under General James Oglethorpe, for its settlement, had arrived in the summer of 1733, and was located on the Savannah River, where the town of Savannah was laid off. Thus commenced the British province of Georgia, which received annual accessions to its population by successive colonies from the mother country.

[A.D. 1734.] No sooner had this colony been located than Oglethorpe set himself to forming friendly alliances with the neighboring tribes. In a short time his agents had secured the alliance of the different branches of the Muskogees, the Yamacas, and Cherokees. The following year, Red Shoes, a Choctâ chief, made a visit to Oglethorpe, in order to open an advantageous trade for his tribe. "We came a great way," said he, "and we are a great nation. The French are building forts about us against our liking. We have long traded with them, but they are poor in goods: we desire that a trade may be opened between us and you." And when a commerce with them began, the English coveted the harbors on the Gulf of Mexico, which rightfully belonged to Spain and France. Such was the beginning of British encroachments upon the limits of Louisiana.†

The Natchez refugees, still thirsting for vengeance, urged the Chickasâs to open hostilities. Encouraged by the English traders and emissaries, the Chickasâs again commenced depredations and murders upon the French commerce on the Mississippi. Before another year elapsed, they threw off all disguise, and openly espoused the Natchez cause. They also dispatched some of the most sagacious and artful of the negroes who had escaped from the Natchez settlements, as emissaries well calculated to sow the seeds of insurrection among the slaves on the plantations near New Orleans. They were to insinuate themselves among the slaves, and to encourage them to a bold and vigorous effort to obtain their freedom by the destruction of their masters; to represent to them their own liberty, and the ease with which the whole slave population could be speedily emancipated, when they might find a secure

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii., p. 419-421.

† Idem, p. 423.

refuge, if necessary, with their friends among the Chickasàs. Several of these emissaries had penetrated to the plantations near New Orleans, and especially to that formerly belonging to the Western Company, on which there were two hundred and fifty slaves.* Such are the intrigues, and such the means ever used by the British government to accomplish their designs against those they doom to destruction.

The contagion of their seduction spread among the negroes with surprising rapidity. They held meetings for night parties and dancing, unsuspected by their owners, wherever the desired intercourse between the leaders could be effected. A plan was actually laid, and a time appointed when they were to collect from all parts around the city of New Orleans, which was to be burned and the people massacred by one party, while another party were to seize the king's arsenal and magazines, from which they were to supply themselves with arms and ammunition. From this point they were to carry conflagration and slaughter along the river coast, until they should be joined by parties of Chickasàs, who were to hold themselves in readiness at some convenient point on the river above. The plot was discovered in time to prevent its contemplated execution. The ringleaders were taken, and executed in the most exemplary manner, as a warning and terror to others.

In the mean time, the intercourse by the river between New Orleans and the Illinois country was so hazardous, by reason of Indian murders and robberies, that the river commerce was virtually suspended, and the colonies were kept in a state of continual alarm.

[A.D. 1735.] Such had been the state of things early in the year 1734, when Bienville was again commissioned by the king as governor and commandant-general of Louisiana. Early in the autumn he arrived at New Orleans, and entered upon the duties of his office. Bienville, in his old age, still felt a thirst for military fame; he also coveted the honor of humbling the tribes which had espoused the Natchez cause, and who had afforded them an asylum from the vengeance of the French.

During his absence from the province the horrible massacre of the French colony on the St. Catharine had taken place, besides numerous other Indian outrages. During his former administration all the tribes had been kept in due subjection, or

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i, p. 295, 296.

were held under proper restraint. But so soon as he left for Europe, Indian outrages commenced; murders and depredations were frequent; the whole province was kept in a state of continual alarm and apprehension of Indian aggression; the navigation of the Mississippi was virtually cut off, and communications with the upper province interrupted. None of these things had been permitted during his presence in the province. He had now returned, and he doubted not that his name alone would be a check upon the Indians, and a terror to the Natchez refugees. Thus he may have reasoned with himself. Accordingly, soon after his arrival in New Orleans, he dispatched an officer to the principal village of the Chickasâs, demanding from them the surrender of the Natchez refugees who had been received among them. In reply to his demand, he was informed that the Natchez Indians had been incorporated with the Chickasâ tribe, and could not be given up.

Upon the reception of this intelligence, Bienville determined to inflict signal chastisement upon the Chickasâs themselves, by invading and laying waste their country with a powerful army. The whole force of the province was now to be arrayed against them. The government of France itself had given directions for the invasion, and the royal eye was turned anxiously upon the coming contest.*

In the mean time, the Natchez refugees and a few hostile Chickasâs continued to harass the river trade by their repeated robberies and murders upon the traders and voyageurs. At length the Mississippi was not a safe route between the remote portions of the province; few only of those who ventured to ascend the river were so fortunate as to escape the bandits by whom it was infested.

Bienville determined to lose no time in bringing his forces into the field, and in executing summary vengeance upon the Chickasâ nation. He had made a levy of troops from all the settlements upon the Upper and Lower Mississippi, and from Mobile. An officer had been sent duly authorized to solicit the aid and alliance of the Choctâs, and to secure their co-operation in the contemplated expedition. The Choctâ chiefs, conducted by the emissary, met Bienville in council at "Fort Condé," and contracted to lead a large body of their warriors to "Fort Tombigby," which was to be erected in their own

* Bancroft's United States, vol. iii., p. 365.

country, about two hundred and fifty miles above Mobile, upon the west bank of the Tombigby River.

An officer was also dispatched with a detachment of troops to erect the stockade and the necessary buildings for a military dépôt, which would serve as a general rendezvous for the eastern division of the army. An order was likewise sent to M. d'Artaguette, commandant at Fort Chartres, and son of the Chevalier d'Artaguette, to march his whole disposable force for the Chickasâ nation, including all the troops and Indians which could be collected from the Illinois and Wabash countries. With these he was to form a junction with the grand army about the 10th of May, between the sources of the Yazoo and the Tombigby Rivers.*

The plan of operations was as follows: Bienville, with the whole force of Louisiana and the Choctâs from the Tombigby, were to ascend that river to the junction of its principal head streams, the east and west forks, supplied with military stores and artillery. Here he was to advance across the country in a northwest direction toward the strong-hold of the Chickasâs, which was upon the head waters of the Tallahatchy. D'Artaguette, with the Illinois forces, was to descend the Mississippi to the last Chickasâ bluff, there disembark, and traverse the country in a southeast direction to the sources of the Tallahatchy. The two divisions of the army were to be near the dividing ridges about the 10th of May, when further operations would be concerted.

[A.D. 1736.] In the mean time, Bienville was absorbed in the object of collecting a strong force at Fort Condé, preparatory to the invasion of the Chickasâ country. Early in the spring of 1736, the troops moved from New Orleans for Mobile in thirty barges and thirty large pirogues. On the 10th of March they arrived at Fort Condé, where they remained preparing for the expedition until the 4th of April, when they commenced the voyage up the Tombigby. Ten days brought the army to Fort Tombigby. Here they were joined by six hundred Choctâ warriors, and ten days afterward six hundred more arrived, increasing the whole number of these auxiliaries to twelve hundred.† Rains and inclement weather multiplied the difficulties and delays of the invading host. An army unemployed becomes restless and discontented, and military discipline in a state of idleness will rarely quiet the discontented mind.

* Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 365.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i, p. 302, 303.

Already some of the advanced guard, sent to construct Fort Tombigby for the rendezvous, had attempted to escape and enjoy the liberty of the wilderness; but they were taken, and in the wilds of Alabama, condemned by a court-martial, they were shot, a warning to the discontented.

Such had been the unavoidable delays, that Bienville did not leave Fort Tombigby until the 4th of May, only six days previous to the junction which D'Artaguet was instructed to make with him upon the sources of the Tallahatchy. The boats and barges moved slowly up the tortuous stream, while the light infantry and the Indian auxiliaries advanced by land across the country. From Fort Tombigby to the junction of the East and West Forks, where the artillery and munitions of war were to be deposited, was but little short of two hundred and fifty miles, following the meanders of the stream. To reach this destination required near twenty days of toil before the little fleet could make the point for disembarking the troops and munitions of war. At length, upon the banks of the Tombigby, not far from the site of the present town of Cotton-gin Port, and nearly five hundred miles, by the river, from Mobile, Bienville disembarked his supplies, and erected a stockade fort for the protection of the sick, the baggage, the military stores, and the artillery. The nearest Chickasâ town was twenty-seven miles distant, in a northwestern direction,* and probably within a few miles of the present town of Pontotoc. The town was known to be well fortified, and was situated, probably, upon the bank of Pontotoc Creek, in the northern part of Mississippi, and in the central portion of Pontotoc county, which perpetuate the name of the Indian strong-hold.

The stockade having been completed, and a sufficient guard having been detailed for its defense, Bienville commenced his march with the army in two columns, flanked by the Choctâ warriors, in search of the enemy. Then it was that "the solitudes of the quiet forests and blooming prairies, between the sources of the Tombigby and Tallahatchy, were disturbed by the march of the army toward the strong-hold of their ancient enemy."† On the evening of the 25th of May, the army encamped within one league of the Indian citadel. Next morning, before day, the Choctâs advanced to surprise the enemy's

* Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 366. Martin says the Chickasâ fort lay northeast from the point of debarkation. See vol. i., p. 303.

† Bancroft, vol. iii., p. 366.

post; but the Chickasâs were on the alert, and their intrenchments were strong. The Choctâ warriors, after vainly assailing its impregnable defenses, retired from the assault. About noon the French army advanced in battle array, and posted themselves in full view of the fort, ready for the fearful assault. The British flag was seen waving over its ramparts, and it was known that British traders and emissaries were in the fort, conducting the defense.*

About one o'clock the French column, prepared with hand-grenades for the conflagration of the buildings, advanced to the charge with the cheering shout of "*Vive le roi.*" Twice during the day was the assault renewed with fire and sword, and twice were their columns repulsed by the terrible fire from the fort. Four hours had the battle raged around the intrenchments, without success or hope of victory. Many had fallen among the slain, many were severely wounded, and the number of killed and wounded were multiplying rapidly. Bienville, despairing of success without the aid of artillery, and seeing his brave troops constantly falling in the unequal contest, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and drew off his forces. The retreat was led off in excellent order, but the slain were left upon their gory battle-field. Such was the result of this day's contest. The French in the assaults had thirty-two men killed, and sixty-one were wounded. Among the slain were four officers of rank.

The army retired to their camp, one league distant, and spent the evening and night in throwing up an intrenchment around it for their more perfect security.

Next morning the Choctâs advanced to skirmish with parties of Chickasâs; as they approached the fort, they beheld the bodies of the French who had fallen in the assaults of the previous day, quartered and impaled upon the stockades of the fort.

Three days were spent in the fortified camp, but no further serious attempt was made to dislodge the enemy from their strong-hold. Surrounded by the hostile warriors in the midst of the enemy's country, Bienville received no tidings of the northern division from the Illinois, or of the arrival of D'Artaguet among the Chickasâs. Chagrin at his unexpected repulse completely overwhelmed the veteran chief, and, despairing of his ability to reduce the formidable position occupied by his warlike enemies, he determined to abandon the enterprise and re-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 301, 302.

turn to New Orleans. On the 29th of May he broke up his encampment and took up the retrograde line of march, and on the following day halted at the head of Tombigby, where his stores and artillery had been deposited. Here he made but little delay previous to his final departure from the Chickasâ country. On the 31st he dismissed the Choctâs with kind words and presents, when, after throwing his cannon into the Tombigby, with his army he floated down the river ingloriously to Fort Condé.* Near the last of June, he entered the Bayou St. John on his return to New Orleans, covered with defeat and shame.

In the mean time, where was the young and chivalrous D'Artaguette? He and his brave companions were sleeping the quiet sleep of death in the land from which Bienville had ingloriously fled.

D'Artaguette, the pride and flower of Canada, had convened the tribes of the Illinois at Fort Chartres; he had unfolded to them the plans and designs of the great French captain against the Chickasâs, and invoked their friendly aid. At his summons, the friendly chiefs, the tawny envoys of the North, with "Chicago" at their head, had descended the Mississippi to New Orleans, and there had presented the pipe of peace and friendship to the governor. "This," said Chicago to M. Perrier, as he concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, "this is the pipe of peace or war. You have but to speak, and our braves will strike the nations that are your foes."† They had made haste to return, and had punctually convened their braves under Artaguette. Chicago was the Illinois chief from the shore of Lake Michigan, whose monument was reared, a century afterward, upon the site of his village, and whose name is perpetuated in the most flourishing city of Illinois.

In due time, D'Artaguette and his lieutenant, the gallant Vincennes, from the Wabash, with their respective forces and Indian allies, had descended the Mississippi to the last Chickasâ bluff, and, agreeably to his orders, had penetrated the Chickasâ country. The fearless heroes had cautiously, and unobserved, penetrated from the bluffs eastward into the heart of the Chickasâ country, and, on the evening before the appointed 10th of May, had encamped among the sources of the Yalobusha, probably not six miles east of the present town of Pontotoc, near

* Bancroft's United States, vol. iii. p. 366.

† Ibidem, p. 365.

the appointed place of rendezvous, and not more than thirty miles from the point of Bienville's debarkation. Here, ready for co-operation with the commander-in-chief, D'Artaguette and his brave troops were prepared to maintain the arms and the honor of France.

With his lieutenant Vincennes, the youthful Voisin, and his spiritual guide and friend, the Jesuit Senat, D'Artaguette sought in vain for intelligence of his commander. But he maintained his post, and from the 9th until the 20th of May he encamped in sight of the enemy, until his Indian auxiliaries, becoming impatient for war and plunder, refused all further restraint. D'Artaguette then consented to lead them to the attack. His plans were wisely devised and vigorously executed; but, unsupported by the main army, what could he effect against a powerful enemy?

The attack was made with great fury against a fortified village; the Chickasas were driven from their town and the fort which defended it; at the second town, the intrepid youth was equally successful. A third fort was attacked, and, in the moment of victory, he received a severe wound, and soon after another, by which he fell disabled. He distinguished himself, as he had done before in the Natchez war, by acts of great valor and deeds of noble daring. "The red men of Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad but sixteen years old, conducted the retreat, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, and marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue." But the unhappy D'Artaguette was left weltering in his blood, and around him lay others of his bravest troops.* The Jesuit Senat might have fled; but he remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, and mindful only of duty. "Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader."†

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii., p. 366, 367. See, also, Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 303, 304.

† The troops from Illinois in this campaign, as they advanced to the attack, had their bodies protected in front, from the arrows of the Chickasas, by wool-sacks, or quilted cushions made of wool, suspended before their bodies. This novel, and yet very useful kind of armor, was discovered by the British traders in the fort, who directed the Chickasas to shoot at their heads and legs.—Stoddart, p. 63.

Prescott, in his "Conquest of Mexico" by Hernando Cortez, describes a similar protection made of cotton, and used by the Spaniards against the arrows and missiles of the Mexican Indians.

D'Artaguet and his valiant companions who fell into the hands of the Chickasâs were treated with great kindness and attention; their wounds were dressed by the Indians, who watched over them with fraternal tenderness, and they were received into the cabins of the victors in hopes of a great ransom from Bienville, who was known to be advancing by way of the Tombigby with a powerful army. But the same day brought the intelligence of the advance and the discomfiture of the commander-in-chief. His retreat and final departure soon followed, and the Chickasâs, elated with their success, and despairing of the expected ransom, resolved to sacrifice the victims to savage triumph and revenge. The prisoners were taken to a neighboring field, and, while one was left to relate their fate to their countrymen, the young and intrepid D'Artaguet, and the heroic Vincennes, whose name is borne by the oldest town in Indiana, and will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized men, and the faithful Senat, true to his mission, were, with their companions, each tied to a stake. Here they were tortured before slow and intermitting fires, until death mercifully released them from their protracted torments.* Such were the sufferings of the leaders of the northern division, at the very time that Bienville had commenced his inglorious voyage down the Tombigby: and such is the early history of the white man in Mississippi.

Thus the magnificent parade of Bienville, and his pompous threats against the Chickasâs, terminated in a complete failure of the expedition, and brought a cloud of disgrace upon his military fame. The Chickasâs proved themselves then the true descendants of the powerful and warlike nation which had encountered the steel-clad chivalry of De Soto, two hundred years before. The French allege that the fort, attacked by the forces under Bienville, was constructed of large and tall palisades planted in the ground, and perforated with numerous loop-holes for firing upon an approaching enemy; and that a strong platform of boards, covered with earth, extended around the inside, so as to protect the defenders from the hand-grenades used by the French in the assault. The British traders and emissaries had taught them the art of fortifying their villages, and of making regular defenses against field artillery.

It was not until early in July, and soon after his arrival at

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 304.

New Orleans, that Bienville learned by rumor the sad fate of D'Artaguet and his companions in arms, who had been sacrificed to his strict obedience to military orders, and to the inexcusable want of energy in the commander-in-chief.

The English settlements in Georgia were apprised of this disastrous expedition of the French within a few weeks after Bienville reached New Orleans; for the Chickasâs, elated with their victory over the French, sent runners the same summer to narrate to Oglethorpe, on the Savannah, how they had met and defeated the French in two divisions, and what lingering torments they had inflicted upon the captives. "Ever attached to the English, they now sent their deputation of thirty warriors, with their civil sachem and war-chief, to make an alliance with Oglethorpe, whose fame had reached the Mississippi. They brought for him an Indian chaplet, made from the spoils of their enemies, glittering with feathers of many hues, and enriched with the horns of buffaloes."*

[A.D. 1737.] Bienville, mortified with the result of his late unsuccessful campaign against the Chickasâs in the East, determined to retrieve his honor and the glory of France by a more powerful invasion from the West. With but little grounds for the assurance, he hoped that the route of D'Artaguet was more accessible, and that victory might attend his arms where fortune had smiled upon the intrepid commandant of Fort Chartres. A plan of an expedition against the Chickasâs with a grand army, by way of the Chickasâ Bluffs, was devised and laid before the minister for his sanction.

[A.D. 1738.] The approbation of the minister was transmitted to Bienville near the close of the following year, and he began to put in operation his plans for humbling the pride and power of his late fierce antagonists. Great preparations were set on foot throughout the whole province, and far exceeding any thing of the kind which had been seen in Louisiana from its first settlement. The signal of preparation was given, and the commandants throughout the province had their orders from the commandant-general himself. The spring of 1739 was the time for the contemplated grand invasion.

[A.D. 1739.] The route of the contemplated invasion was from the lower Chickasâ Bluff, on the east bank of the Mississippi, eastward to the principal towns, about two hundred miles

* Bancroft's United States, vol. iii., p. 433.

distant, on the sources of the TaHa-hatchy and Tombigby Rivers. A fort was ordered as the point of general rendezvous for the grand army, near the mouth of the St. Francis River, on the west side of the Mississippi. Here the allied army was to have its general dépôt for baggage, the sick, and military stores. Troops, together with large bodies of friendly Indians, were to be drawn from all the posts, settlements, and regions contiguous to the Lower Mississippi and Mobile. These were to be joined at the mouth of the St. Francis by all the troops and Indian allies to be mustered from the Illinois and Wabash countries, under their respective commanders.

All things being in readiness about the last of May, the main army began to leave New Orleans for the rendezvous at the mouth of the St. Francis. They embarked in a fleet of boats and barges, and slowly moved up the strong current of the Mississippi until the last of June, when they reached Fort St. Francis. This division of the army consisted of Louisiana militia and regular troops, besides a few companies of marines, and more than sixteen hundred Indian allies. The division from the Illinois and Wabash, commanded by La Buissonnière, commandant of Fort Chartres, comprised about two hundred men, including regulars, militia, and some cadets from Canada, besides about three hundred Indian allies under the command of M. Celeron and M. St. Laurent, his lieutenants. The entire force now at Bienville's command was about twelve hundred whites, and nearly twenty-five hundred Indians and negroes, giving a grand total of three thousand seven hundred fighting men.

With but little delay, the army was crossed over to the east bank of the Mississippi, where "Fort Assumption" was built, near the mouth of the Margot, or Wolf River, as a convenient dépôt for the sick, the baggage, and military stores. This fort, however, was delayed in its completion until the middle of August.* By this time, sickness and the autumnal fevers began to make fearful ravages in the ranks, both among the Europeans and the Canadians. Those who escaped disease, as well as those who had recovered from its attack, were debilitated and unfit for active service. The cool, bracing air of early winter and the purifying frosts were anxiously expected, as the best restoratives against the debilitating effects of a long

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. I., p. 307.

summer upon their northern constitutions. Early winter came, and found the ranks more than decimated; and while the atmosphere became wholesome and elastic, and the troops began to assume their wonted vigor, a new enemy threatened them with annihilation. This was famine; for the supplies of provisions had begun to fail, and all were reduced to short allowance. The invasion of the Chickasá country must now be delayed until supplies were received from New Orleans and from Fort Chartres. Thus was the expedition against the Chickasá towns deferred until the middle of March following, when a large portion of the white troops were so much debilitated by exposure to the inclemency of winter, and by the want of wholesome food, that not more than two hundred effective men could be mustered who were able to take up the line of march with the Indian and negro warriors toward the Chickasá towns. With these, M. Celeron had orders to march against the Chickasás, and was specially instructed to lose no opportunity of treating for peace. As he advanced, the Chickasás, at first sight, supposed the whole French army was close behind them, and, as a measure of safety, sued for peace. M. Celeron, taking advantage of their alarm, entered into a treaty of peace and friendship.*

[A.D. 1740.] The Indians promised to remain the true friends of the French, and declared they would renounce the English, who had incited them to hostilities. M. Celeron, in the name of Bienville, promised peace to the Chickasá nation; and a deputation of chiefs and warriors accompanied his return march, to consummate the bonds of peace by a regular treaty, to be concluded at Fort Assumption. Here Bienville entered into negotiations, which were ratified, after the Indian custom, with presents and festivity.

Fort Assumption was dismantled; the army retired to Fort St. Francis, on the western bank of the Mississippi. Here Bienville, having discharged his Northern troops and the Indian allies, prepared again to float ingloriously down the Mississippi with the main army. Thus ended the second invasion of the Chickasá country, begun by Bienville to retrieve his military fame, but which sunk it lower than it had been before.

After a long and expensive preparation in two campaigns; after the loss of many lives, many slain in battle, and far more

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. I., p. 308, 309.

ingloriously swept off by disease and famine, the war was discontinued, and a treaty of peace had been concluded with the chiefs and warriors of a single town, and without a single laurel upon the commander's brow.

This campaign closed the military career of Bienville in Louisiana. He had been bold, ardent, and an able commander in his youth; but, cooled in his ardor by the snows of thirty-six winters in the service, he was ill qualified for the arduous duties of conducting an army through a wilderness of swamps and dense forests, remote from the facilities of civilized life. To contend with the wily savage in his own native forests requires the energies of the iron-hearted warrior in the prime of manhood and in the vigor of health.

To crown the misfortune of two disastrous campaigns, Bienville, the following spring, was succeeded in the government of Louisiana by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was appointed governor and commandant-general. Thus the public career of Bienville, who for nearly forty years, a few short intervals excepted, had controlled the affairs of Louisiana, terminated under a cloud of censure, and the disapprobation of his sovereign. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune, which assail the high as well as the humble.

The population and wealth of Louisiana for the last five years had continued to increase gradually, notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the Chickasâs and the reverses of two unsuccessful campaigns. The settlements had gradually extended and multiplied upon Red River, and upon the Washita, as well as upon the Upper and Lower Mississippi. Agricultural productions, adapted to the climate, both in the upper and lower portions of the province, were important items in the commerce with the parent country. About this time cotton was introduced as an agricultural product of Louisiana, but for many years it was cultivated only in small quantities.*

[A.D. 1741.] The emigration from France continued to swell the population of New France and Louisiana. Every arrival from France was the harbinger of a new settlement, or the extension of the old. Many Canadians, retiring from the rigors of the long winters on the St. Lawrence, sought the comparatively mild climate of the Wabash and the Illinois countries. While the Chickasâs, instigated by British intrigue, had

* Stoddart's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 63.

kept up a state of continual hostilities from the Yazoo to the Ohio, the tribes north of the Ohio, and to the very sources of the Alleghany River, were mostly in friendly alliance with the French, and received their traders and missionaries into almost every village. French settlements from Canada began to extend south of the Western lakes upon the streams which flow into Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, and trading-posts were slowly passing the dividing plains upon the tributaries of the Ohio, within the limits of the present States of Ohio and Indiana. The Illinois country, embracing much of the present State of Illinois, likewise derived emigrants from Canada, as well as through Lower Louisiana. The traders and voyageurs, in their continual intercourse and traffick, penetrated the remotest tributaries of the Mississippi, and maintained a friendly attitude with the remotest tribes.

Many of the tropical fruits and luxuries had been introduced into the settlements. The fig-tree and the orange-tree had already begun to adorn the residences of the colonists, as well as to supply them with delicious fruit; the yam and the varieties of the West India sweet potato were already a certain crop for the sustenance of their numerous families.

CHAPTER X.

CONDITION OF LOUISIANA FROM THE CLOSE OF THE CHICKASÂ WAR
UNTIL THE TERMINATION OF THE FRENCH DOMINION.—A.D.
1741 TO 1764.

Argument.—Louisiana continues Prosperous and free from Indian Hostilities until the Close of the Acadian War.—Agriculture and Trade prosper under individual Enterprise.—Equinoctial Storm in 1745.—Rigorous Winter of 1748-9 killed the Orange-trees.—La Buissonnière and Macarty Commandants at Fort Chartres.—Condition of Agricultural Settlements near New Orleans.—Staples, Rice, Indigo, Cotton, Tobacco.—Sugar-cane first introduced in 1751, and Sugar subsequently becomes a Staple Product.—The British resume their Intrigue with the Choctás and Chickasás after the Close of the Acadian War.—Choctás commence War.—Chickasás resume Hostilities on the Mississippi.—Disturbances break out on the Ohio with the English Provinces.—Governor Vandrenil invades the Chickasá Country by way of the Tombigby.—Ravages their Towns and Fields.—Collisions between French and English on the Ohio.—Ohio Company's Grant leads to Hostilities.—Re-enforcement sent to Fort Chartres.—Lower Louisiana is prosperous.—Horrid Military Execution for Revolt at Cat Island.—British Inhumanity to the People of Acadia.—Origin of the "Acadian Coast" in 1755.—Louisiana suffers again from Paper Money in 1756.—The French abandon the Ohio Region.—Canada falls under the Arms of Britain in 1759, and many Canadians emigrate to Louisiana.—France relinquishes all Louisiana, by Treaties of 1762 and 1763, to Spain and Great Britain.—Great Britain takes possession of Florida and Eastern Louisiana in 1764-5.—Spain assumes Jurisdiction over Western Louisiana in 1765.—Extension of the Limits of West Florida by Great Britain.—Spain and Great Britain divide the Valley of the Mississippi, until the United States succeed, first to British, and then to Spanish Louisiana.

[A.D. 1741.] For ten years after the close of the Chickasá war, the settlements of Louisiana were comparatively free from Indian hostilities. The English provinces along the Atlantic coast, during the greatest portion of this time, were involved with the mother country in prosecuting the Northern or Acadian war, against the French provinces south of the St. Lawrence and north of New England. The remote province of Louisiana and the Illinois country, inaccessible alike to British fleets and armies, remained free from Indian hostilities.

During this period, the French of Louisiana and of the Illinois country had succeeded in establishing amicable relations with all the tribes west of the Alleghany Mountains, from the sources of the Alleghany and the Tennessee Rivers to the Missouri, and from the sources of the Mississippi to New Orleans and Texas. The whole Valley of the Mississippi had yielded to the dominion of France, and the native tribes had become her allies.

As early as the year 1742, the defense of the country being in the hands of the king's officers and troops, the Indian tribes generally observed a respectful neutrality, or a friendly and commercial attitude. Free from danger and apprehension of Indian violence, agriculture continued to flourish, and commerce, freed from the shackles of monopolies, began rapidly to extend its influence, and to multiply its objects under the stimulus of individual enterprise. Capitalists embarked with alacrity into agriculture and commerce. The trade between the northern and southern portions of Louisiana had greatly augmented, as well as that from New Orleans to France and foreign countries. Regular cargoes of flour, bacon, pork, hides, leather, tallow, bear's oil, and lumber were annually transported down the Mississippi in keel-boats and barges to New Orleans and Mobile, whence they were shipped to France and the West Indies. In their return voyages, these boats and barges, from New Orleans and Mobile, supplied the Illinois and Wabash countries with rice, indigo, tobacco, sugar, cotton, and European fabrics. The two extremes of Louisiana produced and supplied each other alternately with the necessities and comforts of life required by each respectively. The mutual exchange of commodities kept up a constant and active communication from one end of the province to the other. Boats, barges, and pirogues were daily plying from one point to another, freighted with the rude products of a new and growing country. The great high-ways of commerce were the deep and solitary channels of the Mississippi and its hundreds of tributaries.

[A.D. 1745.] Such was the growing condition of Louisiana, until hostilities again broke out between the English and French provinces, ten years after the Acadian war.

In the mean time, the settlements had been liable to occasional disasters and unforeseen dangers, which affect alike the colony in its infancy and the more powerful state. In the fall of the year 1745, a destructive storm swept over the settlements of Lower Louisiana, and laid waste the plantations, destroying a large proportion of the crops. The rice crop especially, one of the most important in Lower Louisiana, was nearly destroyed. Rice, for several years, had been an important substitute for bread, and the destruction of this crop reduced many poor emigrants to absolute want. Yet the ne-

cessities of the lower country were supplied by timely relief from the Illinois country and from the Wabash. Their boats annually descended early in December, and returned in February. The supply of breadstuff from Upper Louisiana this year, by some accounts, is given at four thousand sacks,* containing, probably, one hundred pounds each.

[A.D. 1747-8.] Louisiana continued to prosper, and the settlements continued to extend upon the Wabash and upon the tributaries of the Illinois and the Upper Mississippi, and even as far as the upper tributaries of the Ohio. The prosperity of the province continued without interruption until the renewal of hostilities by the English provinces.

[A.D. 1749.] The winter of 1748-9 was remarkable for its uncommon rigor, both in Upper and Lower Louisiana. Such was the severity of the cold, that the thriving groves of orange-trees on the river coast, above and below New Orleans, were entirely killed.

[A.D. 1750.] For several years past, the government of the settlements on the Upper Mississippi and Illinois had been conducted by La Buissonière, commandant at Fort Chartres, where he had succeeded the unfortunate Chevalier D'Artaguet.

[A.D. 1751.] In the following autumn, 1751, he was succeeded in the command of Fort Chartres by the Chevalier Macarty, who left New Orleans on the 20th of August, with a small detachment of troops for re-enforcing the posts on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers.† He continued to retain the command in this quarter until the close of the French dominion on the Ohio.

[A.D. 1752.] The settlements on the Lower Mississippi continued to augment in population, by the frequent arrivals of emigrant colonies from France and the West India Islands. The spirit of enterprise and agricultural industry began to develop the resources of the country, and to increase the wealth and happiness of the people. Plantations lined the banks of the river for twenty miles below, and for a much greater distance above the city. In this distance the whole coast was in a fine state of cultivation, and nearly the whole was securely protected by levees against the floods of the river. The principal staples of this section were rice, indigo, corn, and tobacco.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 316.

† Idem, p. 321-324.

co. Rice and indigo were the chief crops up to the year 1750, about which time cotton had been introduced, and became soon after an important item in the agricultural products of Lower Louisiana and the Illinois country; yet, from the extreme difficulty of separating the cotton from the seed, it did not constitute, in any portion of the country, the entire product of any plantation, but was cultivated in small quantities, by almost every family, as a useful article for domestic consumption.

Tobacco was cultivated in considerable quantities in the uplands near Baton Rouge and in the settlements of the Natchez country. To encourage the extensive cultivation of tobacco, the royal government offered a moderate bounty on the article, and the farmer-general of the king was authorized to receive into the king's warehouses all the tobacco raised in the province, at the rate of thirty livres per hundred pounds, equal to about seven dollars the hundred weight.*

About this time a cotton-gin, invented by M. Dubreuil, which facilitated the operation of separating the cotton fiber from the seed, created an epoch in the cultivation of cotton in Louisiana, and it began to enter more largely into the product of the plantations.

Sugar-cane had not yet been introduced as a staple product of Louisiana. The first attempt to cultivate the sugar-cane in the province was made by the Jesuits in the year 1751. This year they had introduced a quantity of cane from St. Domingo, together with several negroes who were acquainted with the process of manufacturing sugar from the juice. They opened a small plantation on the banks of the Mississippi, just above the old city of New Orleans, and within the limits of the second municipality.† The following year attempts were made by others to cultivate the plant and to manufacture it into sugar. Satisfied with the success of the first attempts, many others soon afterward commenced its culture, and within a few years most of the plantations above and below the city, for many miles, had introduced the culture of cane on a small scale, by way of experiment. Several years elapsed, when the Jesuits and some others, having succeeded even above their expectations, M. Dubreuil, a man of capital and enterprise, was induced, in 1758, to open a sugar plantation on a large scale. He erected the first sugar-mill in Louisiana

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 390.

† Idem.

upon his plantation, which occupied the lands now covered by the lower part of the city of New Orleans, and known as the "Suburb of St. Marigny," below the third municipality. The enterprise of M. Dubreuil having rewarded him with an abundant crop and a ready sale, others were anxious to embark in the same enterprise with large capital.

Thus, before the close of the year 1760, sugar-cane had been fairly introduced as one of the staple products of Louisiana; yet the art of making sugar was in its infancy. The sugar which was made was consumed wholly in the province, and was of very inferior quality, for want of a knowledge of the granulating process. Before the year 1765, M. Dubreuil, M. Destrehan, and others, had succeeded in making sugar which answered all the purposes of home consumption. Still, the planters had not learned the art of giving it a fine, dry, granulated appearance, such as was produced in the West Indies. The whole product of the province had been, heretofore, barely sufficient for domestic consumption; but in the year 1765 one ship-load of sugar was exported to France; yet so imperfect had been the granulating process, that one half of it escaped from the casks as leakage before the vessel reached her destination.* This was the first export of sugar from Louisiana, and the commencement of her trade in her most valuable staple, which has since continued to increase up to the present time, until the annual crop of sugar made in Louisiana varied, between the years 1840 and 1845, from 110,000 to 115,000 hogsheads, besides as many barrels of molasses.†

In the mean time, the British emissaries from the Atlantic provinces resumed their efforts to rouse the Chickasàs to a renewal of hostilities against the French of Louisiana, as well as against the trade carried on between the colonies on the Upper Mississippi and the city of New Orleans. The Northern or Acadian war had been terminated, and peace had been restored between the two powers, England and France, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, on the 18th day of October, 1748. Tranquillity had been likewise restored to all the British provinces along the Atlantic coast, and they now again had leisure to indulge in their former practices of intrigue with the Southern Indians, and especially with the Choctàs and Chickasàs.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 320.

† See New Orleans Annual Commercial Price-current for 1840-1843, &c.

Traders and agents from Carolina and Georgia introduced vast quantities of British goods and commodities of Indian trade, and abundantly supplied almost every Choctâ and Chickasâ village as far west as the Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers, and wholly within the territory claimed by France.* British trading-posts were established in some of the towns, and protected by regular fortifications, which the English had instructed them to build.†

The traders and emissaries lost no opportunity to poison the minds of these tribes against the French of Louisiana. As early as 1750, they had succeeded in rousing the Choctâs into actual hostilities with their old allies the French. This war, however, was brought to a close, and the Choctâs being conciliated, again entered into a treaty of peace with their old friends before the beginning of the year 1751.‡ Yet the English emissaries continued their intrigues with the Chickasâs, losing no opportunity of exciting them to hostilities and depredations upon the French settlements and trade from the Tombigby River to the Mississippi. Simultaneously with these movements in the South, the province of Virginia, under the influence of the "Ohio Company," and Governor Robert Dinwiddie, a member of the company, led the way in making similar encroachments and intrigues, supported by military force, upon the eastern tributaries of the Upper Ohio River. In this latter region, agents, emissaries, and traders were distributed for the purpose of gaining the Indians over to the English interest, and to induce them to exclude the French traders from the Ohio region. Thus the object of the British authorities was to excite finally the whole of the Northern and Southern tribes simultaneously against the French settlements, from Mobile and New Orleans to Canada.

* The English never had acquired any right to the territory west of the mountains from the Monongahela on the north to the Alabama and Tombigby on the south. The French had discovered and explored the whole regions claimed by them; and treaties with the different tribes inhabiting the same gave them a right of jurisdiction or sovereignty over the country superior to any claim which England could set up. The French had explored most of the immense territory comprised in Louisiana, as defined in Crozat's charter, as early as the year 1720, twelve years before the first English settlement in Georgia, and when the settlements on the remote frontiers of Virginia did not extend as far west as the Blue Ridge. In opposition to this right of possession, England had no other claim than the former royal grants, made to individuals and companies, for vast regions of unexplored and unknown lands already in possession of the French.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 321, 322.

‡ Governor Vaudreuil's Report to Ministry, January 12th, 1751, among the French Colonial Records in the Library of the State of Louisiana.—Documents Nos. 230 and 248.

To protect the settlements of the South against the incursions of the Chickasâs, which were now becoming very annoying to the province of Louisiana, the governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, determined to march a strong force into the heart of the Chickasâ country. The force collected and organized for this expedition amounted to seven hundred regulars and militia, besides a large body of Choctâs and other Indian allies from the waters of the Tombigby and Alabama Rivers. The route of invasion was the same which had been pursued by Bienville in the year 1736. The fort formerly built by him on the Tombigby was repaired and enlarged for the general rendezvous. From this point he marched into the Chickasâ country, resolved to chastise them severely for their depredations.

Yet, like all other expeditions against the Chickasâs, it was destined to prove a failure. The Chickasâs, instructed by their English friends, had learned the best mode of fortifying their towns. They were flanked by regular block-houses, surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, within which was a tall and strong palisade inclosure. In the towns thus protected, the Indians chose to remain behind their defenses, and not to venture into the open plain against the overwhelming force of the French. The marquis, unprovided with artillery to effect a breach in the works, and having in several assaults failed to injure the enemy, or to draw them from their coverts, determined that it was useless to spend time in an ineffectual siege. He concluded, therefore, to destroy their resources by laying waste the country, ravaging their fields, burning their corn and their deserted villages. This object being accomplished as far as practicable, he caused a strong detachment to be stationed as a garrison in the fort on the Tombigby, as a barrier against future incursions from that quarter. Matters being thus arranged, he set out on his return to New Orleans, by no means pleased with the laurels he had won from the Chickasâs.

Among the benevolent efforts of the king's government to promote the increase of population in Louisiana, for many years under the royal governors, was the humane policy of sending every year at the royal expense a large number of worthy but poor girls to the province, in charge of suitable agents or guardians, with instructions to bestow them in marriage, together with a small dowry, to such of the soldiers as by their good behavior were entitled to an honorable discharge from

the service. The dowry allotted to each soldier who married one of these females was a small tract of land, one cow and calf, one cock and five hens, a gun and ammunition, an ax and a hoe, together with a supply of garden seeds. Thus the newly-married pair were enabled to begin the world as independent heads of families.* Thus commenced many useful and worthy families of the French population of Louisiana previous to the year 1751, which witnessed the last arrival of these young females.

About this time the difficulties between the French posts and settlements on the head streams of the Alleghany and the upper portion of the Ohio, and the provincial authorities of Virginia, in favor of the "Ohio Company," and some other interested individuals, began to assume a more threatening attitude. The French continued to advance from Presque Isle, of Lake Erie, upon the tributaries of the Alleghany, and their advance was protected by military posts properly fortified. The grant originally made by the British crown to the Ohio Company in the year 1748, for six hundred thousand acres of land, had been transferred chiefly to the Washington family and to Governor Dinwiddie.† These persons, not more than ten in number, endeavored, by all the influences within their control, to rouse the hostile feelings of the English colonists in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York against the encroachments of the French, with such effect that a collision and active hostilities between the troops of the two powers were ultimately produced.

*How much
did George
get as his
grant?*

[A.D. 1753.] Near the close of the year 1753, the Marquis de Vaudreuil was advanced to the governor-generalship of New France, or Canada, when M. Kerlerec, a captain in the royal navy, succeeded him as Governor of Louisiana. M. Auberville was commissaire-ordonnateur.

[A.D. 1754.] At length the collisions between the advanced traders and military detachments of France and Virginia upon the head waters of the Ohio had brought on a state of actual hostilities between the troops of England and France. The first hostile act was on the part of the Virginians, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Washington. It consisted in

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 321.

† See Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. i. and ii. A full account of the grant to the Ohio Company, and of some other royal grants west of the mountains, may be seen in vol. ii., p. 478-485.

the attack and capture of a small detachment of French troops under the command of M. Jumonville, after having slain one third of their number, including their commander.*

France began now to re-enforce her troops on the Ohio, preparatory to a military defense of the country. In the autumn of the same year, M. Favrot, with four companies, of fifty men each, with a large supply of provisions and ammunition, was dispatched from New Orleans to the headquarters of Fort Chartres, for the use of the posts on the Ohio.

During the past year strict military discipline and subordination were rigidly enforced, and sometimes with extreme rigor. In the summer, the soldiers of a military post on Cat Island, exasperated at the cruelty and avarice of their commander, M. Roux, rebelled against his authority and put him to death. Afterward, failing in their object of reaching the English settlements of Carolina, they were captured by a band of Choctaws sent in pursuit, and brought back for punishment, except one, who killed himself rather than submit. The most horrid military execution was inflicted upon the ringleaders; two were broken upon the wheel, and one, who was a Swiss from the regiment of Karrer, after the immemorial usage of his country, was placed alive in a wooden coffin, and by two sergeants sawed in two with the whip-saw.

The colonial authorities were active in their efforts to place the province in the most defensible condition, and the governor, M. Kerlerec, and the ordonnateur, M. Auberville, made active preparations to work the lead and copper mines of Illinois. These mines were known to be inexhaustible, and the minister was desired to send additional miners from Paris.

Emigrants still continued to arrive from France, and among the arrivals of the year 1754 were a large number of families from Lorraine for a settlement in the parish of Des Allemands.†

From this time began the contest between France and England for the possession of the Valley of the Mississippi, a contest which was waged with varied success for eight years, until finally the tide of war set in favor of Great Britain, and France was compelled at length to surrender first one, and then another of her military positions in New France; until at last,

* For a more full account of this transaction, see chap. iii. of this book.—See, also, Martin, vol. i., p. 324-326.

† Colonial Records in State Library of Louisiana, Doc. No. 240.

driven by stern necessity, the king sought peace at the expense of a treaty which confirmed to Great Britain the whole of Canada, or New France, and all the eastern half of Louisiana.

[A.D. 1755.] Although the province of Louisiana was involved in the prosecution of this war, yet her remote situation and her inaccessible position secured her settlements and towns from the horrors of invasion, with its attendant rapine and bloodshed. The Mississippi and Ohio Rivers were the great high-ways of intercourse between New Orleans and the seat of war upon the lakes and the St. Lawrence, and these were in the exclusive possession of the French and their Indian allies until 1759.

Early in this war, the cruel jealousy and the wicked policy of the English court prompted them to perpetrate one of those national atrocities which have so long tarnished the honor of British conquests. In the war which was terminated by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, France had ceded to Great Britain the whole province of Acadie, comprising the present provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Now, when that power had resolved to possess herself of the whole of Canada, lest the poor Acadians, on their bleak, sterile, and rocky shores, should sympathize with their brethren on the St. Lawrence, and make common cause with Canada, England resolved to exterminate them as a people. Although she shrunk from the atrocity of a wholesale murder in cold blood, yet she deemed it consistent with her policy, before they had offered any resistance, or had evinced a disposition to reject her authority, to tear them away from their homes and possessions, and throw them helpless and destitute upon that mercy which protects the fowls of the air.

To accomplish this purpose, a number of vessels were dispatched to Acadie, where they were filled with the poor, kidnapped inhabitants, who were torn by armed ruffians, in the character of British soldiers, from their houses and possessions, and ruthlessly transported to distant regions. Here, less merciful to them than to the kidnapped Africans, who are provided with masters and a home, the English threw them, forlorn and destitute, upon the wide world for a support, caring but little whether they lived or died. Hundreds, nay, thousands, of these wretched people, thus barbarously torn from their homes and from their country, were landed in detached parties on dif-

ferent points of the barren and sandy coast of Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. Destitute and helpless, like so many dumb beasts, they were turned loose to shift for themselves, or to perish of hunger and cold.*

Lest a lingering desire of home might prompt them to seek again their country and former abodes, they had been stripped of all the money and available means by which they might have returned, their fields and inclosures had been laid waste, their houses and possessions were burned before their eyes—thus at once sweeping away the last inducement for return. Upon the barren shores of the British provinces were these wretched people turned loose to wander they knew not where; strangers in manners and language, they had no other hope, or protection from famine and death, than the generous sympathy of the Anglo-Americans. From these they received generous aid, and their necessities were liberally supplied by the public authorities, as well as by individuals. Yet they were among those who spoke the language of their oppressors, although endued with better hearts.

A wilderness of more than a thousand miles in extent separated them from their countrymen on the Illinois, yet they determined to seek some land where the spotless banner of France still waved for their protection. Loathing all connection with those who bore even the name of their oppressors, they determined to turn their faces toward the West, and took up their weary pilgrimage through the trackless wilderness across the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio River. After a tedious and painful march of several weeks, they arrived upon the banks of the "Belle Rivière," upon whose gentle current, provided with boats and barges, they floated down to the Mississippi, whose majestic flood soon conveyed them to their countrymen of New Orleans.

The arrival of the Acadians in New Orleans was equalled only by the scene presented by the women and children who had been rescued from the Natchez Indians twenty-five years before. All houses, and hearts too, were open to relieve their distress and to minister to their wants. Charity herself walked the streets personified in acts of kindness. The governor and dondonateur-commissaire ordered a portion of land to be allotted to each family for their permanent homes. Thus a settle-

ment was formed on both sides of the river, a short distance above the German coast, formerly assigned to the colonists of Law from the Arkansas; each family was supplied with implements of husbandry, seeds, and rations from the king's stores, until they could procure means for their own support. The settlement thus formed was known and designated as the "Acadian Coast," where many of their descendants are found at this day, who have lost but little of their paternal hatred for the English name.*

[A.D. 1756.] The province of Louisiana, although remote from the seat of war, labored under many pecuniary embarrassments, growing out of the war waged in Canada. The whole country was literally inundated with government drafts and notes which it was unable to redeem. The embarrassments were such as necessarily result from a bankrupt treasury and a ruinous paper currency, ever fluctuating and of uncertain value. This embarrassment continued to increase until the close of the war by the treaty of 1763.

[A.D. 1758.] In the autumn of the year 1758, the French being compelled to abandon the post of Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, the garrison and military stores arrived at New Orleans about the 1st of December, when new barracks were erected for them in the city.

[A.D. 1759.] Early in the spring of 1759, Fort Massac was built by the French, on the right bank of the Ohio, about forty miles above its mouth, and continued to be occupied by the French as a garrison post until after the termination of the war.

In the mean time, the tide of war in the northeast had set against France, and the arms of Great Britain had been triumphant in Canada. One strong-hold after another had been lost to France, and it became evident that all Canada would fall under the dominion of Great Britain. Under these prospects, a large number of Canadian French determined to escape such a calamity as they deemed the British yoke, by abandoning their country and joining their countrymen in Louisiana. Many of them, accordingly, departed from Canada by way of the lakes, and thence through the Wabash and Illinois Rivers to the Mississippi. Those who reached Lower Louisiana sought settlements mostly west of the Mississippi, on the bayous and

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 329.

prairies of Attackapas, Oppelousas, and Avoyelles.* This emigration added a large population to Lower Louisiana, and also augmented the settlements on the Upper Mississippi. Louisiana continued under the administration of Kerlerec until the close of the war, and his government was prompt and energetic.

[A.D. 1760.] Although Spain had made common cause with France against Great Britain, the latter had completed the conquest of Canada, during the year 1760, by the reduction of Montreal. The fortresses of Quebec, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara, had fallen under the British arms during the summer and autumn of the previous year.†

[A.D. 1762.] At length hostilities ceased between the three great powers; and peace was ratified by the treaty of Paris, dated the 16th of February, 1763. By this treaty, France ceded and confirmed to Great Britain all her northern provinces, commonly known as New France, or Canada; embracing all the countries contiguous to the great lakes and the St. Lawrence River to its mouth, together with all the territory, forts, and settlements south of the St. Lawrence, including Acadie and Cape Breton on the Atlantic coast, south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. France also ceded to Great Britain all that portion of Louisiana lying on the east side of the Mississippi River, from its source to the Bayou Iberville, or Manchac. The irrevocable boundary between the English and French provinces was to be an imaginary line along the middle of the Mississippi River, from its source to the Bayou Manchac; thence along said bayou and the Amité River to Lake Maurepas; thence through the middle of Lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne to the sea. France also ceded the port and river of Mobile. In the mean time, Spain had ceded to Great Britain the whole of Florida, then embracing all the coast east of the Perdido River and Bay, to the St. Mary's River on the Atlantic coast. Thus, by this treaty, England acquired virtual possession of all North America east of the Mississippi River; and by the stipulations of the treaty, the navigation of the river, from its source to its mouth, was to remain forever free to the subjects of both powers.

[A.D. 1763.] In the mean time, the King of France, by a secret treaty, ratified on the 3d of November, 1762, had agreed

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 336.

† For the reduction of Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, see chap. iii. of book ii.

at this time
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to cede and deliver to the King of Spain the residue of Louisiana, embracing all the territory on the west side of the Mississippi to its remotest tributaries, and including the Island of New Orleans on the east side, south of the Bayou Manchac.

This completed the dismemberment of Louisiana; which was thus divided between Great Britain and Spain. The jurisdiction of each of these powers was subsequently extended over their respective portions.

By a decree of the king in council, dated October 7th, 1763, Florida was divided into two governments, known as East Florida and West Florida. West Florida, by this decree, was to extend from the Mississippi, north of the Bayou Iberville, eastward to the Chattahoochy River; bounded on the north by the thirty-first parallel of latitude, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. East Florida was bounded by the Chattahoochy on the west, and extended to the Atlantic on the east; comprising the whole peninsula as far north as the St. Mary's River, or the southern boundary of Georgia.

In February following, Captain George Johnston, of the British army, took formal possession of West Florida in the name of the British king. Pensacola was made the capital of West Florida, and St. Augustine of East Florida.

Soon after Governor Johnston entered upon his duties, the Court of St. James was informed that there were important settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, which were north of the thirty-first parallel of latitude, the northern boundary of West Florida. To embrace these settlements, a second decree of the king in council was issued on the 10th of June, 1764, extending the northern limit of West Florida as far as the mouth of the Yazoo River. The northern limit was henceforth to be an imaginary line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Chattahoochy River.*

That portion of Louisiana north of the Yazoo remained a portion of the Illinois government. The jurisdiction of Great Britain was not formally extended over the settlements on the Upper Mississippi and Illinois until the year 1765, when Captain Sterling, from Detroit, assumed the duties of commandant of Fort Chartres, and governor of the Illinois settlements.†

In the mean time, Spain had formally assumed possession of Western Louisiana, including the Island of New Orleans. The

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. I., p. 342, 343.

† See book iii., chap. iv., of this work.

disappointed inhabitants yielded a reluctant obedience to the Spanish authority, and the civil jurisdiction of Spain was not enforced in Upper Louisiana until the year 1769.*

Thus terminated the dominion and power of France in North America. From the first permanent settlements on the St. Lawrence, she had held Canada, or New France, nearly one hundred and fifty years; she had discovered, occupied, and held dominion over the Valley of the Mississippi more than eighty years, until it had become a flourishing and important province.

The entire continental possessions of France in North America originally comprised New France, or Canada, with the provinces of Cape Breton and Acadié, south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the north, embracing the whole Valley of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes; in the west and south, the vast province of Louisiana, comprising the whole Valley of the Mississippi:

[A.D. 1764.] From this time the Valley of the Mississippi was virtually divided between the two great European powers of Great Britain and Spain. The dominion of the former was destined to be of short duration, and to be superseded by a new power heretofore unknown, a power which was ultimately to swallow up the dominion of Spain also. This new power was to be the United States of America, the land of freedom and the rights of man, the bulwark of human liberty and the asylum for the oppressed. This great confederated Republic now holds dominion over the whole Valley of the Mississippi, from the sea to its remotest tributaries.

* See book iv., chap. i., of this work.

*North
American*

BOOK III.

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

CHAPTER I.

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM THE OHIO REGION.—INDIAN HOSTILITIES UNTIL THE CLOSE OF PONTIAC'S WAR.—A.D. 1757 TO 1764.

Argument.—England persists in occupying the Upper Ohio Region.—The Frontier Anglo-American Settlements driven back in 1757.—Indian Hostilities West of the Blue Ridge.—Shawanese Incursions in 1757.—Sandy Creek Expedition under Colonel Lewis.—Peace established with the Cherokees.—Fort Loudon built on South Branch of Holston.—First White Settlements on the Holston in 1758.—Explorations of Dr. Walker and others in 1758, and previously.—Forces for Reduction of Fort Duquesne.—Major Grant's Defeat at Fort Duquesne.—French and Indians attack Colonel Bouquet's Camp at Loyal Hanna.—General Forbes advances to Fort Duquesne.—Occupies the deserted Post.—"Fort Pitt" commenced.—Fort Burd erected on the Monongahela, 1759.—Cherokees resume Hostilities.—A Portion of the Cherokees averse to Hostilities.—Friendly Cherokee Deputation imprisoned at Fort George.—Cherokees attempt to rescue their Chiefs.—General Cherokee War provoked in 1760.—Capture and Massacre of Fort Loudon.—Colonel Grant invades the Cherokee Nation.—Peace with Cherokees restored in 1761.—British Arms victorious in New France and Canada.—English Settlements from Virginia and North Carolina advance upon the Waters of the Ohio in 1762-3.—Treaty of Paris confirms to England all Canada and Eastern Louisiana.—The Northwestern Indians refuse their Assent to the Treaty.—The "Six Nations."—Their territorial Limits.—The Western Tribes resolve to resist the Advance of the English Power.—The King's conciliatory Proclamation of 1763.—Locations and Grants made on the Waters of the Ohio; on Cheat River.—Indian League under Pontiac, the great Ottawa Chief, or Emperor.—His Character and Plan of offensive Operations.—Catholic Missionaries and Jesuits not Instigators of the War.—Terrible Onset of Indian Hostilities.—Traders first Victims.—Capture of the Western Posts by Indians.—Capture of Presque Isle; of Fort Miami; of Mackinaw.—Massacre of the Garrison and Inmates.—Siege of Fort Pitt.—Colonel Bouquet defeats Indian Ambuscade at Turtle Creek.—Protracted Siege of Detroit by Pontiac in Person.—The Defense by Major Gladwyn.—Incidents of Indian Warfare and savage Barbarity.—A Detachment of Troops with Supplies for Detroit cut off by Indians.—Captain Dalsel slain in a Sortie.—Exposed Condition of the western and southwestern Frontiers.—Indian Hostilities in Pennsylvania.—"Massacre of Wyoming."—Hostilities in Virginia, at Muddy Creek and Big Levels.—Attack on Fort Ligonier.—Fort Loudon.—Hostilities on Susquehanna; on Greenbrier and Jackson Rivers.—Terror of eastern Part of New York.—Marauding Bands of Indians on the southwestern Frontier.—Lawless white Men on the Frontiers.—Outrages and Massacres committed by the Paxton Boys.—Origin and Designs of this Banditti.—Military Movements of the English Forces toward the Frontier.—Advance of General Bradstreet to Niagara.—Treaty of Niagara.—Treaty of Detroit.—Pontiac opposes the Treaty.—Colonel Bouquet invades the Indian Country upon the Muskingum.—Forms a Treaty.—Treaty of the "German Flats" with the "Six Nations."—Peace proclaimed December 5th, 1764.

[A.D. 1757.] In another portion of this work,* we have shown that Great Britain had omitted no opportunity for ex-

* See book ii., chapter iii., "Advance of the French upon the Upper Ohio," &c.

pulling her powerful rival from the beautiful and fertile regions drained by the Ohio. We have shown that she had never ceased to urge her claim to the regions west of the mountains, which were virtually in the possession of France; that royal grants had been made to individuals and companies for extensive bodies of land upon the eastern tributaries of the Ohio, for the encouragement of emigration to that quarter;* that English subjects had sent agents to explore the country, and to establish trading-posts among the Indian tribes; that the French had refused to acknowledge the claim of Great Britain to any lands west of the mountains, and had driven back the agents and traders of the Ohio Company; that subsequently they had captured two detachments of troops, sent out under the authority of the province of Virginia; and, finally, that they had, in the summer of 1755, routed and totally defeated a large combined army of provincials and royal troops, under the command of General Braddock.

These successive reverses in this quarter, besides others of a similar character in other parts of Canada and New France, had put a check to the military operations of Great Britain west of the mountains for three years. During this period, the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia east of the mountains were kept in a state of continual apprehension from Indian incursions, robberies, and murders. The government of Great Britain was absorbed in the contest with France on the ocean, and upon the St. Lawrence and other eastern portions of New France. The provinces were left to contend against the savages, without aid or control, until Fortune had begun to smile again upon the British arms. Remote from each other and from the older settlements, the frontier population of Pennsylvania and Virginia was compelled to fall back and relinquish the country to the French and their savage allies.

* The grant made to the Ohio Company in 1748 was only one out of several grants made about that time. Several grants further south were of older date. Among these were those made to lands lying upon the sources of the Kentucky or Louisa River, of the Cumberland, Clinch, and Holston Rivers, and within the present limits of Eastern Kentucky and East Tennessee. It was for the purpose of exploring the lands comprised in these grants that several parties of woodsmen and hunters from North Carolina, under Colonels Wood, Patton, and Buchanan, and those under Captain Charles Campbell and Dr. Walker, were made between the years 1748 and 1750. All these persons were largely interested in grants; and as early as 1755, they had led out about fifty families for settlements west of the mountains; but after the commencement of the French War, in 1755, they were compelled to retire until after Pontiac's War. In 1765 they returned to the West.—See Guthrie's Geography, vol. ii., p. 472.

The most western English settlements at that time had not reached the sources of the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the Shenandoah, James, and Roanoke Rivers; yet they were exposed during the whole of the French war to the continual incursions of the "Six Nations" and their confederates northwest of the Ohio River. Among the latter, the Shawanese were the most powerful and the most inveterate enemies of the Virginians. From the banks of the Scioto and Miami Rivers, they would penetrate the vast mountain wilderness of western Virginia, advancing up the eastern tributaries of the Ohio to the dividing summits, not less than five hundred miles from their towns; from these elevations they would descend upon the settlements situated on the tributaries of the Atlantic rivers, spreading consternation, rapine, and death through the unprotected immigrants. The settlements on the sources of the Yadkin, the French Broad and New River, also, had been driven back by the Cherokees, who joined the northern Indians as allies of France.

At this time, the whole valley between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany ranges was a desolate frontier region, where the inhabitants were cooped up in forts for protection, or, to avoid starvation, had fled toward the eastern settlements. The present town of Winchester occupies the site of a stockade fort, erected in the year 1756, to "protect the inhabitants from the barbarities daily committed by the French Indians."* Staunton and Fincastle were then frontier posts, harassed by constant inroads of the savage war-parties. Nor was it until the next year that Winchester was made a military post, when "Fort Loudon" was erected as a regular stockade post.†

In making incursions upon the western settlements of Virginia, along her wide frontier, the Indians generally pursued two routes, one up the Valley of the Great Kenhawa, and the other up the Valley of the Big Sandy. Those war-parties who pursued the former route passed up the Kenhawa to the mouth of Greenbrier River; thence, following that river to its sources, they passed the dividing summits and descended upon the sources of the Potomac and Shenandoah, harassing the valley settlements from Winchester on the north to Staunton on the south. Others of the same party, following the main valley of the Ken-

* See Butler's History of Kentucky, Introduction, p. 39.

† Marshall's Washington, vol. ii., first edition, p. 23-26.

hawa, where it assumes the name of New River, to its sources, descended upon the settlements dispersed upon the numerous tributaries of James River and the Roanoke.

Those who took the Big Sandy Creek route ascended that stream to the mountains, and easily passed from the dividing highlands down upon the settlements sparsely scattered upon the head waters of the Staunton and Dan Rivers, and upon the sources of the Roanoke.

By the latter route, in the fall of 1757, a party of Shawanese from the Scioto towns had penetrated to the sources of the Roanoke, and had exterminated a whole settlement. To avenge this destructive inroad, and to prevent a repetition of it, the Governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, under Colonel Andrew Lewis, of Botetourt county, organized an expedition against the Scioto towns for the purpose of chastising the Shawanese, and of establishing, on his return, a fort at the mouth of the Great Sandy, as a barrier against future inroads.

Colonel Lewis without delay organized his expedition, and proceeded from Salem, the point of rendezvous, across New River to the Great Sandy late in the fall, with supplies inadequate for so distant a march through an uninhabited country. Before the troops reached the vicinity of the Ohio River, their salt provisions were exhausted, and they were driven to the necessity of supplying their wants by the labor of the chase, and by such game as their hunters could supply. Fortunately, deer, bear, and buffaloes were found sufficient for their immediate wants. When they had reached within ten miles of the Ohio River, they were overtaken by an express from Lieutenant-governor Fauquier, commanding Colonel Lewis to abandon the further prosecution of the campaign, to return to the settlements, and there disband his troops.

With great reluctance, this band of brave backwoodsmen consented to return, but not until they had reached the Ohio, in hopes of meeting the enemy. Many were in favor of proceeding, notwithstanding the orders of the lieutenant-governor. These orders, however, had been dictated by a proper regard for the safety of this little army, and the propriety of them was fully proven by the sequel. Notwithstanding the early retrograde movement toward the settlements, they were, by the severity of winter, on their return march, reduced to the verge of starvation in the midst of the wilderness. The supplies for

the expedition had been completely exhausted, and life was barely sustained by the small quantities of wild game and beech nuts found in the woods. But these were taken from them by the deep snow which soon covered the mountains: the flesh of the pack-horses was then their only dependence for sustenance; and when, at length, this supply failed, every piece of skin, hide, or leather was sought and devoured with great voracity. Before they reached the settlements, they had become so emaciated by fatigue and starvation that they could hardly command strength to pursue their march. What would have been their fate had they advanced two hundred miles further into the wilderness, requiring three or four weeks more of toil and privation, if perchance they should have escaped the fury of the savages? However, they all finally, under their able and energetic conductor, Colonel Lewis, arrived in safety at their homes. This fruitless and hazardous expedition for many years afterward was designated as the "Sandy Creek voyage."*

Such was the second expedition to the West, in which Colonel Lewis had served an arduous and hazardous campaign; the first being the disastrous expedition under General Brad-dock two years before.

In the mean time, the Cherokees of the South had been conciliated and won over from the French interest. Before the close of the summer of 1757 they had entered into treaty stipulations for peace and friendship, and had consented for the establishment of a fort in the heart of their country. The same autumn "Fort Loudon," named in honor of the Earl of Loudon, who was then commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America, was built and left in charge of a suitable garrison. Its situation was upon the north bank of the Little Tennessee, or Watauga River, about one mile above the mouth of Tellico River, and within the present limits of Monroe county, in East Tennessee. The garrison, in the spring of 1758, was augmented to two hundred men, and was intended for the protection of the exposed frontier, as well as to prevent and neutralize French intrigue in this quarter. The same year adventurers and camp-followers advanced into this remote region, and established a small settlement in the immediate vicinity of the fort, which in a few months, by the arrival of traders and hunters, grew into a thriving village. This fort and settlement

* Butler's History of Kentucky, Introduction, p. 40.

were about one hundred and ten miles west of the frontier post of Fort "Prince George," on the Keowee River, a branch of the Savannah.*

[A.D. 1758.] The same autumn, Colonel Burd, with a detachment of troops, advanced into the Cherokee country about one hundred miles north of Fort Loudon, and erected the first English fort upon the Holston River. This fort was located upon a beautiful eminence, nearly opposite the upper end of Long Island, within the present limits of Sullivan county, in East Tennessee. A garrison was maintained in this post the whole of next year, during which time a thriving village settlement sprung up around the fort, comprising a number of mechanics and artisans, for the convenience of the Indians.†

During the summer of 1758, Dr. T. Walker, of Virginia, a man of intelligence and enterprise, made a second tour of exploration‡ into Powell's Valley, and across the head waters of Clinch River, and, passing the Cumberland Mountains, traversed the eastern portion of the present State of Kentucky, crossing in his route the head streams of the Kentucky River, which he called Louisa River; yet he did not see the fairest portion of Kentucky, on the lower valley of that fine river. This exploration resulted in no attempt to form settlements, and further explorations were precluded by the state of Indian hostilities in the West.

Such was the condition of the southern frontier until the close of the year 1759. The extreme western frontier settlements of Virginia and North Carolina were nearly one hundred miles east of the remote posts of Loudon and Long Island; yet the English vainly supposed they had virtual control over the country watered by the great southern branches of the Ohio.

The same year, 1758, the Shawanese warriors resumed their

* See Drake's Book of the Indians, book iv., p. 28.

† See Flint's Geography and Hist. of the Mississippi Valley, vol. ii., p. 19. First ed., 1828.

‡ As early as 1748, Dr. Walker, in company with Colonels Wood, Patton, and Buchanan, and Captain Charles Campbell, and a number of hunters and woodsmen, made an exploring tour upon the Western waters. Passing Powell's Valley, he gave the name of "Cumberland" to the lofty range of mountains on the west. Tracing this range in a southwestern direction, he came to a remarkable depression in the chain; through this he passed, calling it "Cumberland Gap." On the western side of the range he found a beautiful mountain stream, which he named "Cumberland River;" all in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, then prime minister of England.—See Winterbotham's America, vol. iii., p. 25, 26. Also, Marshall's History of Kentucky, vol. i., p. 6. Hall's Sketches of the West, vol. i., p. 239, 240.

incursions against the frontier population east of the mountains. These war-parties, accompanied by a few Canadian French, penetrated the settlements west of the Blue Ridge, and death and desolation marked their path. Dividing into smaller parties as they approached the settlements, they dispersed, and quietly and cautiously penetrated the remotest habitations, unobserved and unsuspected, until the blow was struck, when they as slyly departed. In this manner no less than sixty persons were killed during the summer of 1758, in the county of Augusta alone.

Meantime the British forces were concentrating in Pennsylvania for the reduction of the French posts on the Ohio. The British arms had been attended by one disaster after another, almost from the beginning of the war, and upon the Ohio another disaster awaited them; although, on the Atlantic sea-board, fortune had begun to smile propitiously.

Great preparations had been made by the mother country, as well as by the provinces, to fit out a strong expedition to the French posts on the Ohio. In July, General Forbes, at the head of an army of about seven thousand men, set out from Carlisle for Raystown, on the west side of the mountains.† About the middle of September, the advanced guard of twenty-five hundred men, commanded by Colonel Bouquet, was encamped at Loyal Hanna, fifty miles west of Raystown. From this point Colonel Bouquet dispatched Major Grant with eight hundred men, consisting of one regiment of Scottish Highlanders, and three hundred provincials under Colonel Andrew Lewis, of Botetourt county, Virginia, for the purpose of reconnoitering the country in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne.

On the 18th of September Major Grant had crossed the Monongahela, and advanced down the river within two miles of the French fort, where he encamped for the night. Determined to surprise the French garrison, next morning very early he advanced toward the fortress, leaving the provincials in camp, lest they might share in the glory of the achievement. Upon an eminence which overlooks the confluence, within six hundred yards of Fort Duquesne, with an incautious bravado, he first announced his presence to the enemy by the sound of the reveille drums. The French, pleased with his critical sit-

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. ii., p. 24-26, and 40.

† See Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. ii., p. 289.

uation, made no display of troops ; but silently marching from the fort to the water's edge, and dividing into two columns, they marched up the channel of both rivers, under the concealment of the river banks, and the heavy forest and dense undergrowth with which they were covered, until they gained the rear of Major Grant's position. Then suddenly converging and ascending the heights in the rear of the enemy, the united columns, with a numerous body of Indians on the flanks, suddenly gave the war-shout, and rushed to the attack. A scene of carnage ensued. The terrified Caledonians were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and were cut down without mercy by infuriate savages as they attempted to force their way through the French line. In less than one hour no less than two hundred and seventy Caledonians fell victims to the united fury of the rifle, the tomahawk, and scalping-knife. Many of those who escaped were wounded, and Major Grant and many others were taken captive.*

The regiment was rescued from utter destruction by the prompt advance of Colonel Lewis and his provincials, who, at the first report of the fire-arms, apprehensive of a severe engagement, without orders hastened to their relief, and arrested the victorious pursuit of the Indians. Such was the cause and issue of "Grant's Defeat" in 1758.

After this sanguinary affair, the remnant of the Highland regiment, perfectly satisfied with their first lesson in Indian warfare, were glad to place themselves under the protection of the provincials, and make a precipitate retreat to the main army at Loyal Hanna, leaving the French once more victorious on the Ohio.

The scene of this disastrous battle was long known as "Grant's Hill," in the rear of the city of Pittsburgh ; and the hill itself, which was removed in 1844 to enlarge the city, is still commemorated by "Grant-street."

Nor was it long before the French, with their allies, advanced to meet the royal forces. Emboldened by the success at Grant's Hill, they hung upon the rear and flanks of the retreating detachment until it reached the camp at Loyal Hanna. On the 11th of October, they made a furious attack upon Colonel

* See American Pioneer, vol. i., p. 303. This valuable periodical was published monthly, first at Chillicothe, and then at Cincinnati, Ohio ; but was discontinued after 1843. The design was to collect and record historical incidents and personal reminiscences of the early pioneers of the Ohio region.

Bouquet's encampment, where he was in command of twelve hundred men. After a severe engagement of four hours' duration, the enemy was repulsed, but not until the English had lost sixty-seven men killed and wounded.

On the 24th of October, General Forbes began to move the main army westward to Loyal Hanna.* On the 13th of November, he detached Colonel Armstrong with one thousand men, to advance by regular marches to Fort Duquesne; and on the 17th, with the main army, he proceeded toward the French fortress, leaving strong detachments to garrison Raystown and Loyal Hanna. On the 24th of November, the advanced detachment marched into Fort Duquesne without resistance; for it had been dismantled and burned by the French, who abandoned it only when defense was impracticable against the overwhelming force which was advancing against it, and within one day's march.†

The French commandant, who had been well informed of every movement of the British army since its departure from Carlisle, conscious of his inability successfully to defend the post against such overwhelming numbers, had dismantled the fort and set the buildings on fire previous to its evacuation. Having thus rendered it useless to the enemy, he embarked his command of about five hundred men, together with the ordnance and military stores, in boats and barges upon the Ohio, and descended that river to its mouth, whence he soon afterward descended to New Orleans.‡

As the French commander descended the Ohio, he made a halt about forty miles from the mouth, and, on a beautiful eminence on the north bank of the river, commenced a fort, and left a detachment of one hundred men as a garrison. The post was called "Fort Massac," in honor of the commander, M. Massac, who superintended its construction. This was the last fort erected by the French on the Ohio, and it was occupied by a garrison of French troops until the evacuation of the country under the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. Such

* The whole army under General Forbes, designed to operate upon the French posts near the Ohio, was composed of the following royal troops and provincials, viz.:

1. Royal Americans,	350 men.	3. Virginians,	2600 men.
2. Scotch Highlanders,	1200 "	4. Pennsylvanians,	2700 "

besides wagoners, sutlers, and camp followers to the number of 1000 souls.—See Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 366-369.

† Gordon's Pennsylvania, p. 366, 367.

‡ Martin's Louisiana, vol. i, p. 208.

was the origin of Fort Massac, divested of the romance which fable has thrown around its name.

Fort Duquesne was repaired by the orders of General Forbes; after which the name was changed to "Fort Pitt," in honor of the great William Pitt, the prime minister of Great Britain, by whose wise and energetic administration the fortunes of the war in America had been so signally changed.

A garrison of four hundred and fifty provincial troops, under the command of General Mercer, was left in the post as the key to the whole Ohio region. Thus commenced the first establishment of British power upon the waters of the Ohio River, consequent upon the expulsion of the French.

After the fall of Fort Duquesne, the minor posts situated on the northwest side of the Ohio were successively abandoned by the French commandants, leaving them an easy conquest to the superior forces of the English commanders. The French troops, retiring before the advance of the English forces, descended the Ohio River from all the posts south of the lakes, and concentrated on the Lower Ohio. The Indian allies were compelled to suspend hostilities, and reluctantly to enter into terms of peace with their English enemies. Many of the unprotected settlements upon the tributaries of the Alleghany, the Sandusky, and the Scioto abandoned their homes, and retired upon the settlements of the Wabash and Illinois countries, and some descended the Mississippi to Lower Louisiana.

Actual hostilities upon the Upper Ohio were virtually terminated by the evacuation of Fort Duquesne; and the whole region on both sides of the river being in the actual occupancy of the English troops, emigrants began again to explore the remote regions west of the Alleghany Mountains, and upon the upper tributaries of the Ohio.

[A.D. 1759.] Early in the spring of 1759, several new English posts were established upon the east side of the Ohio, as a protection to the advancing population, and for observing the movements of the hostile tribes upon the waters of the Monongahela. One of the most important of these was that which subsequently was known as "Redstone Old Fort." The site of this fort was the earthworks of an aboriginal fortification, situated upon the margin of an eminence which overlooks the Monongahela from the north side of Dunlop's Creek. Having been selected as an eligible site for a military post, Colonel

Burd, with two hundred men, was ordered to open a road from Braddock's "old trace," on the best route to the Monongahela at this point.* The same summer witnessed the completion of the fort, which, after its founder, was named "Fort Burd." Captain Paull, with a small garrison, continued to hold command until after the ratification of the treaty of peace, in 1763. At a later period, it was discontinued as a military post, and received the name of "Redstone Old Fort," from the red sandstone found in a bluff below.* Around this point was subsequently concentrated one of the first English settlements on the Monongahela.

Although driven from the upper tributaries of the Ohio, the French did not abandon the country further south. They made another effort to eject the English from the Cherokee country. Emissaries were dispatched to rouse the Cherokees from their new alliance, and to induce them again to resume the tomahawk as an ally of France. If the Cherokees, as a nation undivided, could be marshalled against the English, France might yet retain Louisiana from the grasp of England; and it was known that a portion of the nation was ready to strike the enemies of France.†

The Cherokees, obedient to the call of the French envoys, again put on their armor. In a few weeks the frontiers of North and South Carolina were reeking under the incursions of the war-parties from the Cherokee nation; and the provinces were actively employed in defending the unprotected settlements. It was resolved to invade the Cherokee country with a powerful army, and to chastise the nation by ravaging their country and destroying their towns. This being known in the Cherokee nation, of which a large portion was not hostile, but desirous of averting the contemplated invasion, a plan was devised to prevent such a calamity. For this purpose,

* American Pioneer, vol. ii., p. 59-62, where a full history of this fort and the first Redstone settlement may be seen.

† Most of the Cherokees had been pacific and espoused the English cause; some of them had joined the English in their campaigns to the Ohio; but, having been treated improperly, as they supposed, and very imperfectly supplied, they retired to their towns. During the French war, the Legislature of North Carolina had authorized a premium for the scalps of hostile Indians. As it was impossible to distinguish the scalp of a friendly Indian from one that was hostile, and as the former were much more easily procured, the lawless Western people, the Germans especially, frequently shot friendly Cherokees for their scalps. In one season nearly forty Cherokees had been thus cruelly murdered. They became greatly disaffected toward the English, as the French well knew.—See Drake's Book of Indians, book iv., p. 28. Grahame, vol. iv., p. 67.

they sent thirty chiefs upon an embassy of peace. Their route lay by way of Fort Prince George, on the Savannah, where Governor Lyttleton was encamped with eleven hundred men. At this post the Indian envoys were forcibly detained, and compelled to sign a treaty; and for the fulfillment of its stipulations, to which they unwillingly assented, twenty-two of their number were held as hostages for the surrender of those Indians who had committed recent murders upon the frontiers. This unjust and impolitic act roused the indignation and vengeance of the whole Cherokee nation, and led to general hostilities.*

[A.D. 1760.] The first movement on the part of the Indians, after the hostages had been in close imprisonment for nearly two months, was an attempt, by stratagem, to liberate their chiefs from confinement in the fort. In the attempt, the commandant of the fort and one or two soldiers were wounded. In retaliation, the prisoners were soon afterward taken out and deliberately shot.

The whole Cherokee nation immediately flew to arms, and for a time they waged a most unrelenting and bloody war against the frontier settlements of Virginia and North Carolina.

The first general movement of the hostile Indians in this quarter was the capture of "Fort Loudon," with its garrison of two hundred men. The latter, after a protracted siege, had been reduced to the horrors of famine, after having consumed their horses and dogs for food. It was not until then that the commandant agreed to capitulate, upon condition that the garrison should be permitted to march with their arms, unmolested, to the nearest white settlements. The Indians stipulated that this privilege should be granted upon the surrender of the fort; but they violated their obligations.

Agreeably to treaty stipulations, the fort was surrendered on the 7th day of August, and the troops had proceeded one day's march up the Tellico, where they encamped for the night, fifteen miles from Fort Loudon, and on the route to Fort George. Here, on the banks of the Tellico River, at daybreak next morning, they were surrounded and attacked by nearly five hundred Indian warriors, with the most hideous yells, as they rushed, tomahawk in hand, upon the feeble and emaciated troops. Resistance was vain: the captain and thirty of his men fell at the first fire, and the greatest portion of the re-

* Drake's Book of the Indians, book iv., p. 28, 29.

mainder were massacred upon the spot. Captain Stewart, with a few others, were spared, and carried into a captivity worse than death.*

Hostilities, with all the horrors of Indian warfare, were urged with ruthless barbarity by the vindictive Cherokees against the frontier population of Virginia, as well as of North and South Carolina, for nearly two years. The warlike Cherokees at this time held possession of all the regions upon the sources of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, as far south and west as the Muscle Shoals; and France, under them as her allies, had claimed all the southwestern portion of Virginia and North Carolina as a part of Louisiana.

During the period of hostilities in this portion of the western frontier, the white population, which had been extending upon the sources of the Holston and Clinch, and upon the sources of the French Broad, were driven back upon the older settlements east of the mountains.

During the summer of 1761, a strong force, under Colonel Grant, invaded the Cherokee country, and the savages, flying before him, left the country an easy conquest. Marching through the nation, he laid waste their fields, burned their towns, and, destroying their resources, compelled them to sue for peace. Near the close of the year peace was restored upon the southwestern frontier of the provinces, and emigrants were again ready to advance into their deserted settlements.

[A.D. 1761.] During the two years which had elapsed since the expulsion of the French from the Ohio region, and the possession of the key to the Western country by the English troops at Fort Pitt, the most rapid and brilliant successes had attended the British arms in Canada, and in the region south of the St. Lawrence and upon the lakes. The whole region east and west of Lake Champlain, and westward to Lake Erie, was already subjected to the dominion of Great Britain. The strong fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured in August, 1759, and in September following Fort Niagara, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, and Quebec, the Gibraltar of North America, had yielded to her victorious arms. With them fell the French power south of the lakes. Next year Montreal fell, and with it the whole of Canada.†

* Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 388. Also, Drake's Book of Indians, book iv., p. 21.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 236.

[A.D. 1762.] The people of Northern Virginia began to advance from the sources of the Potomac over the mountains, upon the head waters of the Monongahela; from the sources of James River they were crossing the dividing ridges, and descending upon the Greenbrier, New River, and other tributaries of the Kenhawa. Others, from the Roanoke and from North Carolina, were advancing westward upon the sources of the Staunton, Dan, Yadkin, Catawba, and Broad Rivers, along the eastern base of the Blue Mountains, with wishful eyes upon the beautiful country of the Cherokees.

Pennsylvania was sending her emigrants westward upon the tributaries of the Susquehanna, while other hardy pioneers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were advancing by the military roads to form settlements on the Monongahela, near Fort Pitt, and upon its eastern tributaries. But the region of Western Virginia, drained by the tributaries of the Holston and Clinch, were still savage wilds, in the occupancy of the native tribes, excluding even the most resolute pioneer. The embryo settlements, formerly made on the Tellico and on the Holston, near Long Island, had been destroyed or abandoned.

[A.D. 1763.] At length, in the following year, France was obliged to acknowledge the loss of her empire in America. The treaty of Paris, on the 16th of February, 1763, ceded to Great Britain all Canada, and all the French claim to the whole region east of the Mississippi River, as far south as the southern limit of Georgia.

But the treaty of Paris made no stipulation for the tribes who had been in alliance with France, and who claimed to be in dependent nations, and the real occupants of the territory ceded by France. They had been no party to the treaty of peace, and they refused to be bound by any transfer which the French king should make of their country to their enemies, the English.

We have already seen that the dominion of Great Britain, by the treaty of Paris, was recognized over all the territory east of the Mississippi, from its source to the Bayou Iberville,* including all the French settlements in the Illinois country, and upon the tributaries of the Ohio. During the contest which preceded the treaty of Paris, most of the Indian tribes occupying the vast region from Lake Champlain on the east.

* See book ii., chap. iii.

to the Mississippi on the west, had either been engaged as allies and auxiliaries to the French arms, or had observed a suspicious neutrality. Among the most powerful of these auxiliaries was the confederacy known to the French as the Iroquois, and to the English as the "Six Nations," then inhabiting the northern and western portions of New York and part of Pennsylvania. Some bands of the Six Nations dwelt on the sources of the Ohio south of Lake Erie, and others as far west as the Cuyahoga River, on Lake Erie. Other tribes further west, upon the tributaries both of the Ohio and of the Upper Mississippi, were in alliance with, or under the control of the Six Nations.* These also entertained the same hostile feeling toward the English settlements. But the Cherokees of the South had buried the hatchet, and again had entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with the English.

During the war between the French and English provinces, the French had duly impressed the Indians with the inordinate desire of the English to possess their western lands. This grasping propensity of England to occupy these fine lands, in the eye of the Indian, was the chief cause of the war in which General Braddock had fallen. The French, of course, had no such objects to accomplish. Under this belief, the Indians had entered heartily into the war, in expectation of restricting the English settlements to the east side of the mountains. In their alliance, the French had pledged themselves to defend and protect the Indians in their rights, and in the occupancy of their territory and hunting-grounds eastward to the western ranges of the Alleghany Mountains.

The Indians were well apprised that, in the treaty of Paris, ceding the whole country to England, including all their lands south of the lakes and westward to the Mississippi River, without their assent, the King of France, vanquished and driven from all his strong-holds, had been compelled to accede to such

* The Six Nations originally occupied and held dominion over a very extensive territory. After the close of the French war, but especially after the treaty of the "German Flats" in 1764, they entered into alliance with the English. "The limits of their lands or country included all the nations and tribes which were subject to them by conquest or otherwise: they extended from the south part of Lake Champlain, in latitude 44° north, to the borders of Carolina, in latitude 36°, comprehending all Pennsylvania and the adjacent countries. The Six Nations themselves are seated between the forty-second and forty-third parallels of north latitude, north and east of Pennsylvania, within the bounds of New York government, and on the rivers which run into Lake Ontario."—See Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. ii., p. 293, 294.

terms as were dictated by the conquerors. Hence it was that France, unable to obtain for her Indian allies any favorable stipulations, had been compelled to leave them to contend alone with the colossal power of their enemies. Although exasperated at the ungenerous desertion of the French, and left to contend single-handed with the English provinces, the Indians were not dismayed, but were rather roused to desperation in their determination to resist the advance of the white settlements west of the mountains. They had no reasonable hope that the inordinate pretensions heretofore set up by the British provinces to the Ohio country would be withdrawn or in any wise abated, since their right had been acknowledged by France.

England claimed for her colonies only the right of dominion or jurisdiction; but the Indians could perceive no distinction between the right of jurisdiction and the right of possession. They inferred, correctly judging from the past, that the English intended to dispossess them of the whole country so soon as they could find it convenient to occupy it with their colonial settlements. This belief was strongly confirmed by the fact that British troops were distributed in all the old French posts as far west as Detroit and Green Bay. They also beheld the erection of other strong forts in the very heart of their country. One fort had been built at Bedford, more than two hundred miles west of Philadelphia; another was erected at Ligonier; another, called Fort Pitt, on the site of the old French Fort Duquesne. The forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Detroit, St. Joseph's, and Mackinaw were repaired, and garrisoned with British troops.

Other forts were being erected upon the waters of the Susquehanna River, and upon lands claimed by the Indians. Thus the red men saw themselves circumvented by a strong line of forts on the north and east, while those of Bedford, Ligonier, and Pitt threatened the speedy extension of the white settlements into the heart of their country.*

Under these circumstances, the native proprietors and occupants of the country from time immemorial were compelled to choose between the only three alternatives: first, the prospect of being driven to the inhospitable regions north and west of the lakes; secondly, to negotiate with the English for permission to remain upon their own lands; or, thirdly, to take up

* Doddridge's Notes on Virginia, p. 215.

arms in defense of them.* Their native courage and love of independence, sustained by the justness of their cause, prompted them to adopt the last alternative. All former experience taught them that finally they should be overcome, if not exterminated, by their intolerant enemy; yet they determined to assert their rights, although they might be crushed in the attempt to maintain them against their powerful oppressors. They preferred death to ignoble dependence or a cowardly peace.

To remove, so far as appearances might avail, any apparent grounds for apprehension, on the part of the Indians, that the British government designed to extend its jurisdiction over the Indian territory, the proclamation of King George III. was issued in the year 1763, prohibiting all the provincial governors from granting lands, or issuing land-warrants to be located upon any territory lying west of the mountains, or west of the sources of those streams which flow into the Atlantic. The same proclamation prohibited, also, all settlements by the subjects of Great Britain in the provinces west of the sources of the Atlantic streams.†

This proclamation, however, as was admitted by Colonel George Washington and Chancellor Livingston, was intended merely to quiet the jealous apprehensions of the Indians against the advance of the white settlements on the western side of the mountains. It was not in any wise designed really to check the ultimate occupation of the country. Virginia, agreeably to Colonel Washington's opinion, "viewing the proclamation in no other light than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds

* Doddridge's Notes on Virginia, p. 215, 216.

† The following extract contains the prohibition alluded to in this proclamation of the king, dated October 7th, 1763, viz.:

"And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlements. But that, if at any time any of the Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively, within the limits of any proprietors, conformably to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose."—See Brown's History of Illinois, p. 210.

of the Indians," soon afterward "patented considerable tracts of land on the Ohio, far beyond the Appalachian Mountains."*

In the mean time, agents and surveyors had been busily engaged, whenever Indian forbearance permitted, in searching out the finest lands east and southeast of the Ohio, and making surveys or locations of them in such tracts as might be desired to complete the *quantum* originally granted to the Ohio Company, and also to complete the complement of other private grants and military bounties for service in the late French war.

The master spirit of Pontiac was busily engaged, during this time, in preparing his plan of hostile operations against the English provinces, the execution of which has rendered the year 1763, as well as the name of Pontiac, memorable in the annals of Indian hostilities in the West.

Pontiac, or Pondiac, was an Ottawa chief, partly of French descent (having declared that he would live and die a Frenchman), and an unwavering enemy to the British power. He was a savage of the noblest mold, equal, at least, to King Philip of former times, or Tecumseh of later date. In point of native talent, courage, magnanimity, and integrity, he will compare, without prejudice, with the most renowned of civilized potentates and conquerors. During the series of Indian wars against the English colonies and armies, from the Acadian war in 1747 up to the general league of the Western tribes in 1763, he appears to have exercised the influence and power of an emperor, and by this name he was sometimes known.† He had fought with the French, at the head of his Indian allies, against the English in the year 1747. He had likewise been a conspicuous commander of the Indian forces in the defense of Fort Duquesne, and took an active part in the memorable defeat of the British and provincial army under General Braddock in 1755.

After the fall of Canada and the humiliation of the French, he burned with an inveterate hatred to the English people. When, after the treaty of 1763, the British troops began to take possession of the northwestern posts, he began to exert himself in uniting and rousing the Indian tribes in one common cause against them, whereby he hoped to put a check

* See Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. ii., p. 347-349.

† Major Rogers's Account.—See Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. ii., p. 84.

to the advance of their settlements into the Indian country. The general plan to effect this object comprised the capture and massacre of all the western garrisons, and the extermination of the western settlements from the lakes on the north to the southern limits of Carolina. In this general league of the savages Pontiac had engaged all the tribes inhabiting the whole region west of this extensive frontier and back to the Mississippi. The league formed by him in this great undertaking was more extensive than any which had ever been known upon the Continent. In all his plans to effect the great object of the league, he seemed to exercise the power of an absolute dictator. Well acquainted with the geography of the whole region, he planned each attack, and assigned to each band and leader their respective stations and duties.

The general hostile rising of the savages was to be nearly simultaneous against all the posts and settlements. Nor were active hostilities long delayed. By the first of May the Indians were in full motion throughout the extensive frontier. All the military posts and forts, before the middle of May, were either captured or closely invested by an Indian siege. Besides a great number of trading-posts which had fallen, with their owners and occupants, in the first assaults, nine British forts were captured, and the garrisons chiefly massacred with Indian triumph, while others, more strongly fortified or more effectually defended, environed by hosts of hostile savages, and cut off from all communication with the settlements east of the mountains, suffered with famine and the continual apprehension of Indian massacre.

The English historians, biased by their insuperable prejudice and hatred against Catholicism, and their jealousy of papal supremacy, have ascribed the war of Pontiac to the influence of French missionaries and Jesuits among the Indian tribes. Yet nothing is more erroneous than such an inference. Those missionaries of the Catholic Church were doubtless the advocates of peace and mercy, but their influence was insufficient to extinguish revenge from the savage breast, roused by wanton and atrocious murders perpetrated by the whites,* who were protected and encouraged in their encroachments by British troops.

* Several wanton murders had been committed by the whites upon the peaceable Indians near the Susquehanna after the peace of 1763. These, although perpetrated by lawless frontier white men, served to rouse up the Indian's revenge, and his suspicions of treachery and hostility on the part of the whites.

Hostilities once commenced, the whole Indian confederacy bent every energy to its effectual prosecution. As Dr. Doddridge observes, "Never did military commanders of any nation display more skill, or their troops more steady and determined courage, than did those red men of the wilderness in the prosecution of their gigantic plan for the recovery of their country from the possession of the English." It was a war of extermination on a large scale, where a few destitute savage tribes, in defense of their country and their homes, were arrayed against the colossal power and resources of the mistress of the civilized world; a contest where human nature, in its simplest state, was the antagonist of wealth, civilization, and arts, and where the wild man was obliged to call to his aid all the power of stratagem, treachery, revenge, and cruelty against the innocent, the helpless, and the unoffending. Such is the stern mode of savage warfare, which knows no mercy to the feeble, the aged, or the infant; where the youthful mother and her tender infant are alike doomed to the fate of the tomahawk and scalping-knife.

The spirit which animated Pontiac, the Indian emperor in this struggle, may be conceived by the following extract of a speech made by him before a grand council of the Western tribes. After an eloquent and powerful appeal to the warriors against the advance of the British power, he declared that he had been requested by their father, the French king, to aid him in driving out the English, and he repeated to them the will of the Great Spirit, communicated in a dream to a Delaware chief. The Great Spirit had said to him, "Why do you suffer these dogs in red coats to enter your country and take the lands I have given to you? Drive them from it! drive them! and when you are in trouble, I will help you."*

Among the forts or military posts captured by the Indians during the early part of May, were those of Ouiatenon, Green Bay, Mackinaw, St. Joseph's, Miami, Sandusky, Presque Isle, Le Beuf, and Venango. Some had been taken by open attack, others by stratagem and treachery; and in nearly all of them the garrisons had shared the fate of Indian victory, their bodies mingled in triumph, and their blood quaffed in rage.

Besides those posts which fell before the victorious savages, no less than six were beleaguered for many weeks or months,

* Thatcher's *Lives of the Indians*, vol. ii., p. 86, Family Library edition.

until they were finally relieved by re-enforcements from the older settlements and from England. The principal of these were Detroit, Ligonier, Bedford, Cumberland, and Loudon, most of which were reduced to great extremities before relief reached them. Niagara was deemed impregnable to the savages, and was not attacked.

In addition to the destruction of life and property at the forts and in their immediate vicinity, the frontier settlements west of the Blue Ridge, from the Susquehanna to the sources of the Roanoke, were broken up with indiscriminate massacre, where the people could not effect their timely escape. Those who escaped were crowded into fortified stations, or retired with their families to the more secure parts of the old settlements east of the mountains. "The English traders among the Indians were the first victims in this contest. Out of one hundred and twenty of them, only two or three escaped the general destruction. The posts of Presque Isle, St. Joseph, and Mackinaw were taken, with a general slaughter of the garrisons."

Such was the general result; the detail of some of the scenes in the western regions may give some idea of the nature of an Indian war. "The work of extirpation was commenced on or about the same time from north to south, and from east to west. Nine British forts were captured. Some of the garrisons were completely surprised and massacred on the spot; a few individuals, in other cases, escaped. The officer who commanded at Presque Isle defended himself two days. During this time the savages are said to have set fire to his block-house about fifty times, but the flames were as often extinguished by the soldiers. It was then undermined and a train laid for an explosion, when a capitulation was proposed and agreed upon, after which a part of the garrison was carried captive to the northwest."*

In the treachery put in operation against the posts, the prominent object was, first, to obtain possession of the commanders, or officers, previous to any actual hostile attack. This was attempted, and sometimes successfully, by parties of Indians gaining admission under pretense of business or friendship; at other times they were enticed from the fort without any apprehension of danger. At Miami, on the Maumee River, the commandant was induced, by the entreaties and cries of a squaw, to

* Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. ii, p. 87.

accompany her two hundred yards from the fort, to relieve a man who, she said, was wounded and dying. He went for the purpose of relieving the dying man, and found his own death from a party of Indians in ambuscade. The fort was afterward captured, and the garrison massacred.*

At Mackinaw a more subtle policy was adopted. This was a very important post, standing on the south side of the Strait of Michilimackinac, between Lakes Huron and Michigan. It was a place of deposit, and the point of departure between the upper and lower countries, and here the traders always assembled on their voyages to and from Montreal. The post was situated on a fine plain near the water-level, and consisted of a stockade inclosing nearly two acres, and about thirty small houses, occupied by as many families. The bastions were mounted with two small brass pieces of ordnance, and the garrison consisted of about ninety-five men. Near the time for the contemplated attack, numerous Indians, apparently quite friendly, began to collect about the fort. At length, under pretense of celebrating the king's birthday, they made arrangements for a great game of *baggatiwâ*, or Indian ball, resembling the common game of racket, in which each party strives to carry the ball to the opposite boundary of the field. It was pretended that a great wager was at stake for the victorious party. Nearly two hundred Indians were engaged on each side. The play was about to commence near the fort, and many from it were induced to come out as spectators. In the midst of the play, when all were apparently intent upon the game, and engaged in the most violent exercises of rivalry, the ball was, as if by accident, thrown within the stockade. Each party, eager to excel, were allowed to pass directly into the fort in pursuit of the ball. Immediately after they had entered the fort, the war-whoop was given, and each Indian, drawing his concealed weapons, began the indiscriminate massacre of every Englishman in the fort. The French were not molested. Henry, an eye-witness, states that, after having been engaged writing for nearly half an hour, he was suddenly aroused by a loud war-cry, and great noise and general confusion. Going to his window, he saw a crowd of Indians within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found; and he could plainly witness the last struggles of some of his particu-

* Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. ii., p. 88.

lar acquaintances. Some of them he saw fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of the savages, who were holding them in this manner, and tearing off their scalps while they were yet alive. All show of resistance was soon over, and the cry was heard through the fort, "All is finished!" While this scene of blood was passing, several of the Canadian villagers were seen looking out upon the scene quite composed, and neither interfering nor being molested.

After the massacre was over, and all the English had been hunted up, the scene of savage revelry commenced. Here the observer, who had been fortunately concealed in a Frenchman's house, beheld the most ferocious and foul triumphs of the savages. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking under the unsatiated knife and reeking tomahawk. Some, from the bodies of their victims ripped open, were drinking the blood scooped up in the hollow of their hands, and quaffed amid the shouts and rage of victory.*

Fort Pitt was likewise invested, and closely besieged for nearly three months. All communication with the eastern settlements being intercepted by the lurking bands of Indians, and all succor by re-enforcement being impracticable, the garrison for many weeks was an isolated community, nearly three hundred miles from the settlements, and surrounded by fierce bands of hostile savages. Reduced to the greatest extremities, starvation or Indian massacre seemed their only doom. To them starvation was less terrible than to become the objects of Indian vengeance, and this heroic band determined to resist so long as a man might remain, and die, if need be, by famine. During this time every road was intercepted to prevent intercourse between Fort Ligonier and the beleaguered post. All messengers who attempted to penetrate from Fort Pitt were either killed by the Indians, or were compelled to return to the fort by the lurking Indians on the way. During this time the fort was continually beset by a host of savages, who made daily attacks upon the stockade, while their sharpshooters, lying concealed under the banks of the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers, poured a destructive volley of bullets whenever any of the garrison dared to expose any part of their persons over the piquets or outside the inclosure.† Lighted ar-

* Thatcher's Ind. Biog., vol. ii., p. 88-92.

† Gordon's Hist. of Pennsylvania, p. 399.

rows were daily shot upon the stockade and houses for burning them down.

At length, General Amherst, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America, detached a strong re-enforcement with three hundred and forty horses, loaded with supplies and ammunition, under Colonel Bouquet, for the relief of the garrison. This whole detachment, of more than six hundred men, had well-nigh been cut off by the savages within a few miles of the fort. As usual, the savages, by their runners and spies, became well apprised of every movement made by any portion of the English armies. They accordingly selected a dangerous defile on Turtle Creek, and only about fifteen miles from Fort Pitt, as a suitable place to cut off the advancing re-enforcement. Through this defile the detachment must necessarily pass, and here, on the 4th of August, the Indian ambuscade was laid. Nothing but the extraordinary courage and presence of mind in the commander, seconded by his brave troops, saved the corps from utter destruction. After having sustained a desperate contest for several hours, until the mantle of night spread its protection over them, they stood upon their guard until the morning light. After several hours' hard fighting again in the morning, Colonel Bouquet resolved to practice the Indian stratagem upon the savages. Carefully posting four companies in ambuscade, he feigned a rapid retreat with the troops who were actively engaged. The Indians, as if sure of victory, pressed forward after the retreating enemy, without order, and thoughtless of danger, until suddenly the terrible fire in their rear convinced them that they were between two fires. Instantly thrown into the greatest consternation and confusion, they fled precipitately from the field of action. The loss of the English was severe; one hundred men were killed and wounded. That of the Indians was equally severe, and some of their most distinguished chiefs were slain. The detachment arrived at Fort Pitt four days afterward,* and the Indians dispersed.

In the mean time, Detroit was beleaguered by a formidable body of western savages, under the immediate command of Pontiac himself. The Indians appeared before this post on the 8th of May, and the siege, with innumerable attacks, was continued without intermission until the last of August; and, with

* *Doddridge's Notes*, p. 218, 219. *Gordon's Pennsylvania*, p. 401, 402.

occasional relaxations only, from that time until next spring, altogether about twelve months. After the last of August, many of the allies and warriors of Pontiac, wearied with the toil and privations of the siege, retired to their towns and families.

Detroit was one of the most important of the western posts, although, like most of them, its garrison had been reduced during the apparent pacification of the Indian tribes, immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities. At the time of the siege it was a rich object for savage plunder, far exceeding any other western post, being at that time the general *dépôt* of goods and merchandise for the whole Indian trade, to the value of nearly half a million of pounds sterling. Many of the western traders had arrived, and were moving forward to monopolize the Indian fur trade. The fort was a stockaded village on the bank of the Detroit River, with bastions mounting six small pieces of ordnance, and defended by a garrison of one hundred and thirty men, besides about forty persons who were connected with the fur trade.

On the 8th of May, Pontiac presented himself before the fort with three hundred Ottawa and Chippewa warriors, and demanded of the commandant, Major Gladwyn, a council. The commandant refused to admit the whole force of Pontiac, but consented to admit him and forty of his associates, who should hold a council with him in the fort. The main body of the Indians retired to their camp, about one mile distant, when Pontiac and his forty associates were admitted. In the mean time, Major Gladwyn, having received intimation of treachery and hostile intentions from an Indian squaw, had put the fort and garrison in a state of complete defense. Pontiac and his warriors, all secretly armed, entered the fort; but, seeing the troops under arms, and every man at his post, he inquired, "Why all this parade of arms?" and finally declined to give the signal for the massacre to his warriors. Their secret arms were soon after discovered by Major Gladwyn, when he dismissed Pontiac and his band from the fort, with reproaches for his treachery. As they retired from the gate, they gave the Indian yell, and discharged their short fire-arms upon the fort with little or no injury. The Indians under the command of Pontiac immediately proceeded to the houses in the vicinity of the fort, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of such persons as were found outside of the stockade. The night was spent in

savage revelry over the helpless victims of their revenge, while others lurked about the fort, under the darkness of the night, and secreted themselves behind houses, fences, and trees for an opportunity to shoot down any who should venture to expose themselves from the fort after daylight.

The next day Pontiac renewed his efforts and stratagems to induce the officers of the fort to meet him in council beyond the reach of the small arms of the garrison. One officer, who voluntarily went out to meet the chiefs with three attendants, was detained and subsequently put to death.

On the 10th of May the Indians made a resolute attack upon the fort, and kept up a brisk fire the whole day from behind houses, fences, barns, and trees, within gunshot of the palisades, while the main body of the savage army was kept at a respectful distance by the ordnance of the fort. The force of the savages was rapidly increasing every day, and already amounted to about seven hundred warriors. Major Gladwyn began to apprehend serious danger to the garrison and inmates of the stockade, and contemplated secretly leaving the post, and descending the river with his command; but being informed by an experienced Frenchman that the Indians never contemplate an open assault in daylight and in the face of cannon, he determined to remain and defend the fort to the last extremity. From this time every person in the fort capable of duty was closely employed to prevent any secret attack, and to avoid any stratagem laid for them either by night or by day.

At length Pontiac demanded the surrender of the fort by capitulation, requiring the British to lay down their arms, and march out as the French had done. This being refused, he renewed his attacks with increased vigor and frequency. So unremitted were his attacks for several weeks, that neither officers nor men were allowed to take off their clothes to sleep, all being continually engaged about the ramparts. During this time the whole number of effective men, exclusive of sick and wounded, and including two vessels in the river, was only one hundred and twelve.

Every plan of annoyance was put in operation. Floating fire-rafts were repeatedly prepared and sent against the vessels in the river for the purpose of destroying them, and with great difficulty they were preserved from the flames. Parties were continually hovering near the fort under some concealment,

for the purpose of taking off, by their marksmen, any who might incautiously expose themselves in the fort, while other detached parties scoured the country around in every direction, to intercept every kind of aid or succor intended for the garrison.

In the month of June, a detachment of fifty men, with a supply of provisions from Niagara, on their voyage to Detroit had been entirely cut off, and the supplies captured by the Indians. Soon afterward, another detachment of one hundred men, with a supply of provisions and ammunition from Fort Niagara, had reached the Detroit River, within half a day's sail of the fort, when, having landed and encamped for the night, they were attacked by a strong party of Indians and entirely defeated, with the loss of their commander and seventy men, besides the supplies, which fell into the hands of the Indians, along with a few prisoners.*

Scenes of unparalleled barbarity continued to be perpetrated in the vicinity of the fort upon every Englishman whom they could intercept. It was a matter of almost daily occurrence for the garrison to behold the dead and mangled bodies of their countrymen floating past the fort; every family and individual in the vicinity had been murdered in the most horrid manner, and every habitation destroyed by fire.

On the 26th of July, a re-enforcement, under Captain Dalzel, from Niagara, amounting to two hundred and fifty regular troops, succeeded in reaching the fort in safety. On the same evening a sally was made by three hundred men against the Indian breast-work within less than a mile from the fort. This detachment was fiercely encountered by the savages and furiously repulsed, with the loss of seventy men killed and forty wounded. Captain Dalzel was among the slain.†

The whole number of troops lost during the siege of Detroit was but little short of three hundred, besides individuals unconnected with the army; the exact number, however, has never been correctly ascertained.

While these things were transpiring at the military posts, the whole frontier settlements, from north to south, were desolated with fire and blood. In Pennsylvania, "the whole country west of Shippensburg became the prey of the fierce barbarians. They set fire to houses, barns, corn, hay, and every thing

* See Doddridge, p. 217, 218. Also, Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii, p. 92-107

† *Idem*.

which was combustible. The wretched inhabitants, whom they surprised at night, at their meals, or in the labors of the field, were massacred with the utmost cruelty and barbarity; and those who fled were scarcely more happy. Overwhelmed by sorrow, without shelter, or the means of transportation, their tardy flight was impeded by fainting women and weeping children. The inhabitants of Shippensburg and Carlisle, now become the barrier towns, opened their hearts and their houses to their afflicted brethren. In the towns, every stable and hovel was crowded with miserable refugees, who, having lost their houses, their cattle, and their harvest, were reduced from independence and happiness to beggary and despair. The streets were filled with people; the men distracted by grief for their losses, and the desire of revenge, more poignant from the disconsolate females and bereaved children who wailed around them. For some miles on both sides of the Susquehanna, many families, with their cattle, sought shelter in the woods, being unable to find it in the towns." The city of Philadelphia, as well as the adjoining counties, contributed largely to their relief.*

This state of things in Pennsylvania is only a specimen of what existed for more than eight hundred miles along the western frontier, as far south as Maryland and Virginia.

Among the hostilities in Pennsylvania during the early part of this war, we must enumerate the horrible massacre of the whole population of the Valley of Wyoming, on the east branch of the Susquehanna. At the same time, all the great branches of the Susquehanna were in the sole occupancy of the hostile Indians.

The plan of the Indian hostilities had embraced not only the destruction of all the western population, but likewise all the grain and growing crops, so as effectually to prevent a return of the inhabitants, who had generally fled from their homes to seek safety among the older settlements.

Among the first massacres in Western Virginia during this war were those of "Muddy Creek" and "Big Levels," upon the upper tributaries of the Greenbrier River. The people of these remote settlements, distant alike from the Atlantic border and from the country occupied by the Indians, had received no intelligence of a renewal of hostilities until they were overwhelmed in destruction. Presuming that the treaty

* Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 399.

of 1763 had pacified the whole Indian confederacy, the settlers in these remote regions entertained no apprehension of danger. In this state of security, they felt no alarm when they beheld their settlement visited by nearly sixty Indians under the guise of friendship. The Indians were received with that cordial hospitality so common to the frontier people.

At Muddy Creek, suddenly, and without any previous hostile indication, after a refreshing meal, they commenced killing all the men in the settlement, and made prisoners of the women and children.

Having secured the prisoners under a suitable guard, the party proceeded to the "Big Levels," about fifteen miles distant, and before any intimation of the fate of Muddy Creek had preceded them. At this settlement they were treated with great hospitality and friendship. Archibald Glendennen gave them a sumptuous feast upon a fat elk which he had recently killed. At the conclusion of their feast, they began, without ceremony or provocation, to murder all the men, and to secure the women and children as prisoners, as they had done at Muddy Creek.*

In the massacre at Big Levels, the signal was given by a chief, as follows: An old woman, who had a sore leg, showed it to the Indian, and requested his advice how it might be cured. After examining the sore, without ceremony he drew his hatchet, and laid her lifeless at his feet by a single blow upon the head. This was the signal for the general assault, and the massacre was instantly commenced.

When these disasters became known in Botetourt county several days afterward, a party of volunteer armed men assembled, who went to the desolate settlements and buried the dead bodies, which, till that time, lay scattered where they had fallen, except that of Glendennen, which had been imperfectly buried by his wife.†

As late as the 22d of June, the Indians were still committing

* Doddridge's Notes, p. 222.

† Mrs. Glendennen was among the prisoners. She boldly charged the Indians with cowardice, and upbraided them with treachery in assuming the mask of friendship to commit murder. One of the Indians, exasperated with her boldness and the truth of her charge, brandished his tomahawk over her head, and then slapped her husband's scalp in her face. Next day, after marching ten miles with the captives, she escaped from the Indians in passing a thicket, leaving her infant with the enemy. Her absence soon after was discovered by the cry of the child for its mother, when one of the savages, taking the child in his hands, and saying he would soon bring the cow to her calf,

depredations and murders in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland, on the Potomac; and nine persons had been killed within the last ten days. At this time the whole population of this region, to the number of nearly five hundred families, on the frontiers, poor and destitute, leaving all behind, had fled to the eastern settlements.* Indeed, the whole western frontier, for nearly a thousand miles, from north to south, presented a scene of unprecedented terror and flight.

On the 23d of June, Fort Ligonier, on the west side of the Laurel Hill, and sixty miles east of Fort Pitt, was invested by a large body of Indians, who kept up a vigorous attack for twenty-four hours. On the 27th of July, Fort Loudon, on the site of the present town of Winchester, in Virginia, and not more than one hundred feet square, contained more than two hundred women and children, who had sought its shelter from the scalping-knife.

At this time, Shippensburg and Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, not thirty miles west of Harrisburg, were frontier towns; and all the remote settlements west of them had been broken up, and the inhabitants had fled eastward for safety. The few who remained were secured in stations, or strong palisade inclosures, from the midnight attacks of savage bands prowling for scalps and plunder.

At the same time, "Greenbrier River and Jackson River were depopulated," and nearly three hundred persons had been killed or taken prisoners by the Indians. Not one family was found on their plantations on this frontier, for three hundred miles in length and one hundred in width. By the consternation which had spread in this region, nearly twenty thousand persons were thrown out of house and home, to seek shelter and safety east of the mountains.†

Late in July, such was the state of public apprehension and alarm at the secret incursions of scalping parties of Indians, that the smallest circumstance often caused great alarm. In the eastern part of New York, about the last of July, a party of men having returned from a deer hunt over the western hills, in the vicinity of Goshen, suddenly fired four guns in quick

dashed out its brains against a tree. The mother having made her escape, returned to the settlement and imperfectly buried her husband, when she found herself the only survivor remaining of both settlements, alone in the midst of a dreary wilderness, and surrounded by the mangled bodies of her friends and neighbors.—Doddridge, p. 223.

* Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. i., p. 112.

† Idem, p. 113.

succession at a flock of partridges. The reports having been heard in the vicinity, were supposed to indicate the approach of Indians, and alarm-guns were fired over the whole neighborhood, and the people commenced an immediate and general flight, until the whole settlements were in utter confusion and consternation. Those in their houses gathered up what they could carry, and with their children sought safety in flight; those who were with their teams in the fields cut the horses loose in haste, and made their escape with them; those who had no boats to cross the river plunged in with their wives or children on their backs. In this manner the consternation spread from one to another, until nearly five hundred families had left their homes and property, as they supposed, to the mercy of the Indians. Some continued their flight to the borders of New England before they were undeceived.

Early in October, about twenty persons had been killed by Indians in the vicinity of Allentown and Bethlehem, on Lehigh River, in Pennsylvania; and such was the general consternation, that "most of the people in the vicinity had fled from their habitations."*

It is not our design to recount all the deeds of blood and cruelty perpetrated upon the frontier people by the hostile Indians. The feelings of humanity are shocked, and recoil at the recitation of them. The sketch already given may serve to convey a faint idea of the calamities endured by the wretched inhabitants subject to the horrors of Indian warfare.

During the following winter, detached scalping parties of Indians continued to traverse the border regions, and to prowl about the forts on the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, committing such depredations and murders as served to keep the whole exposed population in a state of continual dread and fearful apprehension for their personal safety.

Although the savages at all times, in their hostile incursions upon the settlements, commit the most inhuman barbarities upon the helpless and unprotected, there are among the frontier people occasionally men equally depraved, and who in deeds of blood are scarcely superior to the most ferocious savages. In some instances, indeed, the whites, exasperated to phrensy by the repeated murders atrociously perpetrated upon

* See Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii., p. 113, 114.

their friends and relatives by the savages, have been impelled, by feelings of revenge, to deeds of blood at which humanity weeps. Such was the phrensied revenge of the "Paxton Boys." These desperadoes, prompted by a fanatical delusion, that the massacre of Wyoming was a judgment from God for "sparing the Canaanites in the land," organized themselves into a bandit corps, and, disregarding law or any civil authority of the state, proceeded to commit the most revolting barbarities upon the peaceable and innocent Conestago Indians, as a retaliation for the acts perpetrated by the hostile tribes. Dr. Doddridge says, "They rivaled the most ferocious of the Indians themselves in deeds of cruelty which have dishonored the history of our country; shedding innocent blood without the slightest provocation, in deeds of the most atrocious barbarity."*

The Conestago Indians were the remains of the Conestago tribe, the early friends of William Penn, whose descendants, for more than a century, had lived in peace and friendship with the whites. This remnant of a tribe, about forty in number, were the first victims of this infuriate and demoniacal band. They were murdered in cold blood, in the midst of a civil government too weak to protect the weakest.

The same vengeance would have been wreaked equally upon the peaceable and inoffensive Christian Indians of the villages of Wequetank and Nain, had not the state authorities at length succeeded in protecting them.†

[A.D. 1764.] Such had been the disasters to the British

* Doddridge's Notes on Virginia, p. 220.

† Although this subject is properly beyond the limits of our prescribed history, yet, as it is connected with the Indian hostilities of 1763, we will take this further notice of this bandit corps. This band, laboring under a delusion which had been encouraged by certain fanatics, that it was their duty to exterminate the Indians, as Joshua did the Canaanites of old, organized into a military band, and set all law at defiance. On the 14th day of December, 1763, fifty-seven of these men, in military array, entered the Conestago village about daybreak, and immediately, with the most cruel barbarity, murdered every soul that was found in the village, amounting in all to fourteen, including women and children. The remainder of them happened to be absent about the white settlements, and were taken in charge by the civil authorities, who placed them in the jail of Lancaster for protection. But this precaution was unavailing; the Paxton Boys broke open the jail, and murdered the whole, to the additional number of nearly twenty. In vain did the poor, defenseless creatures, upon their knees, protest their innocence and implore mercy. Nor did the death of these victims satisfy these fiends in human shape; they mangled the dead bodies with scalping-knives and tomahawks in the most savage and brutal manner. Even the children were scalped, and their feet and hands chopped off with tomahawks. The authorities of Pennsylvania removed the Indians of Wequetank and Nain, under a strong guard, to Phil-

arms, and such the consternation and slaughter in the provinces during the past year, that the English government, as well as the provinces, had determined to prosecute the war with vigor, and to give security to the frontier settlements during the next campaign by carrying the war, with fire and desolation, into the enemy's country.

Early in the spring, active preparations were in operation throughout the provinces for the chastisement of the hostile Indians, and for the protection of the frontiers from the merciless fury of savage warfare. Troops were fast concentrating upon the remote posts near the lakes, and upon the Ohio region.

Early in June, General Bradstreet, with three thousand troops, reached Fort Niagara on his route to re-enforce the garrisons in the western posts. While at Niagara, the Indians from the northwest made overtures for peace, and the general demanded of them a grand council, to confirm their professions by a treaty of peace. At length nearly two thousand Indians were assembled near Fort Niagara, and among them were representatives and chiefs from twenty-two nations, and embracing those from eleven of the remote northwestern tribes. A treaty was soon after concluded between his majesty's superintendent of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson, on the part of Great Britain, and the chiefs, sachems, and warriors of the respective tribes. The treaty stipulates for peace and friendship, and a cession of certain lands to Great Britain lying south of Lakes Ontario and Erie.* But Pontiac was not there, nor would he sanction the treaty.

General Bradstreet sailed from Detroit, and, after a narrow escape from shipwreck with his whole army on Lake Erie, off the present city of Cleveland, he arrived safely at Detroit. Af-

adelphia, where they remained under guard, either in the barracks or state-prison, for more than one year, or from November, 1763, to December, 1764. During this time, the Paxton Boys assembled in force several times for the purpose of assaulting the barracks and wresting the helpless Indians from the guard, to gratify their thirst for blood. The preparation and show of firmness by the military in their defense prevented an assault. In this instance, as in all other outrages against the rights and persons of the Indians, the civil authorities of the States have interfered in their behalf against the ferocity of the white man.

The Paxton Boys at length began to commit outrages upon their fellow-citizens; and such was the terror inspired by their acts and threats, that no man felt safe to act or speak against them.—See Doddridge's Notes.

For a more full account of this bandit clan and their fanaticism, see Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. ii., p. 325-330. Also, Gordon's Pennsylvania, p. 405.

* Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 438.

ter making several incursions against hostile towns, and chastising several bands of hostile warriors, opposed to the late treaty, overtures of peace were received from them. Negotiations for a truce were opened, which soon after resulted in a peace with all the northwestern tribes, except the Shawanese and Delawares of the Scioto. Pontiac would take no part in the treaty, and remained adverse to peace. Soon afterward he retired to the Illinois River, where he still meditated vengeance against the English for nearly twelve months afterward. He continued to reside on the Illinois until the summer of 1767, when he was assassinated in the council-house by a Peoria chief.*

In the mean time, Colonel Bouquet invaded the Indian country south of Lake Erie, and upon the branches of the Muskingum River. Marching from Fort Pitt on the 2d of October, he advanced through the Indian territory, spreading terror and death among the savages, destroying their fields and burning their towns, until the 25th of October, when he encamped at the Forks, or junction of the Tuscarawa and Walhonding Rivers.† Here he received overtures of peace, which were accepted, and he dictated his terms to the hostile tribes of the Delawares, Senecas, and Shawanese.‡

The surrender of prisoners, which had been one of the first requisitions, took place soon afterward; the Indians surrendered two hundred and six prisoners, men, women, and children, and delivered over hostages for the surrender of others. Peace being thus ratified with these tribes, Colonel Bouquet returned with his victorious army and his rescued captives to Fort Pitt, to the great joy of all the provinces.

General Stanwix, who had succeeded to the command of the northwestern army, had taken measures for convening a grand council of the western tribes, and specially of the Six Nations and their confederates, to be held in the month of November, at the "German Flats," on the Mohawk River. The council accordingly convened, and the chiefs, warriors, and sachems of the Six Nations therein ratified and confirmed the previous treaty of Niagara, and entered into a general article of friendship and alliance with the British crown, as they had formerly done with the King of France.

By this treaty, designated as the "Treaty of the German

* Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. ii., p. 107.

† Gordon's Pennsylvania, p. 424.

‡ American Pioneer, vol. i., p. 240.

Flats," the Six Nations ceded extensive tracts of land to the English provinces of New York and Pennsylvania. On the 5th day of December following, the treaty was proclaimed throughout the provinces, and peace was established with the Six Nations and their confederates.

CHAPTER II.

ADVANCE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN POPULATION TO THE OHIO RIVER.—SETTLEMENTS AND EXPLORATIONS.—A.D. 1765 TO 1774.

Argument.—Settlements spring up near the military Routes and Posts.—Fort Pitt.—Fort Burd.—Isolated Condition of the Illinois Settlements.—Advance of white Settlements upon the Sources of the Susquehanna, Youghiogony, and Monongahela; also upon New River and Greenbrier, Clinch and Holston.—Indian Territory on the Susquehanna, Alleghany, and Cheat Rivers.—Frontier Settlements of Virginia in 1766.—Emigration to the Monongahela in 1767.—Redstone Fort a garrisoned Post.—Increase of Emigration in 1768.—Settlements extend to the Sources of the two Kenhawas.—The colonial System of granting Lands east of the Ohio.—The Indians become impatient of the white Man's Advance.—Mode of conciliating Indians for their Lands.—Remonstrance of the Six Nations to the King's "Indian Agent."—The Subject of their Complaint laid before the provincial Legislature.—Treaties with northern and southern Indians ordered by royal Government.—"Treaty of Fort Stanwix."—The "Mississippi Company" of Virginia, 1769.—"Treaty of Mard Labor" with Cherokees.—Extensive Claims to Territory set up by the English under the "Treaty of Fort Stanwix" with the Six Nations.—Settlements advance to the Holston and Clinch Rivers.—Impatience of northern and southern Indians at the Advance of the Whites.—Explorations of Dr. Walker west of Cumberland Mountains, in 1768; of Finley, in 1769; of Colonel Knox—"Long-Hunters."—Western Emigration encouraged by royal colonial Governments.—Emigration to Holston, Clinch, and to West Florida, in 1770.—Fort Pitt a garrisoned Post.—Settlements at Redstone Fort, on Ohio, at Wheeling, and other Points, in 1770.—Enthusiasm of eastern Settlements for western Emigration.—Territory claimed by Virginia.—Emigrants from North Carolina advance upon the Sources of Holston River.—Impatience of the Cherokees.—"Treaty of Lochaber."—New boundary Line.—The four hundred acre Settlement Act of Virginia, passed in 1770.—"District of West Augusta" organized.—Cresap's Settlement at Redstone "Old Fort," in 1771.—Provisions fail.—The "Starving Year" of 1772.—Settlements on the Ohio above the Kenhawa.—Route from eastern Settlements to the Ohio.—Manner of traveling.—Emigration to the West increases greatly in 1773.—To Western Virginia.—To "Western District" of North Carolina.—To West Florida.—Numerous Surveyors sent out to Kentucky.—Thomas Bullitt, Hancock Taylor, M'Affee.—Surveys near Frankfort, Harrodsburg, and Danville.—Captain Bullitt at the Falls of Ohio.—Settlements on the Holston, East Tennessee.—Daniel Boone attempts to introduce white Families from North Carolina.—Driven back by Indians.—Emigration in 1774 to the Upper Ohio; on the Monongahela, Kenhawa, and Kentucky Regions.—Simon Kenton at May's Lick.—James Harrod at Harrodsburg.—West Augusta in 1774.—Outrages of lawless white Men provoke Indian Vengeance.—Wheeling Fort built.—Fort Fincastle.—Dr. Connolly Commandant of West Augusta.

[A.D. 1765.] No sooner had peace with the northwestern Indians been established, than the restless population of the

provinces began to move forward to the western side of the mountains. Settlements soon began to spring up around the military posts and upon the roads leading to these remote points. The garrisons were in the receipt of their monthly pay, which they drew only to expend; and those who could most contribute to the wants and comforts of the troops were sure to receive their money. A few months of peace and security served to produce the germs of trading and manufacturing towns near the military posts; and agricultural pursuits became indispensable to their subsistence and comfort. The garrisons, no less than the frontier villagers, required the aid of the various mechanical trades adapted to new settlements, as well as the more indispensable articles of grain and culinary vegetables, with the flesh of domestic animals, and milk. Hence the husbandman derived employment and profit by a residence near the remote posts. The route to each, from the old settlements, was traveled by troops and caravans with supplies, conducted by government agents, and followed by hundreds of adventurers who were anxious to explore the beautiful and fertile regions of the Ohio and its great tributaries. This gave occasion for taverns, or public houses, on the road; and to support these in a manner adequate to the demands of the increasing intercourse, farms were opened, mills were erected, and mechanics were employed. Hence settlements were gradually formed along the main routes which led from the eastern settlements westward through the wilderness. At first they were at distances for a day's journey; but these distances were soon divided, and "half-way houses" sprung up at the distance of half a day's travel; these distances were again reduced by intermediate houses, which enabled the emigrant and traveler to consult his ease and convenience in making his journey. The increasing spirit for western emigration from the Atlantic provinces soon brought crowds of families and adventurers from the sandy shores of Delaware and Maryland, to seek ease and competence upon the fertile valleys and bottoms west of the mountains. The intelligent and virtuous, reared in ease and competence, allured by the glowing descriptions of the fertile West, sought to better their condition in a new region; the profligate and vicious, impatient of the wholesome restraints of law and good government, also sought the remote population where those restraints are unknown.

[A.D. 1766.] Thus, in a few years after the close of Pontiac's war, small settlements had extended upon all the great routes to the west; those from the north converging to Fort Pitt, and those from the south leading to the head waters of the Holston and Clinch Rivers. Already a town had been laid out on the east bank of the Monongahela, within two hundred yards of Fort Pitt, upon the site of a village which had been destroyed two years before by the hostile savages.* A route had been opened to the Monongahela, in the vicinity of "Red-stone Old Fort," near the mouth of Dunlap's Creek, seventy miles above Fort Pitt. This point was soon to become an important place of embarkation for emigrants from the Atlantic seaboard, in their advance to the Ohio River and the western country generally.†

These were the extreme frontier settlements of the British provinces in this quarter. Beyond them, and more than a thousand miles in advance of any organized colonial government, were the isolated settlements on the Wabash and Illinois Rivers, comprising a few poor and ignorant French colonies. They had fallen under the dominion of the English crown, but they were not regarded as a part of the English settlements. They formed only small detached military colonies, speaking a foreign language, and having little or no intercourse with the restless emigrants which were now crowding toward the Ohio. Hence they were visited only occasionally by officers or agents of the government, or by Indian traders and adventurers, to gratify a thirst for pecuniary gain, or an innate desire for distant rambles.‡

* See Imlay's *America*, Lond. ed., 1797, p. 448. This is quite a large and valuable work upon the early history, settlements, and statistics of the western country, up to the year 1786, by Major Imlay, formerly an officer in the British service. He made the tour of the western country about the year 1786, and collected and arranged such sketches of the western country and statistics as were accessible at that period.

† See *American Pioneer*, vol. ii., p. 59-62.

‡ Except the commandants sent to these posts, probably the first regular British agent sent to these remote settlements was Colonel George Croghan, by way of Fort Pitt and the Ohio River, in the summer of 1765. Accompanied by a party of English soldiers, and deputies from the Shawanese, Delawares, and Senecas, and a party of friendly Indians, he set out in boats from Fort Pitt on the 15th of May, upon a mission to the western tribes, for the purpose of opening a friendly intercourse and trade with them, and to take observations of the country and the tribes inhabiting the western regions. The party coasted slowly down the Ohio, and on the 23d of May they encamped at the mouth of the Scioto, where they remained several days, awaiting the arrival of several French traders whose attendance at this point was expected. On the 30th they descended to the mouth of Licking River, and on the 31st they visited the Big-bone Lick, on the south side of the Ohio; here they witnessed the wide beaten roads

Settlements were now advancing rapidly from eastern portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and emigrants were pressing forward upon the upper tributaries of the Monongahela, upon the Youghiogeny or "Yough," and upon the great branches of Cheat River. On the south, the frontier counties of Virginia and North Carolina were pouring forth their hardy pioneers, who were still advancing, and already settling the fertile regions upon the head waters of New River, west of the mountains, as well as upon the sources of the Greenbrier. Others, full of enterprise and love of western adventure, were exploring the country drained by the great branches of Clinch River, and were forming remote, isolated settlements in Powell's Valley, still further north and west, and also upon the waters of the North Fork of Holston, in the regions near the present towns of Abington and Wytheville.

At this time the principal sources of the Susquehanna in New York and in Pennsylvania, as well as the whole region drained by the Alleghany River and its tributaries, were deep Indian solitudes, wholly in possession of the native tribes, and rarely frequented by the most advanced pioneer. A large portion

leading from the lick to the upper portion of Licking River, made by the herds of buffalo which then frequented the country. On the first of June they were at the "falls of the Ohio;" on the 6th of June they arrived at the mouth of the Wabash. Here they found a breast-work, supposed to have been erected by the Indians. Six miles further, they encamped at a place called the "Old Shawanese Village," upon or near the present site of Shawneetown, which perpetuates its name. At this place they remained six days, for the purpose of opening a friendly intercourse and trade with the Wabash tribes; and while here, Colonel Croghan sent messengers with dispatches for Lord Fraser, who had gone from Fort Pitt as commandant at Fort Chartres, and also to M. St. Angé, the former French commandant at that place.

On the 6th of June, at daybreak, they were attacked by a party of eighty warriors, chiefly Kickapoo and Musquatamias, by whom several of the party were killed, and nearly all of the remainder wounded. Besides, they were plundered of all their clothing, provisions, goods, and money. From this point they set out for Vincennes by land; and, passing through wooded hills and uplands, and wide-spreading prairies, they arrived at the post of St. Vincent on the 9th of June. Here they found eighty or ninety French families settled upon the east bank of the river, where they tarried several days. From St. Vincent they proceeded by land up the Wabash for 210 miles to Ouiatenon, the upper French settlement, which was also protected by a small fort. The settlement at this place comprised about fourteen families. They arrived at this post on the 23d of June, and remained some days, forming amicable relations and instituting commercial arrangements. From this point they set out for the region of the Maumee, and passing over the dividing ridges between the head-streams of the Wabash and the Maumee, they descended the latter stream to the lake. After some delay on the shores of Lake Erie, they set out by water to Detroit, where they arrived on the 17th of August. Detroit then was a large stockaded village, containing about eighty houses of all kinds.—For a copy of Croghan's Journal, see Butler's Kentucky, second edition, Appendix, 459-471.

of the regions lying upon the Cheat and Monongahela Rivers was still in possession of the Indians, and had never been relinquished by treaty, although the impatient Anglo-Americans were already crowding them from its beautiful valleys and romantic hills.

In Virginia, the counties of Rockbridge, Augusta, Greenbrier, and Frederic, lying west of the Blue Ridge, were frontier regions, occupied by a sparse population, exposed to the dangers of savage massacre upon any sudden outbreak of Indian vengeance; the towns of Staunton, Lexington, and Winchester were remote frontier trading-posts, inhabited by a few pioneers, who formed a connecting link between the Indians and the eastern people of Virginia. Not ten years before, Winchester had been an extreme frontier stockade post, erected for the protection of a few wretched families who were crowded into it, and were in daily apprehension of Indian massacre.* Staunton had been first laid off as a town in the year 1761, and was still a frontier village; Cumberland, in Maryland, also was a frontier military post, more than sixty miles in advance of the old settlements near Hagerstown, and fifty miles in the rear of the settlements which were then advancing upon the sources of the Youghiogeny and Cheat Rivers.

[A.D. 1767.] The following year witnessed a gradual advance of settlements down the valleys of the Youghiogeny and Cheat Rivers, and upon the Monongahela itself. This region soon became a focus of emigration from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Northern Virginia; and the fine undulating bottoms and rolling intervals, with their limpid streams, leaping along over rocky bottoms, figured in the narratives of those who returned to visit their eastern friends, until all were filled with the bright visions of future wealth which seemed to open to their excited fancy. The intelligent, the enterprising, and the young were foremost in the throng which eagerly looked beyond the mountains for wealth and happiness, and the old and sedate could not remain behind their children and friends.

To protect the growing settlements, and check their impatient advances, as much as to observe the disposition and movements of the jealous savages, a small military post had been erected at Redstone Old Fort, and was still occupied by a suitable garrison.† The Indians looked with a jealous eye upon the ad-

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. ii., p. 151, 161; vol. xxiv., 241-250.

† See Butler's History of Kentucky, second edition, p. 48, Introduction.

vance of the countless immigrants, no less than the formation of new settlements and stockades in the heart of their territory, which they had never relinquished formally to the white man.

Still the tide of emigration continued to move to the West, and settlements began to multiply upon the lower tributaries of the Monongahela, while others were busily engaged in exploring other regions for the location of future settlements, to be taken up subsequently by military warrants, by special grants, and by right of settlement or first occupancy.

[A.D. 1768.] With the approbation of the British crown, the provincial government had issued script and military warrants without number since the close of Pontiac's war, besides many extensive claims anterior to that period. All these were to be located upon the waters of the Ohio, within the region claimed to be within the chartered limits of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and hundreds of surveyors and agents were constantly employed in exploring, selecting, and locating for the respective claimants. Some grants had been made before the French war, and hundreds of military warrants had been issued before the French troops retired from Fort Duquesne. In none of the provinces had the infatuation for western lands been carried to a greater extent than in the province of Virginia. In a report made to the executive council of Virginia in 1757, by John Blair, secretary of the council, he states, the quantity of lands then entered to companies and individuals, as indicated by the records, amounted to *three millions of acres*, a large portion of which had been granted as early as the year 1754.* Subsequent to the treaty of German Flats, in 1764, the number of grants and land-warrants issued by the colonial authorities multiplied astonishingly.

It is impossible to form a correct estimate of the land mania which seemed to pervade the middle colonies, from the commencement of the first explorations on the Ohio until the beginning of Lord Dunmore's war in 1774. The province of Virginia invariably took the lead in all movements for the occupancy of the western lands. As early as 1744, two commissioners from Virginia, Colonel Thomas Lee and Colonel William Beverly, with others from Pennsylvania and Maryland, convened a portion of the Six Nations at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of treating with them for the sale and

* See North American Review, No. 164, for July, 1839, p. 100.

relinquishment of large bodies of land extending west of the settlements in the three provinces, from the Susquehanna to the Potomac. After a liberal use of whisky-punch, "bumbo," and wine, of which the Indians partook freely, the treaty was duly read and signed by the parties respectively. The amount paid the Indians for signing this treaty was two hundred and twenty pounds on the part of Maryland, and two hundred pounds on the part of Virginia, both in Pennsylvania currency, besides sundry presents, and abundance of whisky-punch and "bumbo."

When it was afterward ascertained that the Indians charged fraud in the treaty, and denied the relinquishment of the *extensive regions* claimed by the provinces in virtue of its stipulations, an effort was made to reconcile and appease the indignation of the savages by means of a subsequent treaty. For this purpose, three commissioners from Virginia, Colonels Fry, Lomax, and Patton, with others from the other two provinces, repaired to "Logstown," on the north bank of the Ohio, seventeen miles below the mouth of the Monongahela. The few Indians who attended this treaty, and others subsequently held at Winchester and other places, indignantly refused to ratify the treaty of Lancaster, although urged thereto by earnest entreaties, supported by the promise of money, and many valuable presents and trinkets for Indian use.

In all these treaties, whether ratified or rejected, the Virginians appear to have been determined to coerce a relinquishment of the Indian lands, either by fair means or foul, and no effort of negotiation or intrigue was omitted to accomplish this purpose.

Notwithstanding the Indian title had not been extinguished to the lands which were already occupied by settlements, which were gradually extending over them, the tide of emigration still flowed into the West, and parties of woodsmen, explorers, and surveyors were distributed over the whole country east of the upper portion of the Ohio. Regardless of the Indians' rights, and deaf to their remonstrances, the settlements and explorations continued to advance. Occasionally, lawless men committed outrages upon the persons and property of the Indians, and thereby provoked the tribes generally to unite and assert their rights, as the common cause of the whole confederacy. Beyond the restraints of law, the evil propensities of disor-

derly men were virtually encouraged to indulge in additional encroachments upon the unprotected Indians. Outrages upon their persons and property in these remote regions consequently became more frequent.

The Indians, finding themselves without recourse or appeal to any tribunal, at length became impatient and exasperated at the repeated aggressions of lawless white men. They had expressed their dissatisfaction in no measured terms, and evinced a strong inclination to resist the encroachment of the whites by a resort to arms, as the *certain mode of enforcing* respect to their demands and to their rights. Heretofore they had repeatedly remonstrated to the agents of the British crown specially charged with the Indian affairs, and to the commandants of the western posts; but their representations had been disregarded, and their injuries unredressed, until self-preservation and revenge began to rouse them from their temporary slumber.

By the opening of the spring of 1768, the Indians along the whole line of the western frontier, from the sources of the Susquehanna to those of the Tennessee, became exasperated, and united in their determination to check further encroachments, and to enforce an observance of their rights. Still they refrained from open hostilities, while the restless population of the Atlantic border continued to press forward into the Ohio country, regardless alike of the rights of the Indians and the proclamation of the king,* issued five years previously.

At length, on the 6th of May, a deputation of the "Six Nations" presented to the "deputy superintendent of Indian affairs" at Fort Pitt a formal remonstrance against the continued encroachments of the whites upon lands which of right, and without doubt, belonged to the Indians. That officer with promptness forwarded the remonstrance to the colonial government, and the whole subject was laid before the royal government without delay. On the 31st of May, the president of the king's council of Virginia brought the subject before the representatives of the province for their immediate action, as one which endangered the peace and security of the colony.

In his communication to the colonial Legislature, he informed them "That a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural jus-

* This refers to the proclamation of 1763, prohibiting settlements beyond the sources of the Atlantic streams, and which was still in force.

tice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of the royal proclamations, have dared to settle themselves upon the lands near Redstone Creek and Cheat River, *which are the property of the Indians*; and notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the danger of such lawless proceedings, and the strict and spirited injunctions to desist and quit their unjust possessions, they still remain unmoved, and seem to defy the orders, and even the powers of the government.”*

The authority of the colonial government was exerted to quiet the jealous apprehensions of the Indians, and to restrain further acts of aggression on the part of the frontier people, until the royal government should act in the matter.

At length, the subject having been duly considered by the royal government, orders were issued near the close of summer to Sir William Johnson, “superintendent of Northern Indian affairs,” instructing him to call together the chiefs, warriors, and sachems of the tribes more especially interested, for the purpose of purchasing from them the lands already occupied by the king’s subjects.

Agreeably to these instructions, Sir William Johnson convened the delegates of the Six Nations and their confederates at Fort Stanwix,† where a treaty of peace and relinquishment of lands was concluded in the month of November following. By this treaty, as the English allege, for and in consideration of certain goods of divers kinds, and other valuable presents to them paid, the Indians did relinquish to the king large bodies of land in the provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia, extending from the Alleghany Mountains westward to the Ohio River, and thence westward, on the south side of the same, to the mouth of the Cherokee or Tennessee River. This construction of the treaty was firmly resisted by the Indians, as being a fraud upon them.

At the same time, John Stewart, Esq., “superintendent of Southern Indian affairs,” had received instructions to assemble the Southern Indians in like manner, for the purpose of establishing a boundary line between them and the whites. He accordingly concluded a treaty with the Cherokees at “Hard Labor,” in South Carolina, on the 14th day of October. By this

* See Butler’s Kentucky, Appendix, p. 475.

† Fort Stanwix occupied the site of the present town of Utica, formerly Fort Schuyler, in Oneida county, New York, high up the Mohawk River. See American Pioneer, vol. ii., p. 391.

treaty, the Cherokees agreed that the southwestern boundary of Virginia should be a line "extending from the point where the northern line of North Carolina intersects the Cherokee hunting-grounds, about thirty-six miles east of Long Island, in the Holston River, and thence extending in a direct course, north by east, to Chiswell's Mine, on the east bank of the Kenhawa River, and thence down that stream to its junction with the Ohio River."

[A.D. 1769.] This line, however, did not include all the settlements then existing within the present limits of the State of Virginia. Those formed northwest of the Holston, and upon the branches of Clinch and Powell's Rivers, were still within the limits of the Indian territory. This fact being ascertained, a subsequent treaty became necessary for the adjustment of a new boundary, and the remuneration of the savages for an additional extent of country.

A large portion of the lands south of the Ohio, claimed by the English in virtue of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, were, in fact, lands to which the Six Nations had *no exclusive claim*, they being the "common hunting-grounds" of the Cherokees and Chickasaws also. Yet the Ohio River was urged as the proper boundary between the white settlements and the Indians on the west, and the latter were finally compelled to acquiesce in the English construction of the limits.*

Yet, at the time of the treaty at Fort Stanwix, the Indians never intended to relinquish all the lands between the mountains and the Ohio River. They were compelled first to admit the English construction, and afterward to plead it against further encroachments. The Cherokees had been peaceable and friendly since the close of the French war; but the western people of North Carolina and Virginia were again beginning to encroach upon them.† Settlements were advancing upon the sources of the Holston and Clinch Rivers, and upon the waters of Powell's River, east of the Cumberland Mountains, and beyond the established boundary. Although the Cherokees refrained from open war, yet they looked with a jealous eye upon the advances which the white population were now beginning to make upon the waters flowing westward.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix had quieted apprehension on

* Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, p. 50-52.

† Idem, p. 49.

account of Indian hostility in the north, at the same time it had given a *new impulse* to the spirit of emigration and exploration westward. The Indian title was claimed to have been extinguished to all lands east and south of the Ohio to an indefinite extent. Fame had represented the country west of the Cumberland Mountains as one of boundless fertility and inconceivable beauty; yet it was three hundred miles in advance of the most remote frontier settlements, and was claimed as the common hunting-grounds of the Northern and Southern Indians. That portion of Kentucky between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers could not be claimed under any treaty; it was the undisputed territory of the native tribes, and was claimed exclusively by the Cherokees and Chickasas as their common hunting-ground. As both these tribes were powerful and warlike, they had excluded the white man's advance from this region; yet there were men of fearless spirit and hardy enterprise in the western settlements of North Carolina and Virginia, who were willing to "tempt the dangerous wilds," and to explore the enchanted plains of Kentucky. Still the "garden of Kentucky" was unknown to the white man, or known only by rumor; one Englishman only had seen the matchless country.

But the treaty of Fort Stanwix having revived the spirit of western emigration in a tenfold degree, explorers fearlessly penetrated this most remote district. The whole-system of land speculation received a new impulse; new companies were formed on the most magnificent scale, and persons of all ranks and conditions embarked in the enterprise of a land crusade to the West. Companies were formed, and sent their united petitions to the king, praying for enormous grants, scarcely inferior to the early colonial charters. Among these was the first Anglo-American "Mississippi Company," formed and conducted chiefly by Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and Arthur Lee, all wealthy Virginians, besides nearly fifty other petitioners, who were to be joint stockholders in the contemplated grant. The grant required in this petition was no less than two and a half millions of acres, to be located upon the waters of the Ohio.* Arthur Lee, as special agent for the company, in December repaired

* Butler's Kentucky.—See Appendix, p. 175-177, for a copy of this petition and names.

with all haste to London, to lay the memorial and petition before the ministers; but finally, after great efforts and protracted delays, the company failed in their object. Yet Colonel George Washington, with his faithful and indefatigable agent and principal surveyor, Major William Crawford, were eagerly engaged, with hundreds of other claimants, in locating former grants and military warrants, until Indian hostilities again checked their operations.

About this time the first adventurers from North Carolina and Southern Virginia began to explore the valleys and plains northwest of the Cumberland Mountains, within the southern limits of the present State of Kentucky. During the summer of 1768, the fearless John Finley, an Indian trader from North Carolina, had pursued the route of Dr. Walker by way of Cumberland Gap, and had penetrated as far north and west as the Kentucky River. Here, on an eminence near the mouth of a tributary called Red River, he had erected a hut and opened a friendly intercourse with the Indians. He had also explored some of the beautiful plains of Kentucky, which he described in glowing colors to Daniel Boone, a hunter and woodsman settled upon the Yadkin River. In the fall of 1769, he returned to his former post, with Daniel Boone and John Stewart, accompanied by a party of hunters, who followed him as their guide, upon a hunting excursion. They pursued their route by way of the Holston River and Cumberland Gap, crossed Cumberland River near the mountains, and penetrated as far as Finley's trading-post, within the present limits of Clarke county, in the State of Kentucky. Here, from a lofty eminence on the north side of the Kentucky River, Daniel Boone first beheld "the beautiful level of Kentucky." The plains and forests abounded with wild beasts of every kind; deer and elks were common; the buffalo was seen in herds; and the plains were covered with the "richest verdure."

[A.D. 1770.] Stewart left his bones in Kentucky, the first victim of Indian resentment to the white man's advance into "the dark and bloody ground." Finley and Boone returned to the banks of the Yadkin. Their friends and neighbors were enraptured with the glowing descriptions given of the delightful country which they had discovered, and their imaginations were inflamed with the wonderful products which were yielded in such bountiful profusion. The sterile hills and rocky

mountains of North Carolina began to lose their interest when compared with the fertile plains of Kentucky.

Nor did the southern portion of Kentucky escape exploration. The same summer had witnessed an excursion, conducted by Colonel James Knox, of North Carolina, to the remote regions west of the Cumberland Mountains. With a party of nine hunters and woodsmen, he passed the Cumberland Gap, and penetrated westward to the sources of Green River and upon the lower portion of the Cumberland, nearly one hundred miles south of the eminence from which Boone first beheld the plains of Kentucky. This party under Colonel Knox was absent several months, and was known among the western people of North Carolina as "*Long Hunters*."*

While these explorations were being made in Kentucky, nearly three hundred miles west of the most advanced settlements of Virginia and North Carolina, and while the population was rapidly augmenting upon the sources of the Monongahela and Greenbrier from Northern Virginia and Maryland, the hardy pioneers of North Carolina were moving forward and forming settlements upon the Nolichucky, the French Broad, the Watauga, and other branches of the Holston, and upon the sources of New River. Others, filled with the spirit of emigration, deigned not to limit their movements to a few hundred miles. The Mississippi itself did not limit their journey. The English possessed the Floridas and the Illinois country. West Florida was bounded on the west, for more than two hundred miles, by the Mississippi River, and the branches of the Holston opened a direct water communication for nearly two thousand miles of circuitous but easy navigation. The crown of Great Britain desired to see the colonial population flow into Florida, and had held out inducements for settlers to emigrate from Carolina. Those emigrating from the western parts of North Carolina and Virginia could advance by land to the Holston, and there commence their voyage in flat-boats or barges, at Long Island, in the Cherokee nation, one hundred and fifty miles, by water, above the mouth of the French Broad.† The point of destination in West Florida was the upland region in the vicinity of the Walnut Hills, of Natchez, Bayou Sara, and Baton Rouge.

The British government, since the treaties of 1768, had

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 18, 19.

† Imlay's America, p. 499

thrown off all disguise as to the occupancy of the western country, and the most alluring inducements were held out to western emigration. Western posts were maintained with military garrisons for the protection of the remote settlements against the effects of Indian jealousy and revenge. Although no evidence existed of any hostile designs on the part of the savages, Fort Pitt was occupied by two companies of "Royal Irish Infantry," under command of Captain Edmonson. This post at this time was a regular stockade fort, on two sides facing the Alleghany and Monongahela, defended by block-houses and bastions. On the land side was a regular brick wall mounted with cannon, and surrounded by a wide and deep ditch.*

Before the close of the year 1770, settlements had advanced upon the Youghiogeny and Monongahela below the Red Stone Old Fort, and westward to the Ohio. They approached the Monongahela chiefly by Braddock's "Old Road," and to Red Stone Old Fort by the route opened by Colonel Burd ten years before. Brook county, in the western neck of Virginia, and Washington county, in Western Pennsylvania, had already received their first Anglo-American population. Others, still more daring, had descended the Ohio as far as Wheeling, and had commenced settlements in the limits of the present county of Ohio, more than ninety miles below Fort Pitt by the river channel. Among those who reached these remote regions for frontier residences were the three brothers, Jonathan, Ebenezer, and Silas Zane, besides many other woodsmen and pioneers. The same year Ebenezer Zane selected the present site of Wheeling as his location; another settlement was formed at the same time on Wheeling Creek, near the "Forks," a few miles above its mouth.†

Explorations for future settlements and locations of land were spreading upon the *western tributaries* of the Monongahela, upon the upper branches of the Great Kenhawa, the Greenbrier, and New Rivers, and also upon the Little Kenhawa, and upon Gauly River. The prospect of wealth and future independence in the fertile regions west of the mountains was sought in exchange for the comforts and conveniences of the older settlements, laboriously drawn from a meager soil.

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. ii., p. 518.

† Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, p. 48, 49.

The West was a virgin soil, which would more than repay the temporary inconveniences of a new settlement, and afford a prospect of future competence to a rising family.

The same tide of emigration continued from the southern portions of Virginia and from North Carolina, flowing beyond the sources of the Yadkin and Catawba, and upon the upper branches of the north fork of Holston, and upon the tributaries of Clinch River, beyond the limits assigned to the white inhabitants by the treaty of Hard Labor in 1768. The settlements on Powell's River, and other western branches of Clinch River, were within the Indian territory, and the Cherokees began to remonstrate against the encroachment. To avoid Indian resentment, and to remove all occasion for hostilities on the part of the Cherokees, the superintendent of "Southern Indian Affairs" was instructed to convene a council of the chiefs, warriors, and head men of the nation, for the purpose of establishing a *new boundary* further west. Accordingly, the treaty of Lochaber was concluded and signed on the 18th of October, 1770, by which the Cherokees consent to a new boundary, to include the white population on Clinch River.

• The *new line* commenced on the south branch of Holston River, six miles east of Long Island; thence it extended in a northwardly course to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa.* This was to be the western limit for the settlements of Virginia and North Carolina; and as yet the whole southwestern portion of Virginia was a wild and savage wilderness, with only a few scattered inhabitants upon the head waters of Holston and Clinch Rivers. The site of the present town of Abington was a frontier settlement.

The provincial Legislature of Virginia at its next session passed an act, which received the sanction of the royal governor, for the encouragement of western emigration. This act allowed every actual settler having a log-cabin erected, and any portion of ground in cultivation, the right to four hundred acres of land, so located as to include his improvement. A subsequent act extended the privilege much further, allowing the owner and occupant of each four hundred acre tract the preference right of purchasing one thousand acres adjoining him, at such cost as scarcely exceeded the expense of selecting it, and

* See Butler's Kentucky, p. 51. Also, Hall's Sketches, vol. ii, p. 256; and Treaty of Lochaber, p. 290.

having it designated by a regular survey. These acts greatly encouraged emigration to the West, where every man, with industry and perseverance, could not fail to secure himself a comfortable home, and a valuable estate for his children. Other provinces enacted similar laws for the purpose of occupying their western lands. Crowds of emigrants immediately advanced to secure the proffered bounty; and settlements and explorations rapidly spread upon all the eastern tributaries of the Ohio, from the Alleghany to the Cumberland River.

[A.D. 1771.] In the "District of West Augusta," the population of Virginia had already advanced from the extreme sources of the Monongahela westward to the Ohio River, and from Fort Pitt down to Big Grave Creek, and in many points still further. The remote, isolated settlements were provided with a strong block-house, or a secure stockade inclosing a compact village, or "station," for the general defense of the little colony. Although no hostile demonstrations had been made by the Indians, it was deemed requisite to observe every prudential measure to secure the helpless families against surprise and massacre.*

Among the emigrants upon the Monongahela, under the provision of the late pre-emption law for four hundred acres, was Captain Michael Cresap, who had been a soldier in the French war under Braddock, and in the subsequent campaign.* He was a man of undoubted courage, and had been an active defender of the frontier settlements during Pontiac's war. In the year 1771, he settled upon the site of Redstone Old Fort as his pre-emption claim, and erected the first shingled-roof house ever built in the town of Brownsville.

During the year 1771, such was the throng of emigrants to the new settlements in Western Virginia, upon the Youghiogeny, Monongahela, and Upper Ohio, as low as Big Grave Creek, that an alarming scarcity of every kind of breadstuff ensued. To such an extent had this dearth attained, that for more than six months, at least half of the entire population were compelled to sustain life by the use of meats, roots, vegetables, and milk, to the entire exclusion of all bread and grains. This period became memorable, in the history of the early population of this part of the country, as the "starving year." Nor did the settlements recover from the exhaustion,

* See American Pioneer, vol. ii., p. 62.

under the constant influx of immigrants, until the close of the year 1773, when abundant crops restored a supply of grain.

[A.D. 1772.] As yet the habitations were but sparsely distributed upon the Ohio below Big Grave Creek, and the whole region between the upper branches of the Monongahela and the Little Kenhawa was wholly in the occupancy of the Indians, except surveyors and exploring parties, who were continually traversing the country. The settlements were becoming more dense upon the branches of Cheat, the East branch of the Monongahela, and in Tygart's Valley, and also upon the upper tributaries of Greenbrier, Gauley, and Elk Rivers. The west branch of the Monongahela was wholly in the Indian country.

The tide of emigration to the Upper Ohio and the Youghiogeny advanced across the mountains through Pennsylvania, by way of Forts Bedford, Ligonier, and Loyal Hanna, while those from Virginia and Maryland advanced by way of Fort Cumberland and Redstone Old Fort. At that early period the greater portions of these routes lay through an uninhabited wilderness for more than two hundred miles. A wagon road was unknown west of the eastern settlements, and all beyond was a solitary horse-path, or "trace," winding through defiles and over mountains almost inaccessible.

Hence the early immigrants in the West were compelled to travel on horseback, in single file, carrying their small patrimony and personal effects upon the backs of pack-horses, driven likewise in single file. Most of those who traversed these "dangerous wilds" at this early period were fortunately encumbered with but a scanty share of this world's goods requiring transportation, unless it were "the poor man's boon," a thriving family. In most cases, one or two pack-horses were amply sufficient to bear all the personal effects across the mountains, and these were commonly but little more than a frying-pan or an iron pot, a wheel, a hoe, an ax, an auger, and a saw, besides a few blankets and bedding. The indispensable portion of each man's personal equipment was his rifle; his shot-pouch and powder-horn were a part of his wearing apparel.

If the pioneer emigrant were so happy as to possess a wife and a few children, an extra horse carried the one with her dowry, and another pack-horse, bestrode by two large hampers, bore the children to their western homes.

[A.D. 1773.] The next spring opened with a still stronger tide of emigration for the waters of the Ohio, both on the northern and on the southern limits of Virginia. The habitations upon the numerous branches and tributaries of the Ohio continued to multiply and extend. Those upon the sources of the Greenbrier and Gauley were gradually extending down those rivers, and upon the upper tributaries of the Little Kenhawa and Elk Rivers. Further west, upon the latter streams, companies of surveyors and explorers were busily engaged in selecting and locating lands for future settlements.*

Nor did the emigrants and explorers stop on the waters of the Upper Ohio. Hundreds were looking far beyond the present limits of Virginia. The British province of West Florida offered advantages not less than those of the Ohio region; and might be free from Indian hostilities and dangers. The mild and sunny climate of the Lower Mississippi had its charms for others, and there were not a few who had left their homes near the Atlantic coast, and were on their journey for the south. Before the summer of 1773 had passed, four hundred families from the Atlantic seaboard advanced through the wilderness to the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers, and descended in boats for the Natchez country.† During this year, also, in England a pamphlet had been published, in which the author highly extolled "the advantages of a settlement on the Ohio in North America."

During the early part of the summer, Lord Dunmore had sent out several parties of surveyors upon the Great Kenhawa, while others were sent as far west as the "Falls of Ohio," to locate military land-warrants and grants in the delightful regions upon the Kentucky River. Locations were made the same summer on the south side of the Kentucky River, near Frankfort, and as far south as the present town of Danville.‡

Among the enterprising pioneer surveyors sent to Kentucky this summer, were Hancock Taylor and Captain Thomas Bullitt, who, with a party of surveyors from southwestern Virginia, crossed the mountains to the Ohio River, by way of the Great Kenhawa. They reached the vicinity of the Ohio in the month of May, after which they spent several weeks in making surveys and explorations on the Kenhawa, until the 1st of July. About

* Butler's Kentucky, chap. ii., p. 20.

† Holmes's Annals, vol. ii., p. 185, 186.

‡ Butler's Kentucky, p. 23.

this time they were joined by the three brothers, James, George, and Robert M'Afee, who had left Botetourt county early in June, and had traveled westward across the country to New River, and thence along that river to the Kenhawa. Early in July this whole company of surveyors and woodsmen descended the Ohio in boats to "the falls." Here they soon afterward separated to their respective surveying districts.

The three M'Afees, with their party, proceeded in their boats and canoes up the Ohio to the mouth of Kentucky River, which they ascended as far as the site of the present city of Frankfort. Here they landed and encamped, and on the 16th day of July made their first survey of a tract of six hundred acres, including the ground upon which the city of Frankfort stands. This was the first survey made by white men on the Kentucky River. Other surveys were subsequently made by this company in the same vicinity, and further south, in the vicinity of Harrodsburg and Danville, and upon the sources of Salt River.*

In the mean time, Captain Bullitt had made his camp near the mouth of Bear-grass Creek; and, having made several locations and surveys in that vicinity, he resolved to provide for his future safety by conciliating the Indians, and thus preventing their jealous suspicions and revenge at the near approach of the white man's camp. He accordingly proceeded alone and on foot to the nearest Shawanese town on the Scioto, for the purpose of forming a friendly acquaintance with the Indians. He succeeded in his hazardous undertaking, and produced in the minds of the chiefs a favorable impression as to his feelings and object, before suspicion in the savage had ripened into jealousy.

After his return to camp, he proceeded in the month of August to lay off the plan for a town near the site of the present city of Louisville. This was the first town laid off in Kentucky by the early pioneers.

The tide of emigration was equally strong to the western portions of North Carolina, and within the limits now comprised in the eastern portion of East Tennessee. Settlements had extended down the north branch of Holston, upon the Nolichucky, French Broad, and Clinch Rivers, and, before the close of the year 1773, had spread along the western base of the Alleghany range, in a southwestern direction, for nearly one hundred and

* Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 20-22.

twenty miles, and nearly as far west as Long Island in the south fork of Holston.* South of Holston River settlements were rapidly extending upon the tributaries of the French Broad.

This year witnessed the first attempt to introduce white females and families into Kentucky, and the first decided indication from the Indians that *they would resist* the occupancy of the country. The fame of Kentucky had spread through the western settlements of North Carolina, and the restless population upon the waters of the Yadkin, New River, and Holston having heard the glowing accounts given by Boone and Finley, and confirmed by other hunters and pioneers, began to loathe their barren hills and contracted valleys, and to sigh for the beautiful and fertile plains of Kentucky; but as yet no family had ever attempted to advance west of the Cumberland range of mountains, although residences had already been made in Powell's Valley and on Powell's River, on the eastern side. That range was considered the boundary between the whites and the Cherokee hunting-grounds, as established by the treaty of Lochaber in 1770. The savage was jealous of further encroachments, and would not quietly permit intrusion under any pretext.

Late in the month of September, Daniel Boone, having collected a little colony of five families besides his own, willing to venture beyond the Cumberland Mountains, left the peaceful banks of the Yadkin to try the dangerous wilds of Kentucky. With these, equipped in pioneer style, the women and children mounted, with their baggage and luggage in the center of the procession, he proceeded on the hazardous journey for the southern portion of Kentucky, claimed by the warlike Cherokees.

After a tedious and hazardous travel of near two hundred miles over the most elevated and mountainous region of North Carolina and Southern Virginia, they reached Powell's Valley, on the east side of Cumberland range. Here they made a short stay before leaving the last vestige of civilized life, and little suspecting the dangers which lay before them in their journey. But the Indians, ever jealous of the white man's approach, had observed all their movements, and were cautiously preparing to cut them off at the proper time, should they continue to advance beyond the limits assigned for the white settlers.†

* See Winterbotham's America, vol. ii., p. 25, 26.

† At this time a few families had settled on Clinch River, about fifteen miles south-

Boone proceeded with his little colony, and as he advanced toward Cumberland Gap, about the 5th day of October, he was joined in Powell's Valley by forty armed hunters, who were anxious to explore the newly-discovered country west of the Cumberland range of mountains. The whole now formed a caravan of nearly eighty persons in number, and had advanced with fine spirits and joyful hearts until the 10th of October, when suddenly, while passing a narrow defile, they were startled by the terrific yell of Indians in ambuscade, by whom they were furiously assailed. The men flew to the protection of the helpless women and children, while others rushed to encounter the enemy in their coverts. A scene of confusion and consternation for a moment ensued; but the Indians, surprised at the fierce and resolute resistance of the men, soon fled in every direction.

The first fire of the Indians had killed six men and wounded the seventh. Among the first was the oldest son of Daniel Boone, a youth nearly twenty years old. This was a sad presage of the dangers before them, and the whole party fell back forty miles, to the nearest settlement on the Clinch River. Here the emigrant families remained until the termination of Lord Dunmore's war, near the close of the following year.*

[A.D. 1774.] But the country bordering upon the Ohio was considered free for emigrants from the older settlements. The Indian title had been extinguished by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and by the laws of Virginia each emigrant was entitled to a fine landed estate, for the sole consideration of designating his selection by a small improvement upon it. Nor was it long before hundreds of hardy and fearless emigrants, from the western counties of Virginia and from the new settlements on the Monongahela and Kenhawa, determined to secure portions of the fertile regions of Kentucky. Parties of surveyors and pioneers began to descend the Ohio, for the purpose of making improvements and locations for future residences and farms.

The following spring presented upon the waters of the Monongahela and the sources of the two Kenhawas a continual scene of emigration, of parties of surveyors and explorers, dis- west of Powell's Valley, which was the frontier settlement on this route, or within the limits of the Cherokee nation.

* See Marshall's Kentucky, vol. i., p. 20, 21. Butler's Kentucky, p. 28. Also, Flint's Life of Boone, p. 80.

tributed over all the region southwest of the principal forks of the Monongahela, and westward to the Ohio and the Great Kenhawa Rivers. Other parties were advancing further south, and westward to Kentucky; and a large number of surveyors and woodsmen had been sent to that region by Lord Dunmore, for the purpose of locating and selecting lands under royal grants and military warrants.

Among the first explorers and pioneers of Kentucky during the year 1774, we may enumerate Simon Kenton and his party, who explored the country from Limestone Creek, at the present site of Maysville, traversing the buffalo trace as far as the Lower Blue Licks. This trace he found opened by the herds of buffaloes, like a wide, beaten road, from May's Lick to the Licking River. Buffaloes were still common, and elk were frequently seen browsing upon the hills near the licks.*

Kenton returned to May's Lick, and selected a tract of land, upon which he made a "tomahawk improvement," including a camp and an acre of planted corn, near the present site of the town of Washington. But Indian hostilities, especially from the Shawanese, were already begun in Kentucky. Returning one evening to his camp from the day's excursion, he found that his companion, who had been left to guard the camp, had been killed and scalped, and his body, half consumed by fire, was still smoking upon the pyre.† His first care was to secure himself from ambuscade; after which, he was compelled to seek safety by retiring from Kentucky, and abandoning his improvement until the danger from the Indians should be less imminent.

As yet, no permanent settlement had been made in Kentucky, nor did the Indians intend to permit them to be made in their favorite hunting-grounds. No white man's house, *for residence*, had yet been erected, although hundreds had explored the country upon the Kentucky River, and marked their "tomahawk improvements." During the summer, however, James Harrod, from the Monongahela, selected a place, afterward known as "*Harrod's Station*," six miles from the present town of Harrodsburg, and soon afterward he erected the first house for a residence ever built by a white man in Kentucky. With his party, he had descended the Ohio in boats and canoes to the mouth of Kentucky River, which he ascended as far as

* M'Donald's *Life of Kenton*, ed. of 1843.

† Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 23.

"Harrod's Landing," where he disembarked for his settlement.*

Heretofore the principal object of all the explorers upon the waters of the Kentucky River had been to make pre-emption, or "tomahawk improvements," or to locate lands already granted by the provincial authorities. Tracts so selected were run off by the compass, or bounded by some branch or water-course, and marked by blazing a few trees with the tomahawk, planting a patch of corn, or erecting a temporary hut. Either of these was sufficient to indicate that the land had been already appropriated by an inchoate title. The house erected by James Harrod was a regular log-house, designed for the future residence of his family, when circumstances would justify their removal.

The jurisdiction of Virginia had already been extended over the whole region upon the Youghiogeny and Monongahela, as far as the settlements extended, and westward to the Ohio River, north of Big Grave Creek, under the name of the "District of West Augusta."† The country south of Grave Creek was uninhabited by white men, and remained in the full possession of the native Indians.‡ West Augusta, as a district of Virginia, for several years comprised all the western inhabitants from the Little Kenhawa northward to Fort Pitt.

The settlements west of the Monongahela, and upon the Ohio above the present site of Wheeling, had been steadily increasing their population. Numerous parties of surveyors and explorers were advancing upon the waters of the Little and the Great Kenhawa, and westward to the Ohio. The whole country was overrun by parties of pioneers and explorers, to the great annoyance of the Indians, who claimed the possession of the lands; but the whites disregarded both their claims and their remonstrances.

But a sad reverse was about to overtake the western settlements, and a signal check put to their advance. The hardy pioneers, in their new homes in the wilderness, amid all the hardships and privations of a frontier life, were about to en-

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 26.

† American Pioneer, vol. ii., p. 303-306.

‡ Dr. Briscoe, a wealthy planter from Virginia, had formed a settlement at the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, composed of several families and a number of negro slaves, which was commenced in 1773; at the same time, a settlement was first made at Big Grave Creek. Both were abandoned in 1774.—See M'Donald's Life of Kenton, p. 205.

counter all the horrors of *an Indian war*—a war of *extermination*, which knows no mercy, even to the infant and its defenseless mother.

Since the treaty of Fort Stanwix, six years had elapsed, and the Indians had gradually retired from the eastern sources and tributaries of the Monongahela, and were slowly removing to the west side of the Ohio. They were still inclined to maintain a friendly intercourse with the whites, although jealous of the encroachments, and grieved to see the rapid advance and the unfeeling deportment of the settlers toward their waning tribes; they seldom gave occasion for outrage or bloodshed. Although they had often been the subjects of injustice and aggression from the petty tyranny of unprincipled men, they had not been charged with any overt act of hostility.

In a frontier country, and among a population of such opposite races of men, one small act of injustice brings on another, until both become arrayed in deadly hostility. So in relation to the war which was about to break forth. Small things were only the precursors of the most atrocious acts. A petty theft from a lawless white man involves two nations in a war of extermination. Injustice and aggravated aggression are sure to be on the side of power; and the Indians had submitted patiently until resistance became a virtue, and vengeance was taken into their own hands. In this manner, the aggressions of the reckless emigrants of Western Virginia brought on that series of Indian hostilities comprised under the name of "Lord Dunmore's war."

This spring witnessed the erection of a fort at Wheeling for the protection of the frontier people. It was brought about in the following manner: A party of near one hundred emigrants from Eastern Virginia had arrived upon the Ohio on their way to Kentucky. About the latter part of April they were encamped near the mouth of the Little Kenhawa. Apprehensive of an outbreak of Indian treachery, they were induced to defer their location in Kentucky until the hostile attitude of the Shawanese should be changed. Captain Michael Cresap, of Redstone Old Fort, being in their vicinity making a settlement, advised the party to retire nearer the older settlements, for greater security from Indian barbarities. They accordingly retired to the bank of the Ohio River, just above the mouth of Wheeling Creek, where they commenced the con-

struction of a stockade fort for their mutual protection. The situation of this stockade was a few hundred yards above Wheeling Creek, and near the site of the present city of Wheeling. The plan of the fort was prepared by Major George Rogers Clark, who was one of the party.* The work was immediately commenced under the superintendence of Ebenezer Zane and John Caldwell, two experienced frontier men, who had already made improvements and a settlement on Wheeling Creek. The fort, when completed, was called "Fort Fincastle," and was designed as a place of security for the settlers in that vicinity; and during the war which followed, they had ample need of its protection.

In the mean time, the attitude of the Indians foreboded hostilities, requiring the settlements to be placed in a condition to avoid surprise. To this effect, Doctor Connolly, the royal "captain commandant of West Augusta," then at Pittsburgh, authorized Captain Michael Cresap, an experienced and brave Indian fighter, to use his influence with this party of emigrants, and induce them to "cover the country with scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves." Accordingly, reconnoitering or scouting parties were sent out in all directions, and the settlers proceeded to fortify the stations. Captain Cresap took command of Fort Fincastle.†

* Among the party of fearless pioneers were also Joseph Bowman, Hugh McGary, and many others who afterward figured in the settlement of Kentucky.

† American Pioneer, vol. ii., p. 303.

CHAPTER III.

LORD DUNMORE'S INDIAN WAR: EXTENSION OF THE WESTERN SETTLEMENTS FROM THE TREATY OF "CAMP CHARLOTTE" TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—A.D. 1774 TO 1776.

Argument.—The Indians reluctantly assent to Boundaries claimed by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.—Outrages of lawless white Men provoke Indian Resentment.—Explorers and Land-jobbers.—Rumor of Indian Depredations circulated by them.—Alarm excited among Explorers.—Captain Cresap advises Violence, and heads a Party which murders some Indians above Wheeling and at Captina Creek.—Greathouse leads another Party against the Indians at Yellow Creek.—Other Murders preceding these.—Murder of "Bald Eagle" Chief.—Five Families at Balltown.—Indian Revenge commences upon the Traders.—Consternation on the Frontier.—Settlements abandoned.—Union Station near Laurel Hill established.—Hostile Incursions of Indians.—Defensive Measures under Lord Dunmore.—The Wappatomica Campaign under General M'Donald.—Surveys and Explorations in Kentucky suspended in 1774.—Daniel Boone conducts Surveyors to old Settlements.—General Lewis marches down the Kenhawa.—Learns the Change of Dunmore's Plans.—The severe "Battle of the Point".—Loss of the Virginians and of Indians.—"Cornstalk," the King of the Shawanese.—Lord Dunmore's Advance to the Scioto.—"Camp Charlotte" fortified.—Operations against the Shawanese Towns.—Negotiations with the Indians.—General Lewis advances to the Scioto.—He indignantly obeys Dunmore's Order to halt.—Treaty of Camp Charlotte opened.—Speech of Cornstalk; of Logan.—Stipulations of this Treaty.—Peace proclaimed, January 7th, 1775.—Suspensions against Lord Dunmore.—Emigration revives in the West.—Explorations resumed in Kentucky.—Colonel Floyd on Bear-grass Creek.—Other Surveys and Settlements.—Settlements on the Holston and Clinch in 1775.—Preparations in Virginia and North Carolina for the Occupancy of Kentucky.—Patrick Henry and others.—Colonel Henderson and others.—Treaty of Watauga.—Colonel Henderson's Land Company.—Preparations for establishing the Colony of Transylvania.—Boone Pioneer of the Colony to Kentucky River.—Boonesborough erected.—Colonel Henderson leads out his Colony.—Boone leads another in the Fall.—"Plan of Boonesborough."—Logan's Fort built.—Company's Land-office.—Proprietary Government established in Transylvania, 1775.—Acts of Legislature, second Session.—The Company memorialize the Federal Congress.—Opposition to the Proprietary Government.—Transylvania Republic merges into the State Government of Virginia.—Settlements begin to form on the north Side of Kentucky River.—Harrod's Station erected in 1776.—Colonel Harrod introduces the first Families from the Monongahela.—Declaration of American Independence.—Indian Hostilities begin in Kentucky.—Preparations for Defense.—Major George Rogers Clark superintends the Militia Organization.

[A.D. 1774.] As we have shown, the Indian tribes west of the Ohio seemed disposed, for a time, quietly to submit to their fate, and permit the white inhabitants to occupy all the territory east of the Ohio River. But at length the whites, by one act of aggression after another, roused up the sleeping vengeance of the savage to active war. The immediate provocation to hostilities was an unprovoked and wanton murder of two parties of peaceable Indians by a reckless band

of white men, living on the east side of the Ohio, in the settlements above and below Wheeling.

It is a fact which has been verified by all experience, from the first occupancy of the British colonies in North America up to the present time, that when the tide of emigration sets strong toward the wilderness occupied by the native tribes, a large proportion of the most lawless and worthless part of the population is carried in advance of the older settlements, like driftwood upon a swollen river. Hence it is almost impossible for the civil authorities to restrain acts of lawless violence in such persons on the extreme confines of civilization. Men who are impatient of the wholesome restraints of law and social order naturally seek those parts of a civilized community where the arm of the civil authority is weakened by distance, or where they find themselves beyond the reach of civil government. Hence the extreme frontier settlements are always more or less composed of a population which, from their natural and depraved propensities, are prone to keep up a spirit of hostility with the neighboring savages, to the great detriment of the better classes of emigrants.

In the settlements which were crowding upon the east side of the Ohio, there were many individuals such as we have described, and who kept in advance of the more orderly and virtuous portion of the community.

The particulars of the outrages which roused the Indians to hostile revenge in the summer of 1774, and at the record of which humanity weeps, are as follows: In the month of April, a rumor obtained circulation that some Indians had stolen several horses from a party of land-jobbers near the Ohio and Kenhawa Rivers. This report, doubtless, may have had some foundation in truth, but it was propagated by designing and evil men. Some, affecting to believe the rumor true, deduced from the facts a hostile intention on the part of the Indians against the white settlements. The object in view appears to have been a breach of the friendly state of feeling between the white inhabitants and the Indian tribes residing on the west side of the Ohio. Although the Indians had always looked with a jealous eye upon the advance of the white population, yet there is no reasonable ground to suspect, on this occasion, any hostile designs on their part against the settlements previous to the outrages which were the immediate cause of the war.

Near the last of April the land-jobbers, the bane of all new countries, collected in considerable numbers at Wheeling, alleging the apprehension of a hostile attack from the Indians. The true cause, no doubt, was cowardice and conscious guilt, if not a desire to embroil the savages in a war of extermination. A few days afterward, it was known that two Indians, with their families, were descending the river a few miles above Wheeling. Upon learning this fact, Captain Cresap, who had command of Fort Fincastle, proposed to kill the Indians without further inquiry. Colonel Zane, the proprietor of Wheeling, vehemently opposed any such proposition. He represented in glowing colors the extreme folly and atrocity of such conduct; he declared that the wanton murder of those Indians would stir up a bloody revenge against the settlements, and bring a fierce Indian war, with all its horrors, upon the innocent frontier inhabitants, which would cause the name of Cresap to be held in execration by hundreds of widows and orphans; but his voice and counsel were disregarded, and Captain Cresap, with his party, proceeded to execute their blood-thirsty designs. The party of Indians were met a few miles above the town, and deliberately shot in their canoes. These reckless men then returned to Wheeling in the bloody canoes of their murdered victims; and when questioned, they significantly replied that the Indians "had fallen overboard into the river."

This first murder only served to stimulate them to further deeds of blood. The same evening rumor informed them of an Indian camp near the mouth of Captina Creek, a few miles below Wheeling. The same party, with some others, set out and descended the river to the Indian camp. Here they deliberately shot several Indians in cold blood, and by whose attempt to defend themselves one of Cresap's men was severely wounded.*

A few days after this second murder had been perpetrated, another still more atrocious was committed upon a party of Indians near the mouth of Yellow Creek, and about forty miles above Wheeling. Daniel Greathouse, affecting to apprehend danger for "Baker's Bottom," on the east side of the river, not far from an Indian camp near Yellow Creek, collected a party of thirty-two men, and proceeded up to Baker's Bottom. Here the party concealed themselves near the bank of the river, while their commander, Greathouse, crossed the river alone,

* Doddridge's Notes, p. 220-222. See *American Pioneer*, vol. i., p. 8.

under the mask of friendship, to spy out the Indian force, and to ascertain their numbers and position. While approaching the camp, an Indian woman advised him to return and to depart speedily, for the warriors, highly exasperated at the late murders, were drinking, and might do him some injury. He returned to his party, and reported the Indians too strong for an open attack. Baker had been in the habit of selling whisky to the Indians, and was therefore a fit tool for Greathouse in his contemplated treachery and murder. A plan was agreed on that Baker should freely supply with whisky all who could be decoyed over the river. At length many were decoyed over, all of whom were made beastly drunk. In this condition, Greathouse and a few others of his party fell upon them, and murdered them in cold blood. The squaw who had given Greathouse the friendly advice near the Indian camp was one of the victims of this bloody tragedy. Others from the camp, attracted by the reports of the guns, came to seek their friends, but they were deliberately shot while crossing the river.

Doddridge observes, "It is but justice to state, that out of the party of thirty-two, only five or six were actually engaged in this atrocious murder." We should feel no desire to screen the memories of the guilty twenty-five, who would permit a few desperate fellows among them to perpetrate deliberate and outrageous murder, which they might profess to abhor. But their names are not permitted to be inscribed upon the page of history. Their posterity, of course, are exempt from the odium which attached to the men who could permit a diabolical outrage of this kind without interference. Virtue, so feeble in the cause of justice and humanity, is a curse rather than a blessing to its possessors.

The murders perpetrated at Captina and Yellow Creeks included the whole family of the generous and unfortunate Logan, who became noted in the war which followed. He had long been the friend of the whites, and the advocate of peace among his red brethren. He now became vindictive, and proved himself a bold and active warrior against the Virginia frontier.*

* Soon after the murders at Captina and Yellow Creeks by the parties under Cresap and Greathouse, the authorities of Pennsylvania took the precaution to dispatch messengers to the Indians to inform them that those outrages were not committed by Pennsylvanians, and that the government of Pennsylvania disavowed and condemned them, and therefore were not the proper objects of their revenge. This timely notice given to the Indians is probably the reason why the war was not carried on against the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, but was directed chiefly against those of Virginia,

Nor were the murders at Captina and Yellow Creeks the first or only outrages of the whites upon the Indians. Other murders equally atrocious had been perpetrated by the lawless whites with impunity. Such was the force of public sentiment; such the prejudices and animosity of the frontier population against the Indians, that no redress could be obtained from the civil authorities for injuries inflicted upon them by white men. Previous to the Captina tragedy, a white man had been committed to prison in Winchester charged with the willful murder of a peaceable Indian; but an armed mob surrounded the jail, and forcibly released the prisoner from the custody of the law. Again, an old and distinguished chief, called "Bald Eagle," who had long been friendly toward the whites, had lived with them, and had hunted with them, being alone in the woods near the Monongahela, was attacked by three white men and killed. Afterward, they placed the lifeless body of their victim in a sitting posture in his canoe, and sent it adrift down the stream.

At "Bulltown," on the Little Kenhawa, there were five Indian families, who had lived and hunted with the whites near Buchanan's River and upon Hacker's Creek. These families were all killed by lawless individuals, under a pretext of revenging the deaths of a white family which had been murdered by a party of hostile Indians on Gauly River. The white inhabitants of Bulltown remonstrated strongly against the designs which these men entertained against these innocent Indians, whom they had long known, and whom they believed above suspicion. But all was in vain; their skins were Indian, and they were all deliberately shot, and their bodies thrown into the river by these desperadoes.*

Immediately after the murders at Captina and Yellow Creeks, the smothered fire of revenge broke out into open hostilities. The Shawanese, on the Scioto, were principals in the war; and the warriors of other northern and western tribes entered into alliance with them. They first murdered all the traders and white men found within the Indian country. A young man, taken by the Indians near the falls of Muskingum, was killed, and his body, cut into fragments, was scattered to the

where all manner of savage barbarities were inflicted.—See Gordon's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 475.

* See Butler's *History of Kentucky*, Introduction, p. 53, 54.

four winds. Savage fury and revenge knew no bounds, and the innocent families upon the frontiers were doomed to destruction.*

Consternation spread through all the frontier settlements, from the sources of the Monongahela to the Kenhawa; the settlers fled from their homes toward the mountains; others retired into forts and stations. Fort Pitt and Redstone Fort were among their asylums.

The settlements within striking distance of the Ohio were entirely deserted. The greater portion of the women and children were removed from fifty to one hundred miles back from the frontier border, and safely lodged in "stations" and fortified camps near the mountains, while the men were compelled to expose themselves to innumerable hardships and privations to procure food for their families and to protect them from the marauding bands of hostile Indians. A large fortified station, near the present site of Uniontown, in Pennsylvania, at the western base of the Laurel Hill, was hardly deemed secure from Indian attack. As remote from the eastern settlements as from savage danger, they were destitute of supplies and the necessaries of life, except what the wilderness itself afforded. This resource was scanty indeed, amid the howling blasts of an inclement winter; and famine seemed to covet what had been wrested from the vengeance of the Indian.

A few days had been sufficient to prove that the alarm was not without cause. The Indians immediately had commenced the warfare by detached parties, scouring the whole country, murdering the remaining inhabitants, and laying waste every settlement within one day's march of the Ohio River.† The

* Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, p. 56.

† The Indian "declaration of war" was made by Logan himself, on the 21st of July, 1774, in company with a party of eight warriors. Having advanced into the settlements on the Upper Monongahela, and having killed one man and taken two prisoners on the 12th of July, he returned on the 21st, and left at the house of William Robinson, whose family had been murdered, "the war club," to which was attached a note, written by a white prisoner who had been adopted into Logan's family, in the following words, viz.:

"CAPTAIN ORESAP—

"Why did you kill my people on Yellow Creek? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that. But you have killed my kin again on Yellow Creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since: but the Indians are not angry; it is only myself.

CAPTAIN JOHN LOGAN.

"July 21, 1774."

—See American Pioneer, vol. 1, p. 18.

colonial Legislature of Virginia was in session, when it was electrified by an express from the "District of West Augusta," near the Ohio River, apprising them that an "Indian war" had already been commenced; that the tomahawk and scalping-knife were already doing their bloody work upon the frontier people.

Provision was to be immediately made for the emergency. Lord Dunmore, governor of the province of Virginia, lost no time in delay, but immediately put in operation a system of defense for arresting Indian hostilities upon the settlements. A powerful and vigorous campaign was planned for the invasion of the Indian country west of the Ohio. Orders were immediately sent to General Andrew Lewis,* of Botetourt county, to raise with all possible dispatch four regiments of militia and volunteers from the southwestern counties, to rendezvous at Camp Union, in the Greenbrier country. This was to be the "Southern Division" of the invading army, and General Andrew Lewis, a veteran in the French war, was commander. He was ordered to march down the Great Kenhawa to the bank of the Ohio, and there to join the "Northern Division," under the earl in person. In the mean time, Lord Dunmore was actively engaged in raising troops in the northern counties west of the Blue Ridge, to advance from Fort Cumberland, by way of Redstone Old Fort, to the Ohio at Pittsburgh, whence he was to descend in boats to the Kenhawa. This was the original plan of the campaign.

While these plans were maturing under the provincial authorities in the eastern portion of Virginia, by command of the royal governor, General Angus M'Donald had been organizing the western people on the Youghiogeny and Monongahela for their own defense. Agreeably to the orders of Lord Dunmore, General M'Donald had collected a body of four hundred volunteers, who made their rendezvous at Wheeling Creek, in

* General Lewis was one of the most experienced and efficient provincial commanders that Virginia had yet produced. Such was the high opinion which General Washington entertained of his military abilities, that he recommended him as a suitable person to fill the office of commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary armies, which was tendered to himself. He had been a captain in the detachment under Washington at Little Meadows in 1754. He was also a companion of Washington in the fatal campaign under General Braddock, in 1755; he commanded the detachment of Virginians which, in 1758, rescued Major Grant's regiment of Highlanders from complete annihilation, when the latter was so signally defeated on the heights above Fort Duquesne.—See Hall's *Sketches of the West*, vol. i., p. 204.

June. From this point it was resolved to invade the Indian country upon the head waters of the Muskingum River, and to destroy the Wappatomica towns situated on the river, about sixteen miles below the junction of the Tuscarawa and Walhonding, within the present State of Ohio. The little army thus collected descended the Ohio to the mouth of Captina Creek, and thence proceeded by the most direct route westwardly to the Indian towns. The march was irregular, and discipline was but feebly enforced. A few days brought them near the object of the expedition. Within six miles of the Indian town, while the army were carelessly advancing, they were assailed by about fifty Indian warriors in ambuscade, and thrown into some confusion. A skirmish ensued, and the Indians fled, with the loss of one warrior killed, besides several wounded. The whites, having lost two men killed and eight wounded, pressed forward to the towns, and found them deserted. But the Indians had only retired across the river and laid an ambuscade for their invaders. By a fortunate accident, this was discovered by the whites, who thus escaped a disastrous defeat. Light skirmishes with detached parties comprised the subsequent offensive operations of this expedition. The Indians from these towns at length having sued for peace, the commander of the expedition granted their request, upon the surrender of five chiefs as hostages. Of these, two escaped soon afterward.

The commander, finding he would be short of provisions, burned the Indian towns, destroyed the fields of growing corn, and returned with the utmost dispatch to Wheeling.*

Such was the result of this half-organized expedition, and such had been its effects upon the Indians on the Muskingum, that hostile parties infested the march of the retreating army, causing every kind of annoyance, and inflicting the most cruel barbarities upon such persons as fell into their hands. The pursuit by marauding parties of the Indians continued to the very banks of the Ohio. Thus ended the first military movement of this iniquitous war, serving to exasperate rather than to subdue the Indians.

During the summer, the operations of the western emigrants in exploring the country, making improvements and locations of land on the east and south side of the Ohio, were completely

* Doddridge's Notes, p. 241, 242, 243. Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, p. 57.

checked by the outbreak of Indian hostilities. Those who had advanced into the wilderness near the Ohio, and into the region on the Kentucky River, had retired into the more secure situations, or had taken an active part in the military operations in progress. Among the latter were many of the first settlers of Kentucky, who were engaged as scouts and rangers upon the exposed settlements on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, or had connected themselves with the army preparing on the Greenbrier under General Lewis. Among the brave frontier men engaged in the defense of the settlements were Major George Rogers Clark, Robert Patterson, and Simon Kenton, who afterward became distinguished soldiers of Kentucky. Besides these, were many others equally meritorious, who were then just entering upon their career of usefulness and military service in Kentucky.

Daniel Boone, the fearless woodsman and pioneer of Kentucky, had been engaged in June to advance, accompanied by Michael Stoner, his sole companion, from the banks of the Clinch River, through a trackless wilderness, a distance of four hundred miles, to "the falls" of Ohio, to conduct a party of surveyors and explorers into the older settlements of Virginia. This service he had performed at the request of Lord Dunmore, making the whole trip of eight hundred miles in sixty-two days, without any accident or loss. After performing this duty, and after conducting the surveyors and others safely to the settlements, he joined the southern division of the army under General Lewis, and marched to the mouth of the Kenhawa.*

In the mean time, General Lewis, having collected at Camp Union three regiments† of volunteers and militia from the counties of Augusta, Botetourt, and Fincastle, set out on the 11th day of September upon his march for the designated point of rendezvous. Colonel Williamson, with another regiment, was to follow a few days afterward.

2. The route of General Lewis lay through a trackless wilderness down the Valley of the Kenhawa. The route being impassable for wagons, the whole camp equipage, military stores, provisions, and even the sick, were conveyed upon the backs of pack-horses. For twenty-five days the march slowly advanced through a rugged country, where a pathway had never

* See Butler's Kentucky, p. 28. Also, Flint's Life of Boone, p. 82.

† American Pioneer, vol. i., p. 382.

been opened. At the head of a pioneer party, Captain Arbuckle, the only white man who had ever traversed these wild and romantic regions, advanced as their guide through this dreary wilderness. The route led over rugged mountains, through deep defiles and mountain gorges, until they reached the Valley of the Lower Kenhawa. At length the tedious march of one hundred and sixty miles was completed, and the army encamped on the banks of the Ohio on the 6th of October.* The point selected for the camp was the peninsula above the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, upon the site of the present town of Point Pleasant.

The march had been a laborious one, and the privations of the gallant army had been extreme. During the whole route, such had been the scarcity of provisions, that select hunters had been kept out on daily service, in order to add the flesh of the elk, the bear, and the deer to their scanty allowance. At the mouth of the Kenhawa they had expected to receive a plentiful supply from Fort Pitt, with the "northern division" under Lord Dunmore. But here they were doomed to disappointment and new dangers in a region infested with hostile savages. Lord Dunmore had not arrived with his division, nor had supplies been forwarded by him.

In obedience to his orders, General Lewis remained in camp; but, having no intelligence from his lordship, he dispatched messengers up the Ohio in search of his encampment, or of such information as could be obtained. Select parties of hunters were kept constantly on duty to supply food for the troops, who were already suffering from short allowance.

At length, on the 9th of October, three messengers from the commander-in-chief arrived in camp. From them General Lewis ascertained that his lordship had duly arrived at Wheeling, where he had concluded to change his plan of operations. He had now determined to descend the Ohio in boats and barges to the mouth of Hocking River, and there erect a stockade fort for the protection of the sick, the military stores, and boats, under a suitable guard. To this point General Lewis was ordered to march, while his lordship, with the northern division, would ascend the Hocking River to "the falls," and

* American Pioneer, p. 381. Doddridge says it was the 10th of October instead of the 6th. For an account of General Lewis's expedition from "Camp Union," see Hall's Sketches, vol. i., p. 199.

thence, marching across the dividing ridges to the Scioto Valley, would advance to the Shawanese towns on that river. General Lewis was ordered to join the main army with his division, near the lower Shawanese towns on the Scioto.

The force commanded by General Lewis was about twelve hundred men of every kind, including two companies of Colonel Christian's regiment, which had joined the main body at "the Point." Colonel Christian, with about three hundred men, had encamped about half a day's march in the rear.

Next morning, about daylight, two privates, who had been out hunting before day, fell in with a large body of hostile Indians, who were about two miles above the camp, and marching directly for it. One of these men was killed by the fire from the Indians, the other escaped to the camp.* The alarm was instantly given, and the troops were put in motion. This timely notice saved the army from a disastrous defeat. A few moments afterward, two other scouts or hunters came flying to camp, and confirmed the statement of the first, declaring that they had "seen a body of Indians covering five acres of ground, as closely as they could stand." The truth of this statement could not long remain in doubt, for the Indians were pressing forward to the attack.

The only salvation for the whole army depended upon the firmness of the commander and the courage of his troops. General Lewis was equal to the occasion, and his troops were a full match for the Indians themselves. Two detachments, under Colonels Flemming and Charles Lewis, were immediately ordered forward to meet the enemy and break the force of his assault upon the camp. These detachments had not proceeded more than four hundred yards, when they encountered the enemy advancing upon them in two parallel lines near the bank of the Ohio. The engagement was immediately opened by a tremendous fire from the savages, and the detachments, being closely pressed, began to fall back. At this critical moment, Colonel Fields brought his regiment into action in gallant style, and checked the advance of the Indian line.

General Lewis had been prompt in his arrangements for de-

* These two men belonged to Captain Russel's company, and to Colonel Christian's regiment. The other two belonged to Captain Evan Shelby's company, also of Colonel Christian's regiment, the only two companies of his regiment engaged in the battle. The latter two privates were James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, subsequently distinguished in the settlement of Tennessee.

fense, and the whole army was soon formed, ready for action. The first and second lines were promptly supported by the main line, and the action soon became general and furious.

In the first onset, the sun had just risen above the horizon, when the terrific yells of the savages and their destructive fire indicated the deadly nature of the contest before them. Colonels Flemming and Lewis valiantly encouraged their men to maintain the contest, while the incessant fire of the Indians was spreading death through their ranks at every moment. The main line advanced, and the Indians in turn began to recoil and to fall back. But Colonels Flemming and Lewis had been mortally wounded in the first assault, although they refused to leave the field until the main line came to their relief.

The Indians, extending their line entirely across the peninsula, from the Ohio to the Kenhawa, took position behind a rude breast-work of trees, old logs, and bushes, previously formed, and continued the deadly strife with unwavering courage.

In this condition, the gallant Virginians, cut off from retreat on every side, and pressed by a powerful enemy in front, maintained their position until evening. The battle had raged with unprecedented fury and obstinacy, each line alternately receding or advancing as the fate of war seemed to balance between the two armies, until evening was far advanced, and the sun was just above the western horizon. Ten hours had the rifle been doing its murderous work in the hands of the unerring savage, and the no less skillful marksmen of Western Virginia. The whole plain was strewed with the dead and wounded enemies, strangely commingled where they had fallen, as each line advanced and had been alternately driven back. The forest-trees which covered the field of carnage presented on every side numerous signs of the leaden messengers of death, which had passed like a hailstorm between the contending armies. Thus had the battle raged with equal success, until the sun began to decline behind the western hills, when General Lewis ordered three companies* to advance up the Kenhawa River, under the shelter of the bank and undergrowth, until they had gained the rear of the In-

* These were the companies of Captains Isaac Shelby, George Mathews, and John Stewart. At the beginning of the battle, Isaac Shelby was lieutenant in his father's company; but his father having taken command on the death of his colonel, early in the engagement, Isaac advanced to the command of his company.—*American Pioneer*, vol. i., p. 381-383.

dian line. From that point they were to pour an incessant fire upon the enemy's rear, while their fire would be a signal for renewed efforts by their fellow-soldiers in the main line. This order having been executed with great promptness and ardor, the savages, panic-stricken at the terrible fire in their rear, and believing that they were now attacked by the whole of Colonel Christian's re-enforcement, fled with great precipitation across the Ohio, and retreated to their towns sixty miles up the Scioto.

The battle of the Kenhawa, or of "the Point," as it is sometimes designated, has by general consent been admitted to have been one of the most sanguinary and well-contested battles which have marked the annals of Indian warfare in the West. On the part of the Virginians, twelve commissioned officers were killed or wounded, seventy-five non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, and one hundred and forty-one were wounded.*

The greater portion of Colonel Christian's regiment did not reach the field of battle until near midnight, when their presence gave security to the repose of the wearied and almost exhausted troops who had borne the heat and burden of battle, and who could then retire to rest, leaving their wounded and dying companions in the charge of their friends.

It has never been ascertained what was the force of the Indians engaged in this battle, or what was their entire loss. The field of battle next day presented twenty-one Indian bodies left upon the ground, besides twelve others severely wounded, who had concealed themselves among the brush and logs. Many had been thrown into the river during the engagement, and it is highly probable that the entire Indian loss was but little inferior to that of the whites.

This Indian force was composed of the flower of the tribes inhabiting the present State of Ohio, commanded by the most distinguished chiefs among the western tribes. Among them

* Colonel Charles Lewis, one of the bravest and most meritorious officers, who commanded one of the advanced detachments, was mortally wounded early in the engagement, but he continued to cheer on his men to victory until he was removed from the field. Colonel Flemming fell severely wounded early in the engagement, but continued to encourage his men until he also was carried off the field. Colonel Fields, a valuable officer, was killed on the field of battle. Captains Buford, Murray, Ward, Wilson, and McLannahan were also killed; also Lieutenants Allen, Goldsby, Dillon, and several other subaltern officers.—See Doddridge, p. 231. Also, *Thatcher's Lives of the Indians*, vol. ii., p. 169, 170.

was "Cornstalk," the great Shawanese war-chief, who was commander-in-chief, aided by his son Ellinipsico, Red Hawk, a Delaware, Chiyawee, a Wyandot, and Logan, a Cayuga chief.* Cornstalk had opposed the war, and had advocated a truce on the eve of battle. Being overruled by his associates in command, he sternly declared, "*Since you will fight, you shall fight,*" and he conducted the engagement with great skill and courage. During the rage of battle, his voice was frequently heard above the din of war and amid the carnage, cheering on his warriors with the stern command, in his native tongue, "*Be strong! be strong!*" When an Indian faltered in his duty, Cornstalk instantly cut him down, as a warning to others.

A few days were required for the troops to recruit their exhausted frames, and restore the sick and wounded, before the division could be placed in a marching condition.

In the mean time, Lord Dunmore, with nearly twelve hundred men, had descended the Ohio from Fort Pitt, in one hundred canoes and several large boats, to the mouth of the Hocking River, where he had erected "Fort Gore," a stockade for the protection of his military stores and the invalids, which were left in charge of a detachment of provincial troops. From this point he ascended the Hocking to the falls, near the present town of Athens. From that place he directed his march across the country westward to the Scioto, where he encamped within a few miles of the Shawanese towns. Here, upon the eastern side of the Scioto, in the margin of the Piqua plains, near Sippoo Creek, he established his camp, which was regularly environed by a deep ditch encircling twelve acres of ground. Within was a regular stockade inclosure, in the center of which was the citadel, or headquarters, comprising about one acre, and occupied by the commander-in-chief and his superior officers. The position, thus fortified, was called "Camp Charlotte," in honor of the British queen.†

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 61.

† Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 115. There has been some difference of opinion as to the locality of Camp Charlotte; but recent examinations and inquiries by the "Logan Historical Society" of Chillicothe have resulted in the conviction that the site is comprised in a tract of land formerly belonging to Mr. Winship, upon Sippoo Creek, five miles east of Westfall, in Ross county, Ohio.

Mr. Caleb Atwater says, the camp was within three miles of a principal Shawanese town; other towns were within one day's march. The site of the present town of Frankfort, formerly "Old Town," or old Chillicothe, on the north fork of Paint Creek, was an important Shawanese town during the first emigration to the northwest side of

From this place, as headquarters, the Earl sent out his detachments against different towns on the waters of the Scioto, several of which were destroyed and burned. Among the incursions made by these detachments was one under Major William Crawford, with three hundred men, for the destruction of a Mingo town,* which was attacked with great energy, and utterly destroyed.

Such had been the sanguinary character of the battle of the Kenhawa, with only one division of the provincial army, which was concentrating upon the waters of the Scioto, that the Indians declined to continue the contest with the united forces. Hence, after the bloody "battle of the Point," the chiefs lost no time in making overtures of peace to the commander-in-chief, before the arrival of the vindictive troops under General Lewis. At length, after repeated overtures, and after the destruction of several of their towns, Lord Dunmore consented to order an armistice, preparatory to a general treaty of peace. In the mean time, every precaution was taken to avoid surprise and the danger of Indian treachery. But the southern division little thought of peace until they had again faced the enemy in the field.

Yet, having given the Indians an assurance of peace, his lordship dispatched a messenger to General Lewis, who was advancing with his division, with instructions to halt and encamp until further orders, and to observe the armistice which had been proclaimed. Smarting under their recent loss, and burning with revenge for an opportunity to inflict severe chastisement upon their enemies, the troops of General Lewis's division received the order with surprise and indignation. Gen-

the Ohio, between the years 1786 and 1790. This town was probably the principal Shawanese town, which was nearest Camp Charlotte. Mr. Felix Renick, one of the early settlers and pioneers in Ohio, concurs with the text. He locates Lord Dunmore's camp on Sippoo Creek, on the east side of the Scioto, about five miles south of Circleville and five miles east of Westfall. Mr. Renick informs us that he was upon the site of Lord Dunmore's camp, as well as that of General Lewis, in the year 1801, before the country was settled by white men. He says he has received the oral testimony of several persons who were in the campaign under Lord Dunmore, and they confirm this location. The same pioneer locates General Lewis's camp upon Congo Creek, a branch of Sippoo, two and a half miles distant from Camp Charlotte.—See *American Pioneer*, vol. i., p. 329-332; also, vol. ii., p. 37-42. The earth-works of a similar camp may be seen one mile above Chillicothe, on the Scioto.

* Butler's *History of Kentucky*, Introduction, p. 63. The term "Mingo" and "Mingoes" was the common phrase in the West to designate any or all of the tribes constituting the confederacy of the "Six Nations." A "Mingo chief" was a chief of some one of the Six Nations, not a confederate.

eral Lewis refused to obey, and prepared to continue his march. A second order was sent by a second messenger, who was directed to reiterate the same peremptorily. The order was again disregarded by the indignant general, who continued his march toward Camp Charlotte. Finally, Lord Dunmore in person, as commander-in-chief, hastened to meet the advancing troops, and personally, in presence of his staff, gave General Lewis a peremptory order to halt and encamp. The order was then reluctantly obeyed.

At length matters were arranged, and the council was held in the center of the camp, or in the "citadel" of headquarters, into which only eighteen unarmed chiefs and warriors were admitted at any one time.* The council having been convened, the deliberations were opened by Cornstalk in a short and energetic speech, delivered with great dignity, and in a tone so loud as to be heard over the whole camp, as if designed for the whole army. "He recited the former power of the Indians, the number of their tribes, compared with their present wretched condition, and their diminished numbers; he referred to the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the cessions of territory then made by them to the whites; to the lawless encroachments of the whites upon their lands, contrary to all treaty stipulations; to the patient forbearance of the Indians for years under wrongs exercised toward them by the frontier people. He said the Indians knew their weakness in a contest with the whites, and they *desired only justice*; that the war was *not sought by the Indians*, but was *forced upon them*; for it was commenced by the whites without previous notice; that, under the circumstances, they would have merited the contempt of the whites for cowardice if they had failed to retaliate the unprovoked and treacherous murders at Captina and Yellow Creeks; that the war was the work of the whites, for the Indians desired peace."

The terms of peace were soon arranged, and their prisoners were surrendered into the hands of the provincial army. But

* Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 114. This is one of the early histories of Ohio, by Caleb Atwater. It contains some sketches of the early history of this state, loosely written and irregularly arranged. It embraces portions of the natural as well as the political history of Ohio; but it has been compiled with so little attention to accuracy, that it can not be depended upon unless it is corroborated by other authentic history. Although such is its general character, it is useful as a work of reference relative to matters which admit of but little discrepancy.

Logan, the Cayuga chief, still indignant at the murder of his family, refused to attend the council, or to be seen as a suppliant among the other chiefs.

Yet to General Gibson,* who was sent as an envoy to the Shawanese towns, after a private interview, and "after shedding abundance of tears," he delivered the following speech, which was committed to paper for Lord Dunmore, viz.: "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him nothing to eat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed at me as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the *friend of white men.*' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Captain Cresap the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, *sparing not even my women and children.* There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"†.

This speech, which is so well known as a specimen of native eloquence, is the condensed version given by Mr. Jefferson in

* General Gibson subsequently took an active part in the Indian war on the western frontier, from the Declaration of Independence to the close of the war in 1784. In an affidavit, made at Pittsburgh on the 4th of April, 1800, he states that the Indians sent a white man, by the name of Elliott (probably the same who was subsequently British Indian agent on the Maumee), to meet Lord Dunmore with a flag of truce when within fifteen miles of the Shawanese towns. Subsequently, General Gibson, being sent as an envoy to the Indian towns, saw the great Cornstalk and Logan in a conference. At length Logan took him aside to a copse of woods at a short distance, and there, "after shedding abundance of tears," while sitting upon a log, he delivered the speech, which is so well known, to be handed to Lord Dunmore.—See *American Pioneer*, vol. i., p. 18, 19.

† See Doddridge's Notes. In the speech of Logan we have substituted the word "captain" for colonel, as there were two persons of the same name, the father and the son. Colonel Cresap, the father, was not in any wise implicated in the Captina or Yellow Creek murders. Captain Michael Cresap, commandant of Fort Fincastle, first instigated the tragedy at Captina; but he was not with the party at Baker's Bottom, by whom Logan's family was killed. Greathouse and Baker were alone chargeable for this murder.—See *American Pioneer*, vol. i., p. 14-18; also, p. 64, &c. The "last long and bloody war" alluded to was Pontiac's war in 1763-4, after the close of the French war.

his "Notes on Virginia," published first in 1784. Other versions give a more extended copy, with some additional sentiments, which were doubtless contained in the speech delivered by Logan to General Gibson.

The principal stipulations on the part of the Indians in the treaty of Camp Charlotte were, besides those of peace and amity generally, that they should surrender into the hands of the whites, within a specified time, all the prisoners held by them in captivity; that they should abstain from all hostilities against the frontier settlements east and southeast of the Ohio River; that they should recognize the Ohio River as the proper boundary between the white population and the Indian hunting-grounds; and that the Indians should not hunt on the east and southeast side of the Ohio.

After the negotiations of the treaty had been concluded, and the prisoners had been duly surrendered, presents were distributed among the Indians who were assembled at the treaty, and they were dismissed with the smiles of the royal governor. Soon afterward the troops were put in motion for the post of Fort Pitt, previous to their return to their respective homes. They were soon afterward disbanded, and Lord Dunmore returned to Williamsburg, the seat of the provincial government.

[A.D. 1775.] On the 23d of January following, he issued his proclamation announcing the ratification of the treaty of peace with the Western Indians. He gave public notice that the Indians had agreed to withdraw their hunting-parties from the lands east of the Ohio River, and that they would offer no molestation to any white person peaceably ascending or descending the Ohio. All emigrants were forewarned against trespassing upon the Indian lands *on the west side of the river*.

Thus was the Ohio River, for the first time, *acknowledged by the Indians* as the boundary between the white man's territory and the Indian hunting-grounds.

The transactions of the late campaign appear to have laid the foundation for all the bitter feelings and outbreak of popular indignation which subsequently caused Lord Dunmore to abandon the country, and seek protection on board his majesty's fleet.

Whether any just grounds existed for the suspicion or not, it was believed by many, and probably by General Lewis and

his Virginia troops, that, while the governor was at Wheeling, about the first of October, he received from the royal government dispatches instructing him to terminate the war speedily with the hostile tribes, and to make such terms with them as *might secure their alliance in favor of England* against the colonies, in case the growing difficulties with them should terminate in a state of open war. General Washington and Chief-justice Marshall, it is affirmed, never ceased to believe that such were his orders, and that his conduct was dictated by a desire to secure the alliance of the savages against the colonies, whenever hostilities between them and the mother country should take place.*

Notwithstanding the difficulties between the mother country and the colonies were daily increasing, yet the spirit of western emigration, which had received a temporary check from the late Indian war, revived, and continued to lead hundreds of families from each of the Middle and Southern States into the regions drained by the tributaries of the Ohio. Although emigrants were crowding into the country now comprised in western portions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, yet this region did not limit the explorations for new settlements. Several hundred miles lower down the Ohio, in the vicinity of the falls, many surveyors and explorers had penetrated the fertile plains on the Kentucky River previous to the late Indian war. During Indian hostilities they had been compelled to abandon these remote regions, and to retire into the settled portions of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. Now, since peace was restored, the former explorers and surveyors returned, and with them new adventurers, to seek homes and settlements to which they might subsequently remove their families. A small cabin, and an acre of ground in cultivation, gave each a preference right, which he might leave and resume at pleasure. This was the extent of improvement required by the provisions of the act of the Virginia Legislature, and gave to each settler a settlement right to four hundred acres of land, including his improvement. By this species of inchoate title, as well as by large grants from the royal governors, and by military land-warrants of different dates, was a large portion of Central Kentucky covered before the close of the year 1775. Most of the settlement rights, grants, and warrants located during this year were laid upon

* See Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 118.

the elevated rolling plains which extend from east to west between the main branches of Licking and Salt Rivers, but especially within fifty miles of the Kentucky River, for nearly two hundred miles above its mouth. Yet there had been no families introduced into Kentucky; all were pioneers and explorers, preparing the way for the advance of subsequent emigration and settlements. Among the locations were many large grants from the royal governor, Lord Dunmore.

Among the prominent pioneers and explorers of Kentucky, during the year 1775, was Colonel John Floyd, a surveyor from Eastern Virginia. He had made a visit of exploration to Kentucky during the previous year, when the irruption of Indian hostilities had driven in the remote settlers. He now returned to the West, to pursue his vocation as a surveyor, in locating claims and land-warrants, and to select for himself a permanent home for future residence. For himself he made a location within six miles of "the falls" of the Ohio, and established his "camp" on Bear-grass Creek, at a place subsequently known as "Floyd's Station."

Among the hundreds of settlers who were now pressing forward into Kentucky, none, more than Colonel Floyd, were endowed with that courage and perseverance so indispensable to a frontier life; and he soon proved himself a useful and valuable member of the new and growing settlements in this quarter. Such was the state of emigration and settlement in this portion of Western Virginia.

In the southern portion of Virginia and in the adjacent province of North Carolina the tide of western emigration was equally strong. People from the older settlements were pressing forward in great numbers upon the numerous branches of the Clinch, on the *southeast side* of the Cumberland Mountains. The pioneers in this region were anxious to *advance beyond* the Cumberland Mountains into the unexplored regions which had been discovered upon the waters of the Cumberland River and upon the tributaries of the Kentucky River. This region as yet had been but little explored by emigrants and pioneers. It was nearly fifty miles south of the principal locations made on the Kentucky River, and within the limits of the Cherokee hunting-grounds. It had never been relinquished to the whites, and the Indians were jealous of any advances made by them west of the Cumberland Mountains. Those who ventured upon

the forbidden territory found death the forfeiture of their temerity. To gain a footing in this region, the permission of the Cherokees must be obtained. The attempt of Daniel Boone to introduce a colony without their consent had been signally rebuked two years before.

In view of this prerequisite, associations of influential men and capitalists were formed in Virginia and North Carolina, for the purpose of obtaining the Indian title to these lands by treaty and purchase. Early in the spring of 1774, Patrick Henry, with the Hon. William Byrd, John Page, Esq., and Colonel William Christian, had contemplated the purchase of the lands south of the Kentucky River from the Cherokees. But Indian hostilities on the Ohio, and political difficulties with the royal government, added to the uncertainty of the royal confirmation to any title obtained by individuals treating with the Indian tribes, prevented the consummation of their designs.*

A project of the same character was undertaken soon afterward by Colonel Richard Henderson and other influential men of Hillsborough, in North Carolina. Their plans were also deferred until the close of Lord Dunmore's Indian war.

Yet Daniel Boone had not been discouraged by the failure of his attempt to introduce a colony upon the south side of the Kentucky River in the fall of 1773. He still resolved to take possession of the beautiful regions west of Cumberland Gap, but not without the consent of the Cherokees.† In his first attempt he had lost his son and several of his neighbors by his rash advance into the Indian territory, and he was unwilling to incur the same danger again. Measures were taken, accordingly, to conciliate the favor and consent of the Cherokees‡ previous to a second advance.

Soon after the close of the late Indian war upon the Ohio, Daniel Boone had urged upon Colonel Richard Henderson, of North Carolina, and others, who were anxious to settle a colony south of the Kentucky River, the propriety of obtaining the consent of the Cherokees by formal purchase: hence Colonel

* Hall's Sketches of the West, vol. i., p. 249.

† The country on the north, as well as on the south side of the Cumberland River, had been the residence and the hunting-grounds of the Chouanoes, or Shawanese; and the Cumberland River had been known to the French as the River of the Chouanoes, or Shawanese, for many years after the Shawanese were expelled by the Cherokees, which was between the years 1715 and 1718. It had now been in the possession of the Cherokees for fifty-five years.

‡ Butler's History of Kentucky, Introduction, p. 66. Also, the Life of Daniel Boone, by Timothy Flint, p. 82, 83.

Henderson, and several other men of capital and enterprise, formed themselves into a company* for the purchase and settlement of the country west of Cumberland Gap. Soon afterward, Colonel Henderson and Colonel Nathaniel Hart, in company with the hunter and woodsman, Daniel Boone, proceeded to the Cherokee towns, and proposed a general council to be held in the spring, for the purpose of purchasing the Indian title to the lands lying between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers. Arrangements were accordingly made for convening a general council in the following spring of 1775.

Subsequently, on the 17th of March, a treaty was concluded and signed by Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and J. Luttrell, agents for the company, on the one part, and by certain chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation on the other part, at the "Sycamore Shoals" of the Watauga River, within the present limits of Carter county, in East Tennessee. Twelve hundred Indians are said to have been assembled on the treaty ground.

By this treaty the Indians agreed to cede and relinquish to Richard Henderson and his associates all the lands lying between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers, from their sources to their mouths respectively. In consideration of this cession, it is alleged that ten thousand pounds sterling in goods had been duly paid before the signing of the treaty.†

But the treaty having been made and entered into by private individuals, without any authority from the States of Virginia or North Carolina, was in itself null and void, so far as it claimed to vest the title of lands in those individuals; for at that early date the colonial government claimed the sole power to treat with the Indian tribes, and to purchase their lands, as one of the prerogatives of sovereignty.

Yet the company, regardless of consequences, proceeded to take possession of their unlawful purchase. The new colony was to be known and designated as "Transylvania in America." No efforts or means were spared to induce emigrants to make permanent settlements. The spirit of emigration from North Carolina and Virginia was active, and pioneers were anxious to lead the way in locating a colony.

* This land company consisted of the following persons, viz.: Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, James Hogg, Nathaniel Hart, David Hart, Leonard H. Bullock, John Luttrell, and William Johnston.

† Butler's Kentucky, p. 67, 68. See, also, Hall's Sketches, vol. i., p. 250, 251.

Daniel Boone, with a party of about twenty hunters and woodsmen, was sent in advance, to open and blaze a road from Holston River, through the southern wilderness, to the Kentucky River, north of the present town of Richmond, in Madison county, Kentucky. They had proceeded on the route with their labor until within fifteen miles of the termination, when they were attacked by a party of Indians, who killed two of their number and wounded two others. On the 23d of March they were again attacked by another party of Indians, who killed two more of their number and wounded three others. A few days afterward, Boone and the remainder of his party, in all sixteen men, arrived on the bank of the Kentucky River, and prepared immediately to erect a "station," or *fortified village*. This work was commenced on the first day of April, and progressed steadily until the first of June, when it was urged to completion, under the immediate superintendence of Colonel Henderson.

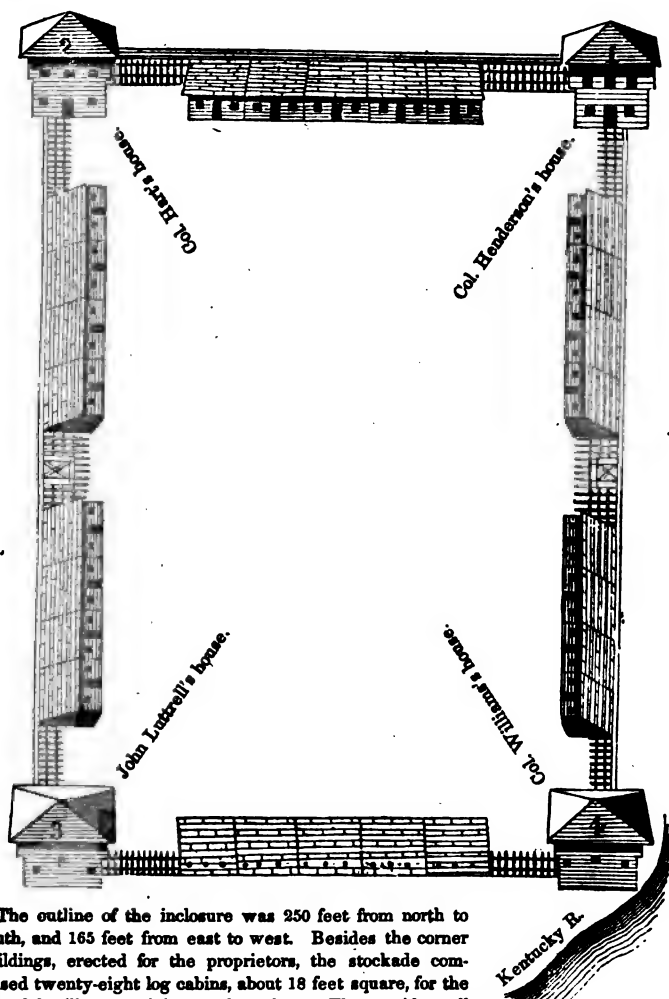
In the mean time, Colonel Henderson, by the way of Powell's Valley, had arrived with forty armed men and forty pack-horses, besides many adventurers who sought the protection of such a numerous caravan to the west. This colony, having left Powell's Valley in April, had arrived upon the banks of the Kentucky River early in May.

Shortly afterward, Boone, leaving the fort in charge of Colonel Henderson and his companions, set out upon his return to the Holston settlements for his family, and such emigrants as were inclined to accompany him to the new settlement. In the autumn he conducted his family, with a few others, through the wilderness to the banks of the Kentucky River. They took up their residence in the "station," which had now been called "Boonesborough," a name which the place retains to this day. Daniel Boone's wife and two daughters may be considered the first white women who made their residence in Kentucky.

Soon afterward, Colonel Calloway and his family, with a few other emigrants, arrived at Boonesborough, and the population increased from day to day by the arrival of other pioneer settlers and adventurers, who made their residence at or near this station.* Such was the beginning of the first settlement in Kentucky, on the site of the present town of Boonesborough.

* See Life of Boone, p. 83. This is a small duodecimo volume of 250 pages, com-

The following sketch of the fortified station of Boonesborough will give the reader an idea of the general character of "stations" for the protection of the surrounding settlements during Indian hostilities. It is taken from Judge Hall's "Sketches of the West."



The outline of the inclosure was 250 feet from north to south, and 165 feet from east to west. Besides the corner buildings, erected for the proprietors, the stockade comprised twenty-eight log cabins, about 18 feet square, for the use of families pertaining to the colony. The outside wall of each was built up close, and was made bullet-proof, without doors or windows, and raised 12 feet in height, from which the roof, with a single slope, declined to the inner wall, 8 feet high: the doors and window-openings were wholly within the stockade: the fronts of the cabins all faced the central area, or common yard. Two secure gateways, on opposite sides, guarded the entrance.

The lawless character of the "Treaty of the Watauga," and the purchase of Transylvania, did not escape the watchful eye of Governor Dunmore. No sooner had he been apprised of the facts, than he issued his proclamation against the purchase of "Richard Henderson, and other disorderly persons," in which he declared the purchase null and void, vesting in them no right of title whatever, the title and sovereignty of the same remaining exclusively in the government of Virginia, as a portion of her territory. This gave rise to much difficulty between the proprietors and those who held their land-titles.

Yet emigrants from North Carolina had continued to visit the new settlements of Transylvania, and made almost daily accessions to the resident population. The Shawanese, although expelled from the occupancy of the country north of Cumberland, still retained a claim to the lands as a hunting-ground, common to them and the Cherokees, and they had, at the treaty of Camp Charlotte, reluctantly yielded their consent to the white man's advance. Hence straggling parties of Shawanese, as well as a few Cherokees who infested these regions, took every opportunity to harass the advance of the settlers. The route by which the emigrants from North Carolina advanced was exposed to depredations and murders, which these tribes could occasionally commit with impunity. And as the Indians continued to evince a hostile disposition toward the settlement, it was deemed advisable to take all precautions for its protection against any combined attack which might be contemplated by the savages. Hence, about the first of May, another fortified station, or "Fort," had been commenced near the present site of Stanford, in Lincoln county, under the control and command of Colonel Benjamin Logan. This fort for many years constituted an important defense for the population in this part of the country, and it was afterward known as "Logan's Fort," a name given in honor of its founder.* This was the second settlement and station in Kentucky.

In the mean time, regardless of the governor's proclamation, the company claimed the right of title to the soil, and lands were sold or leased by the proprietors on terms that might be termed liberal to emigrants, reserving to themselves one half piled by Timothy Flint, and published in Cincinnati. It is an excellent picture of frontier life and the perils of savage warfare, and, with the exception of some exaggerations and fancy sketches of border incident, is authentic history.

* Butler's Hist. of Kentucky, p. 30.

of all the gold and silver, the lead, copper, and sulphur mines which might subsequently be discovered.* With this reservation, and the additional payment of a small nominal rent, deeds were drawn up and executed with great formality, and full of the old English law-verbage. The company also opened accounts with the purchasers and settlers, and furnished them, on reasonable terms and at fair prices, with ammunition and such other articles as were requisite for the general defense. Toward the liquidation of these accounts, each settler was allowed a credit of fifty cents per day for all military service, for serving as rangers or scouts, for opening roads, and for public hunting. Powder was charged at two dollars and sixty cents per pound, and lead at sixteen and two third cents per pound; prices certainly not unreasonable in that remote region.†

A land-office was established for the regular entry of all sales made under the authority of the company; surveyors, clerks, and chain carriers, all duly sworn, were appointed by the "agent of the company." The manner of surveys was also established, to be governed, as a general rule, "by the four cardinal points, except where rivers or mountains so intervene as to render it too inconvenient."‡ An officer was appointed whose duty corresponded to that of secretary of state in the colonial government. The "agent" of the company was Colonel John Williams, of North Carolina.

As early as the 23d of May, a proprietary government had been organized at Boonesborough by the election of a house of delegates, consisting of eighteen persons, chosen from the four settlements on the south side of Kentucky River, including

* The settlements on the north and northeast side of Kentucky River, at this early period, were known as the "Crown lands," in contradistinction to the Transylvania purchase. Many transient adventurers having visited the West, in company with the colonies and armed caravans, spent their time, as interest or inclination directed, among the settlers on the company's lands, or among those on the crown lands.

† Butler's Kentucky, p. 30-32.

‡ See Hall's Sketches of the West, vol. ii., Appendix. This is a valuable collection of historical sketches of the Western settlements, incidents, and character of Western life, by Judge James Hall, of Indiana. Although it is presented to the public (edition of 1835) as "sketches," it is useful for the many valuable incidents of Western history, which the author has collected and arranged under appropriate heads. Some portions of it are written in a style interesting to the general reader, rather than an exact detail of connected historical facts. Although in some portions the author has not been very accurate as to unimportant facts in history, he has greatly contributed to aid the future historian. Those who desire to see a more full account of the transactions of the company proprietors of Transylvania during the existence of their government, will find valuable records of the same in the Appendix of 54 pages, in vol. ii. of Hall's Sketches.

Boonesborough and Harrodsburg.* After a session of nearly one week, they adjourned, having enacted a number of laws for the good government of the colony, independent of the jurisdiction of Virginia. Among the objects for which this convention was assembled was that of adopting a *written compact*, defining the powers and prerogatives of the proprietors, and the rights and privileges of the colonists. The proprietors made a formal exhibit of their title-deed to the soil from the Cherokee Indians, and desired it to be spread upon their journal as a public record.†

The proprietors then entered into a written compact for securing the rights of the colonists, beginning with the following preamble, viz.:

"Whereas it is highly necessary for the peace of the proprietors, and the security of the people of this colony, that the powers of the one, and the liberties of the other, be ascertained; We, Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and John Luttrell, in behalf of ourselves, as well as of the other proprietors of Transylvania, on the one part, and the representatives of the people of the colony on the other part, do most solemnly enter into the following agreement and compact, to wit," &c. The following are some of the conditions and provisions of this contract, or *constitution*, which was signed by the three proprietors above recited on the part of the company, and by Thomas Slaughter, chairman, on the part of the convention, viz.:

- "1. The election of delegates in the colony shall be annual.
- "2. Perfect religious freedom and general toleration.
- "3. The judges of the superior courts to be appointed by the proprietors, but to be *paid by the people*, and *to them an-*

* See Hall's Sketches, vol. I., p. 264, 265, 266. It might be interesting to the general reader to know the names of the prominent men of this first little republic in Kentucky, who composed the convention to define their rights and powers. They were as follows:
For Boonesborough: Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, William Cocke, Samuel Henderson, William Moore, and Richard Calloway.

For Harrodsburg: Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmon, and James Douglass.

For the Town of St. Asaph: John Todd, Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, John Floyd, and Samuel Wood.

For Boiling Spring Settlement: James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac Davis, and Azariah Davis.

Colonel Thomas Slaughter was unanimously chosen *chairman*, and Matthew Jewett *clerk*.

† For a condensed historical sketch of the legislative proceedings of the Transylvania Republic, see Hall's Sketches, vol. I., p. 264-276. Also, Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, p. 68.

swerable for mal-conduct: the judges of the inferior courts to be recommended by the people, and to be commissioned by the proprietors.

"4. The legislative authority, when the colony shall be more mature, to consist of *three* branches, to wit: 1st. A house of delegates, *elected by the people*; 2d. A council of freehold residents, not exceeding twelve in number; 3d. The proprietors.

"5. The convention shall have the sole power to raise and appropriate all public moneys, and of electing their own treasurer."

Thus commenced the first civilized government in Kentucky, and such were some of the fundamental principles of a Republican form of civil government, which planted in the remote West those germs of civil and religious liberty which had already taken deep root in the Atlantic provinces.

The second session of the convention convened on the first Thursday in September following, at Boonesborough. At this session the convention, after formally acknowledging the authority of the proprietors, Richard Henderson and company, proceeded to establish courts of justice and rules of proceeding in the same; they also enacted a militia law, an attachment law, a law for preserving the game, and for the appointment of civil and military officers.

In the mean time, at a meeting of the proprietors, held at Oxford, in the county of Granville, North Carolina, on the 25th day of September, 1775, certain resolutions were adopted for the good government of the colony. Among them was one appointing Colonel John Williams, a member of the company, general agent in behalf of the proprietors, and defining his duties and powers, and the manner of supplying his place with a successor. James Hogg, another member of the company, was appointed a delegate of the company to the continental Congress, with a memorial to that body setting forth their claims to the territory of Transylvania, and professing an ardent attachment to the cause for which they were contending, and claiming their protection as a portion of the great country represented by them.

Soon afterward, in the winter of 1775-6, a memorial, or petition, signed by nearly ninety men deeply interested in the affairs of Transylvania, was sent to the convention of Virginia,

remonstrating against the authority of the Company, and praying to be protected against the legal enforcement of their obligations, given for lands to which no valid titles could be given.

The emigrants to the Transylvania colony had continued to increase its numbers from the time that the town of Boonesborough was completed. Before the first of November the entire occupants of all the settlements was estimated at three hundred persons, the majority of whom were efficient men for the defense of the inhabitants. The whole quantity of land in cultivation was two hundred and thirty acres, chiefly planted in corn. The amount of lands entered in the land-office by individuals amounted to five hundred and sixty thousand acres.* But many of the adventurers were already impatient to return to the quiet haunts of domestic life in the settlements east of the Cumberland Mountains.

Up to this period the southwestern angle of Virginia was a frontier region, with a few sparse habitations distributed on the northern branches of Holston River and upon the branches of Clinch River, comprising most of the present counties of Wythe, Smyth, Washington, Russell, Lee, and Scott. The contiguous portion of North Carolina, comprising the present counties of Washington, Sullivan, Carter, and Johnson, was also a frontier region, comprised in the "Western District" of North Carolina, extending indefinitely westward, even to the Mississippi. Powell's Valley was nearly three hundred miles from the older settlements east of the mountains, and about one hundred and forty miles distant from the extreme western settlements of Transylvania.

But the attempt to establish a proprietary government received no sanction from the province of Virginia, nor from the provincial Congress, nor subsequently from the Legislature of the State of Virginia, although the company's agents were indefatigable in their efforts to obtain the sanction of the two latter legislative bodies.† The majority of the people of Transylvania never had cordially approved and supported the proprietary government, and to a portion of them it was decidedly unacceptable from the first organization. The rapid spread of the Revolutionary opinions through the colonies

* See Butler's *Kentucky*, Introduction, p. 68, 69.

† See Butler's *Kentucky*, Introduction, p. 68, 69. Also, Hall's *Sketches*, vol. i., p. 276, 277.

greatly augmented the number of disaffected in Transylvania, until the proprietary government was virtually rejected. Colonel Henderson and his associates finding it impracticable to sustain themselves in the executive station which they had assumed, at length abandoned their pretensions, and sought pecuniary indemnity from Virginia, in consideration of having extinguished Indian title. This they finally obtained, after many years of delay.*

[A.D. 1776.] The jurisdiction of Virginia was formally extended over the whole colony of Transylvania during the following year, to the great satisfaction of the people. Such was the fate of the first attempt to establish a privileged class and a landed aristocracy in Kentucky.

In the mean time, pioneer settlers were crowding into the beautiful plains on the northeast and west side of the Kentucky River, between thirty and fifty miles north of Boonesborough. They were still exploring the country, and making locations and surveys, lodging in temporary camps, and without families or domestic encumbrances, and exposed to the incursions and depredations of the northwestern Indians.

The few females who had as yet ventured into these remote settlements, and the small number of permanent residences which had been erected, were on the south side of the Kentucky River, in the vicinity of Boonesborough, Logan's Fort, and "Harrod's Station." Near the latter place, a fort or fortified station was in progress of erection, preparatory to the introduction of the families next year. This fort was not completed until March following, when it formed the third regular

* Hall's Sketches, vol. i., p. 277-280. The company had been very active in their efforts to obtain an acknowledgment of their claims by the continental Congress, as well as by the Legislature of the State of Virginia. On the 25th of September, 1775, James Hogg, Esq., had been appointed a delegate to the Congress, with a memorial from the company; but his efforts were unsuccessful.

Although the proprietors had been liberal in their first sales of land to settlers, and had made generous donations to meritorious individuals, yet they soon afterward became more exorbitant in their demands for lands, surveying, and terms of tenure. The people became dissatisfied, and their fears were aroused at the uncertainty of the title under which the proprietors themselves held the lands. They at length refused to submit to obligations entered into with the agent of the company, in consideration of lands which belonged, in fact, to the state. Hence the people of the colony threw themselves upon the protection of the government of Virginia, by a memorial sent to the "Convention of the Colony of Virginia," with the signatures of eighty-six men of the colony. Among these were the names of James Harrod, William Harrod, Levi Harrod, William Wood, Thomas Wilson, John Hardin, John Helm, and others who have left large families to perpetuate their names.—See Hall's Sketches, vol. ii., p. 236-240; also, 249-254.

station in Kentucky, Boonesborough and Logan's Fort being the first and second.

During the winter, several murders and assaults had been committed by parties of Indians who had been lurking about the settlements; these, however, were only marauding parties of Shawanese, without the sanction of their chiefs. Yet there were indications of dissatisfaction among the northwestern tribes at the rapid advance of the whites into their choice hunting-grounds, where, from time immemorial, the bear, the deer, the elk, and the buffalo had their winter resort, in the luxuriant cane which covered its extensive plains and bottoms, and served both for food and a shelter from the blasts of winter. Should this fine region, the paradise of the Indian hunter, be given up to the whites without a struggle? The Indian thought not; and the British agents at Detroit, in the Illinois country, and in the Cherokee nation, were soon ready to aid them to harass, and, if possible, to break up these advanced settlements. The Indians began to find that the English agents and commandants of the northwestern posts were disposed to encourage them in their hostility against the frontier people. Of course, the stations, the roads, the frequented paths, and traces near the settlements, began to be infested with lurking bands of Indians, who never failed to attack individuals when it could be done with impunity. Hence the inhabitants were compelled to adopt measures of precaution to prevent frequent disasters from the wily savage.

As spring began to open, the tide of emigration began to move toward Kentucky. Many families from the Monongahela were now willing to venture into the country, under the protection of the three strongly-fortified stations which were now ready for their reception. Thus women and children began to swell the numbers of those who had already gone as pioneers to Kentucky. A few slaves, also, were introduced, with some personal property and domestic utensils. Among the first families introduced by way of the Ohio River, from the settlements on the Monongahela, was that of Colonel James Harrod. Ever active, and full of daring enterprise, having completed his station and a house for a private residence, he proceeded to the Monongahela for his family and a colony of settlers. Early in the summer, he returned by way of the Ohio to the Kentucky River, in a boat freighted with a number

of families besides his own, all destined for Harrod's Station. Among the families thus introduced were those of Denton, McGary, and Hogan, all valuable citizens for a frontier community. Other families followed in the course of the summer, increasing the number of females at Harrod's Station to something like thirty. This was the first introduction of females into this portion of the Kentucky settlements.

In the mean time, difficulties between the colonies and the British crown had ripened into bloodshed and open rebellion against the regal power. The colonies, through their delegates in general Congress convened, had declared themselves free and *independent states*; to maintain which declaration, a furious war was already raging along the Atlantic coast. Soon after the commencement of hostilities by the British forces on the Atlantic seaboard, the northwestern Indians, instigated by British agents and emissaries from Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia, had commenced a state of desultory warfare against the exposed settlements of Kentucky and Western Virginia. These settlements, including those of Pennsylvania, were now scattered sparsely over a frontier region not less than seven hundred miles in extent, from the Alleghany River to the falls of the Ohio. This extensive frontier was again to be exposed to the constant and terrible incursions of the Mingoes, and the warlike Shawanese residing upon the waters of the Scioto, Miami, and Wabash Rivers. Such was the condition of the northwestern frontier after the opening of the Revolutionary war. The exposed inhabitants were necessarily active in their preparations to protect themselves from the impending storm of savage vengeance which was lowering in the western horizon, induced through the instrumentality of British intrigue among the northwestern tribes.

The first indication of determined hostility on the part of the northwestern Indians in Kentucky occurred on the 7th of July. Again, on the 14th of July, a party of Indians, almost in sight of the station, captured the daughter of Daniel Boone, and two daughters of Colonel Calloway, who had strolled a few hundred yards from the stockade, upon the banks of the Kentucky River. Daniel Boone, with a party of eight men, pursued the savages, and, after two days of pursuit, succeeded in recapturing the girls and in killing two of the Indians.

After this occurrence the stations were placed in a more

secure state of defense, the women and children collected into the stockades, and measures taken for guarding against surprise from Indian incursions. The detached settlements were abandoned, and their occupants retired to stronger stations. Many who were able retired east of the mountains, or to situations less exposed on the Monongahela, where they imparted to others a portion of their enthusiasm for the glorious country of Kentucky.*

Among the prominent visitors of Kentucky this summer was Major George Rogers Clark, from Virginia, who had been appointed to superintend the defense of the Kentucky settlements. In this employment he spent the summer at Harrod's Station and Boonesborough alternately, organizing military companies for their common protection.

Major Clark was one of Nature's noblemen; with a mind of extraordinary compass, he possessed also a robust frame and an iron constitution. He had already seen much service in the Indian wars. He had served in the old French war under General Braddock; in Pontiac's war he was no idle spectator; and in Lord Dunmore's war he was an active field-officer from first to last. Such was the man whose military genius was to be the bulwark of the western frontier.

On the Carolina frontier a similar state of things existed. Early in the year 1776, the people of the "Western District," with indignation and noble firmness, rejected the proffered protection of the royal government, and chose to adhere to the cause of the colonies in sustaining the measures of the Continental Congress in support of their independence. This, in the eye of the royal authorities, placed them on the same footing with the people of the northwestern frontier, and beyond the pale of civilized warfare. Through the influence of Sir John Stewart, British superintendent of southern Indian affairs, a formidable invasion of these settlements by the Cherokees was devised for the *depopulation of the country*. But the Indians were ultimately defeated in the subsequent operations of Virginia and Carolina for the defense of the frontiers.†

* See Butler's Kentucky, p. 32, 33. Also, Flint's Life of Boone, p. 98.

† See Winterbotham's America, vol. ii., p. 28.

CHAPTER IV.

BRITISH OCCUPANCY OF FLORIDA AND THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.—
CLOSE OF THE BRITISH DOMINION IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.—
A.D. 1764 TO 1782.

Argument.—Extent of Florida and the Illinois Country under the British Dominion.—English Authority established in West Florida by Governor Johnston.—Major Loftus appointed Commandant of Illinois.—His Defeat above Tunica Bayou, and his Death.—Dissatisfaction of the French of West Florida.—Population in 1764.—Anglo-American Emigration to Florida encouraged.—Emigrants arrive from 1765 to 1770.—Great Increase of Emigrants in 1773 to 1776.—Settlements on east Side of the Mississippi.—British Military Posts in West Florida.—Monopoly of Trade by British Traders.—Emigration in 1775-6.—Agriculture encouraged.—British Tories in West Florida.—British Authority established in the *Illinois Country*, 1765.—St. Angé.—Captain Stirling.—French Population in 1765.—General Gage's Proclamation.—Major Frazer.—Colonel Reed.—Colonel Wilkins.—His Administration.—Grants of Land.—British Military Posts in the Northwest.—Detroit.—Kaskaskia.—Cahokia.—St. Vincent.—Prejudices of the Illinois French.—Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia the Sources of all the Indian Barbarities on the Western Frontier.—Reduction of these British Posts indispensable to the Security of the Virginia Frontier.—Plan of Colonel Clark's Expedition for their Reduction.—Colonel Clark leads his Expedition to Kaskaskia.—The Fort and Town taken by Surprise.—Stern Demeanor of the Commander toward the French.—Happy Results.—Cahokia surrenders to Captain Bowman.—Governor Rocheblave sent Prisoner to Virginia.—People of Vincennes declare for Virginia.—Indian Negotiations and Treaties on the Wabash.—Jurisdiction of Virginia extended over the Illinois Country.—"Illinois County."—Colonel Hamilton advances with a strong Force from Detroit.—Captain Helm capitulates.—Clark advances to recapture the Post.—Colonel Hamilton taken by Surprise.—Despairs of successful Defense, and capitulates.—Captain Helm captures a Detachment with Supplies from Detroit.—Colonel Hamilton sent Captive to Virginia.—Is placed in close Confinement in retaliation for his Inhumanity.—Colonel Clark contemplates the Capture of Detroit.—British Power expelled from the Illinois Country.—Difficulties begin in West Florida.—Captain Willing descends the Mississippi.—His Collision with the People at Natchez.—First Act of Hostility at Ellis Cliffs.—Spain espouses the American Cause.—Galvez invades West Florida.—Captures British Posts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, Natchez, and Mobile.—Is unsuccessful at Pensacola.—Pensacola captured in 1781.—All Florida submits to the Arms of Spain.—British Dominion ceases on the Mississippi.

[A.D. 1764.] As has been observed heretofore,* the province of West Florida, under the British dominion, comprised a large extent of territory on the east side of the Mississippi River, between the mouth of the Yazoo and the Bayou Manchac, and extending eastward to the Chattahoochy River. East of Lake Maurepas, it comprised all the coast and ports on the Gulf of Mexico to Appalachicola Bay. The whole formed one government under the commandant, or governor,

* See book ii., chap. x.; also, book i., chap. v.

whose headquarters were at Pensacola, the capital of the province.

Early in February, 1764, Captain George Johnston arrived at Pensacola, in company with a regiment of troops, to take formal possession of the province, of which he had been appointed civil and military governor. The French posts of Fort Condé, Toulouse, Baton Rouge, and Rosalie, at Natchez, were soon afterward garrisoned with British troops. Another fort was built during the year upon the north bank of the Bayou Manchac, or Iberville, near its junction with the Mississippi, and was subsequently known as "Fort Bute," in honor of the Earl of Bute, who had been chosen prime minister by George the Third.

Governor Johnston, after his arrival, had issued his proclamation announcing his powers and the limits of his jurisdiction, after which measures were taken to reorganize the civil government under English commandants and magistrates; superior courts were organized under English judges.*

The "Illinois country," comprising the region between the Upper Mississippi and the Wabash River, differed in extent but little from the present limits of the State of Illinois. The settlements in that region were isolated, in the midst of a boundless wilderness, inhabited by the few native tribes who roamed over its extensive plains and forests. Kaskaskia was the principal town and settlement, and Fort Chartres had long been the headquarters of the French commandant.

West Florida.—On the 27th of February, Major Loftus, who had been stationed at the outlet of Bayou Manchac, was dispatched from that point with four hundred men for the posts in the Illinois country, of which he had been appointed commandant. With his detachment, he set out from Manchac to ascend the river in ten sixteen-oared barges or keels; and after three weeks of toil against the strong current of the river, he had just reached the point of highlands which touch the river for three miles on the east, about ten miles above the mouth of Red River. Here, in the contracted channel of the river, the deep, strong current sweeps for five miles around a bend at the base of the bluff. The heights on the east, which rise abruptly from the water's edge, as well as the low alluvial bank on the west side, were

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 342, 343. Also, see Gentleman's Magazine, London, 1764.

clothed in heavy forests, with impenetrable thickets of cane undergrowth. At this point, concealed on both sides of the river, were assembled a large number of the Tunica Indians in ambuscade, awaiting the approach of the English army in their toilsome and slow advance against the majestic flood. These Indians, former confederates of France, had imbibed the Frenchman's hatred of British dominion, which had not been placated by the imperious English. As the last galley entered the ambuscade, the astonished English troops were suddenly assailed along the whole line with a destructive discharge of fire-arms and arrows, accompanied with most terrific yells from the unseen savages. The whole fleet, thrown into confusion, after an ineffectual attempt at resistance against the unseen foe, fell back with the current beyond the reach of the enemy.

A large number of the men were killed and wounded. Among the slain was the commandant, Major Loftus himself, after witnessing the fall of numbers of his brave troops. The expedition to the Illinois country failed, and the remnant of the detachment dropped down with the current to the point of embarkation, from which they were subsequently ordered to Mobile. Such was the defeat of Major Loftus; and the attempt to occupy the Illinois country was abandoned until after the general pacification of the northwestern Indians subsequent to Pontiac's war and the treaty of the German Flats.

The point on the Mississippi where this disaster occurred was known subsequently, during the British dominion, as "Loftus's Heights;" at a later date the hills were occupied by Fort Adams, which name is still retained by the village at the base of the bluff. So soon as it was known that the English jurisdiction was extended over the settlements on the east side of the Mississippi as far as the Walnut Hills, great dissatisfaction was expressed by the French population, which was at that time quite numerous in that section of country. Many determined to retire across the river, where the jurisdiction of France was still exercised over the people. Yet, after having been assured that they should be protected in their religion, rights, and property, many consented to remain and test the fair promises of their new rulers. Others resolved to be reconciled by no assurances, and obstinately refused to submit themselves to the hated dominion of England. Those who preferred

to submit to the doubtful rule of France in Louisiana retired west of the river, and south of the Bayou Manchac.

[A.D. 1765.] After the extension of the British dominion over West Florida, and until the outbreak of hostilities against the United Colonies on the Atlantic border, the English authorities gave every encouragement, and held out strong inducements to emigration from the Atlantic provinces, and especially from the Carolinas and Georgia. It had been ascertained that no country could excel that portion of Florida which extended upon the Mississippi River, and the people of North Carolina and Georgia began to seek a route through the interior, and down the Mississippi, to the new province of West Florida. They were not averse to exchange the sterile pine lands near the Atlantic coast for the rich alluvions and the fertile hills of the Natchez country. Many began to explore the route across to the upper branches of the Holston and Tennessee Rivers, through the Indian country to the Mississippi. The Tennessee and Ohio Rivers were found to afford fine navigation, and an easy route to Florida. Those who came received liberal grants of land in the region of rich uplands extending from the Yazoo to Baton Rouge. From these early emigrants are descended some of the oldest American families now inhabiting this portion of the present states of Mississippi and Louisiana.

Emigrants soon began to arrive from the provinces near the Atlantic seaboard, and from Great Britain and Ireland, as well as from the British colonies in the West Indies. Among the first colonies which arrived in this portion of West Florida was one from the banks of the Roanoke, in North Carolina, which formed settlements upon the first highlands north of the Iberville Bayou, and thence northward to the vicinity of Baton Rouge. This was probably the first Anglo-American colony which settled upon the banks of the Mississippi.*

[A.D. 1768.] During the next three years numerous emigrants arrived from Georgia and the Carolinas, as well as from New Jersey, and settled in the regions drained by the Bayou Sara, the Homochitto, and the Bayou Pierre, comprising the upland region from Baton Rouge to Grand Gulf Hills, and generally within fifteen or twenty miles from the immediate bank of the Mississippi. A few years afterward, a colony of Scotch

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 343.

Highlanders from North Carolina arrived, and formed a settlement upon the upper branches of the Homochitto, about thirty miles eastward from Natchez. At a subsequent date others arrived from Scotland and increased the settlement, which afterward assumed the name of Scotia, or New Scotland. The people of this settlement still preserve much of their Highland character, and not a few of the older branches of families yet speak their native Gaelic tongue.

[A.D. 1770.] About the year 1770, emigrants began to arrive from the British provinces of North America by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; yet it was not until the year 1773 that the greatest number of emigrants advanced by this route. A large portion advanced from New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia westward to the Monongahela and the Upper Ohio, while another portion, from North and South Carolina, advanced westward to the Holston and Cumberland Rivers, and thence to the Ohio. The disturbances growing out of the Revolutionary war prevented further emigration after the year 1777.

The British authority on the Lower Mississippi was sustained by several military posts with ample garrisons. Of these the principal were Fort Charlotte, at Mobile, formerly called Fort Condé; Fort Bute, on the north side of the Iberville, erected in 1765; the post of Baton Rouge, and Fort Panmure, at Natchez, formerly called Fort Rosalie.

With these supporters of her power, England began to encourage her citizens to monopolize the trade of the Lower Mississippi, and to introduce large quantities of slaves from Africa. From Fort Bute the English traders supplied the settlements of Louisiana with English articles of trade, and with slaves, which had been prohibited by the Spanish government. The latter were introduced from the coast of Guinea, by way of Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and thence up the Amite and Iberville.*

To check this illicit trade with the Spanish subjects within the Spanish dominion, and to embarrass the operations of the English traders from Fort Bute, the Spanish governor, Don Ulloa, ordered a small fort to be constructed on the south bank of the Iberville, or Manchac, opposite, and distant about four hundred yards from Fort Bute.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 354.

The entire French population in this portion of the former province of Louisiana, at the period of its dismemberment, was in all probability not less than two thousand persons, including about twelve hundred slaves.

[A.D. 1775.] West Florida continued under the government of the commandant at Pensacola, a mere military province, unlike those on the Atlantic seaboard, which were provided with a regular system of colonial government, under laws enacted by a colonial Legislature elected by the people, subject only to the approval of the king.

The cultivation of cotton, which had been introduced by the French, was encouraged by the whole commercial policy of the parent country. Slaves were freely introduced as an article of trade, for the extension of the staple products of cotton, indigo, and sugar.*

From the year 1773 to 1775, not less than four hundred families arrived in West Florida by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.† Many of these were from the New England States, and from Virginia and Maryland, who followed in the tide of emigration which had begun to set toward the Monongahela and the Upper Ohio. Among the emigrants from New England was a colony introduced by General Thaddeus Lyman, of Connecticut. He had been a brave and energetic commander during the Canadian wars, and had obtained a large grant from the king to be located in West Florida. After many difficulties and embarrassments, and after selecting a location on the Yazoo and other points, he finally chose another upon the waters of Bayou Pierre.‡ The grant called for twenty thousand acres, and covered the land from the Grand Gulf Hills eastward upon the Bayou Pierre, including the junction of the north and south forks, within one mile of the present town of Port Gibson. Upon this location he proceeded to settle his little colony; but, embarrassed with pecuniary difficulties, he was soon afterward compelled to abandon the further prosecu-

* Stoddart's Louisiana, p. 74.

† See Holmes's Annals of the United States, vol. ii., p. 183, 184.

‡ Martin erroneously makes the location of this grant to General Lyman at the Walnut Hills. Although he explored the country near this point, and as far as the Yazoo River, yet the records of the United States Land-office at Washington, Mississippi, the seat of the territorial government from 1800 to 1817, show that the location was made upon the Bayou Pierre, in the present county of Claiborne, Mississippi. In this case, the king's *mandamus* was made in favor of Thaddeus Lyman, and was dated February 2d, 1775, for twenty thousand acres.—See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 35.

tion of the enterprise, and with a few friends, who, like himself, had become old and discouraged, retired to a private settlement made in the vicinity of Fort Panmure.

Other British grants were made in the Natchez district of West Florida about this time; but, owing to the growing difficulties between the provinces and the mother country, or to some other cause, they were never fully confirmed, or were re-granted by the Spanish authorities, who soon afterward succeeded to the government of Florida.*

[A.D. 1776.] At the commencement of the war of the Revolution, Florida adhered to the British crown, and gave no aid or countenance to the Atlantic provinces in their struggle for independence. The English population of West Florida being loyal subjects of the British monarchy, became odious in the eyes of the confederated colonists, and obnoxious to their indignant resentment, such as they meted out to "British Tories." Yet they took no active part in the contest against the colonies. The political animosities of the new states waxed strong against such of their citizens as continued to adhere to the royal cause, and they receiving but little favor, and often gross indignities from their Republican neighbors, in many instances retired westward, and made their way down the Mississippi, seeking security and peace among their loyal countrymen in West Florida, under the protection of the British flag. Hence, about this time, the settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, from the Walnut Hills to Baton Rouge, received a considerable accession to its Anglo-American population. Here they continued to enjoy peace and security until after the arms of Virginia began to be triumphant in the West.

The Illinois Country.—The activity and zeal of the British

* Among the British grants in the "Natchez District," now on file in the land-office in Washington, Mississippi, are the following:

1st. "Ogden's Mandamus," made in favor of Amos Ogden, for twenty-five thousand acres, located on the north side of the Homochitto River, dated October 27th, 1772.

2d. "Lyman's Mandamus," made to Thaddeus Lyman, and dated February 2d, 1773, for twenty thousand acres, located on the Bayou Pierre.

3d. "Grant" to Doctor John Lorimer for two thousand acres, dated May 6th, 1776.

4th. "Grant" to William Grant for one thousand acres, dated May 6th, 1776, near the Walnut Hills.

5th. "Grant" to William Garnier, dated May 28th, 1779, for five thousand acres, located on the Homochitto.

6th. "Grant" to Augustin Provost, dated December 31st, 1776, for five thousand acres, located on Colo's Creek.

Besides these, there are many smaller grants, varying from five hundred to one thousand acres.

officers at the different posts northwest of the Ohio, instigating and leading their savage allies against the feeble settlements east of the Ohio in their murderous incursions, was the chief cause which prematurely involved the Illinois population in the war of the Revolution, and hastened the downfall of the royal authority in this portion of the American possessions, and also accelerated the loss of Florida. As we have elsewhere observed,* the British dominion was not formally extended over the Illinois and Wabash countries until the spring of 1765. After the defeat which Major Loftus had experienced in March of the preceding year, the attempt to send troops and a commandant to that region had been deferred, and the French commandant, St. Angé, at Fort Chartres, continued to exercise authority under the laws and usages of France as formerly, although it was known that the country was a British province.

[A.D. 1765.] Early in the spring of 1765, Captain Stirling, of the British army, arrived by way of Detroit, and took command of Fort Chartres, as commandant of the Illinois country, under the orders of General Gage, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America. He was authorized to receive the allegiance of his majesty's new Catholic subjects, and to institute an organized government, by introducing the English laws and usages among the people. He was also instructed to guaranty to the French population, who desired to remain under the dominion of Great Britain, the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, the free exercise of their religious opinions, and the observance of all the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. At the same time, he was instructed to grant permission freely to all who desired to retire to the French settlements on the west side of the Mississippi, together with the unrestrained removal of their personal property. On entering upon his official duties, he made known to the inhabitants the proclamation of General Gage, the provisions of which he was authorized to enforce. In this affectionate proclamation the commander-in-chief did not fail to close with the humane admonition to the inhabitants that, "by a wise and prudent demeanor, by avoiding all cause of complaint," and by "acting in concert with his majesty's officers," they might "save themselves from the *scourge of a bloody war.*"†

* See book ii., chap. x., near the close of the chapter.

† The following is a copy of General Gage's proclamation to the inhabitants of the Illinois country, viz.:

St. Angé delivered to him in due form the fortress of Fort Chartres, and the whole territory eastward to the Ohio River, after which he and his garrison of one and twenty men retired across the river to the village of St. Louis. Many of the French, preferring to leave their houses and fields and to follow their beloved commandant, promptly declined to become subjects of Great Britain. Those who retired west of the Mississippi settled chiefly about the vicinity of St. Louis and St. Geneviève, the latter being then a village of nearly twelve years' standing.* The former had been selected two years before, as a *dépôt* for the Fur Company of Louisiana.

The French population of the whole Illinois country, from the Mississippi eastward to the Wabash, at this time were proba-

"PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants:

"That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish Church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king (the King of France), may retire in full safety and freedom, wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty (the King of Spain), and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all cause of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an enemy into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at headquarters, New York, signed with our hand, sealed with our seal and arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By his excellency, G. Maturin."

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 321.

bly not less than five thousand persons, including about five hundred negro slaves. The number was subsequently diminished by emigration to Louisiana, which was not replaced by English emigrants. Ten years afterward, the population of Kaskaskia was estimated at but little over one hundred families, that of Cahokia fifty families, and of Prairie Dupont and Prairie du Rocher each fourteen families.

Three months after the arrival of Captain Stirling, he died, and left the office of commandant vacant on the east side of the Mississippi. In this state of things, the excellent commandant, St. Angé, returned to Fort Chartres, and resumed the duties of his former office until a successor to Captain Stirling should arrive from the commander-in-chief. Not long afterward, Major Frazer, from Fort Pitt, arrived as commandant, and exercised an arbitrary authority until next spring, when he was relieved by Colonel Reed, who also exercised his authority for eighteen months* in an oppressive and despotic manner.

[A.D. 1767.] The region of the Illinois and Upper Mississippi received but few emigrants from the British provinces, and the population in that quarter remained, during the British dominion, as isolated French settlements in the heart of an immense savage wilderness, having only occasional intercourse with Detroit, Fort Pitt, and New Orleans, by means of agents and traders.

[A.D. 1768.] On the 5th of September, 1768, Colonel Reed, to the great joy of the French, was superseded by Lieutenant-colonel Wilkins. He proceeded to organize regular courts of justice for the administration of the laws, in all matters of debt and property. The first court, announced by his proclamation of November 21st, consisted of seven judges, who held their first term at Fort Chartres on the 6th of December following.† The people claimed, as British subjects, the right of trial by jury; but the governor refused his sanction. Subsequently, like his predecessors, he was disposed to inflict upon the people a series of military oppressions, rather than cause an impartial administration of justice. The French gradually became alienated from the English authorities, and many retired to their friends in Louisiana, west of the Mississippi.

* See Peck's *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 86. Peck, Brown, and others call this commandant erroneously Major Farmer.

† See Brown's *History of Illinois*, p. 214. Also, *American State Papers*, vol. ii., land laws, p. 113 and 180.

[A.D. 1769.] Early in the following year he began to transcend his authority in making extensive grants of land to a number of British officers and favorites; and "for the better settlement of the colony, and the better to promote his majesty's service," he modestly consented to become "interested in one sixth part thereof." Thus he would have appropriated one third of all the lands in Illinois; and some of these fraudulent grants were subsequently confirmed by the American authorities.*

Previous to the year 1778, Detroit was the headquarters of the western posts; they were all subordinate to the commandant at Detroit. From this point a trace led westward by way of the Maumee, and across to the Upper Wabash, and thence to Post St. Vincent; and thence a similar trace, or Indian path, led westward to Kaskaskia, and other points upon the Upper Mississippi. There was likewise between all these posts an admirable communication by water, which, although more circuitous, served for the transportation of military stores and munitions of war.

Detroit at this time was a village containing about one hundred houses, ranged upon narrow streets crossing each other at right angles, and containing about eight hundred inhabitants, chiefly French. The whole village was surrounded by a stockade nearly one mile in circuit, and defended by block-houses and bastions at the angles. The entire settlements within ten miles of the town comprised about two thousand inhabitants, residing near the banks of the Detroit River and its small tributaries.† The greater portion of these were Canadian French.

The headquarters of the Illinois country, previous to the year 1772, was Fort Chartres: subsequently, "Fort Gage," a wooden stockaded fort opposite the town of Kaskaskia, and on the east bank of the Kaskaskia River, was the headquarters of the commandant of Illinois.

At Cahokia, on the bank of the Mississippi, three miles below St. Louis, was a small post, dependent upon Fort Gage. Kaskaskia itself was three miles from the bank of the Mississippi, on the west side of the Kaskaskia River, about five miles above its mouth, and nearly sixty-five miles below St. Louis. It was the oldest settlement in the Illinois country, known as

* See Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois, p. 86. Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 345 and 355.

† Imley's America, London edition of 1797, p. 505, 506.

"Old Kaskaskia," often designated by the French sobriquet *Au Kâ*, or, inversed, *Kâ-hô*.

On the Wabash, about one hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, was the post of "Fort Sackville." This post, on the west side of the Wabash, nearly opposite the old town of Vincennes, was a regular stockade, with bastions and a few pieces of cannon, in charge of an officer with a small garrison. It was the old French St. Vincent, designated by the French often as "*Au Poste*." It was on the direct line of communication between Detroit and Kaskaskia.

The whole region northwest of the Ohio was commanded by these posts. Around them the Indians congregated annually to receive their presents and winter supplies from the British agents, and to barter their skins and furs with the traders.

The only white inhabitants in all this region were composed of a few ignorant, half-civilized French, who had remained in the country after the British authority was extended over it, and a few Tory emigrants from the revolutionary states, who had fled from the displeasure and the vengeance of their indignant countrymen.

The poor patriarchal French, unsophisticated by the vices and intrigues of refined civilization, knew nothing of the people in the revolted provinces, except what they had learned through their brethren of Canada, or through their new English masters. The former had been engaged with New England in almost continual border wars for nearly a century; and there was nothing in these wars, instigated and controlled by British cupidity, in anywise calculated to instill into the Canadians any exalted ideas of the "*Bostonais*," who were now proclaimed by their own king as outlawed rebels.

With the British authorities in this region, it had been the uniform policy, from the beginning of the Revolutionary war, to prevent any intercourse between the French population and the revolted provinces which had renounced the British dominion. It was well known to the commandants that the revolted provinces themselves could not entertain toward England a more implacable hatred than was hereditary in the French. Beyond the reach of aid or protection from the English forces, the authorities in these regions employed every moral means to reconcile the French to their new allegiance, and to conciliate their national prejudices. At the same time, they did not

fail carefully to instill into their minds the utmost horror of the fierce and ruthless character of the provincial rebels, who were more to be dreaded than even the hostile Indians themselves; and of all these rebel "Bostonais," none were more terrible than the Virginia "long-knives."*

[A.D. 1778.] *The Loss of the Illinois Country.*—From the first act of hostilities by the royal troops against the revolted colonies, the northwestern savages had been associated as allies of Great Britain, and had been employed by the British commanders to lay waste the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, on the east side of the Ohio. After a bloody partisan warfare of nearly two years upon the western settlements, the Governor of Virginia adopted the plan of Major George Rogers Clark for suppressing the terrible incursions of the northwestern Indians.†

Moreover, Virginia, in virtue of her royal charter, claimed all the territory westward between the parallels of 36° 30' and 40° north latitude, as far as the Mississippi; and the British posts on the Wabash, the Illinois, and the Upper Mississippi were considered properly within the chartered limits of Virginia. These posts, as subordinate to Detroit, were found to be the actual source of all the Indian incursions which had been sent against the exposed frontier of Virginia west of the mountains, from Fort Pitt southward to the Kentucky River. From these points the British officers and emissaries operated upon the Indian tribes, which were dispersed over the whole northwestern

* Butler's History of Kentucky, chap. iii.

† During the years 1775 and 1776, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, driven by public odium from his capital, had been compelled by his fears to seek an asylum on board one of his majesty's ships-of-war, from which he planned the destruction of the frontier settlements near the Ohio River and its tributaries: For this purpose, through a special agent and emissary, Dr. John Connolly, former commandant at Fort Pitt and of the district of "West Augusta," an enterprising and audacious man, his lordship concerted measures with the commandants of Detroit and Fort Gage for the purpose of arming the northwestern savages against the defenseless frontier inhabitants. Connolly with impunity passed the western settlements, in possession of secret orders from Lord Dunmore to the commandants and agents of the West for carrying out his plan of operations in this quarter. In this nefarious employment, Connolly, during the years 1775 and 1776, aided by the "Loyalists," had passed to and from Detroit several times, keeping his correspondence with Lord Dunmore and other "Tories" a profound secret, until he was finally detected and arrested on the borders of Maryland, on his route to Detroit; and his papers were published by order of Congress. His capture and the disclosures made by his correspondence led to the expedition of Colonel Clark against the post of Kaskaskia, and the final interruption of the British operations northwest of the Ohio.—See Botta's History of the American War of Independence, vol. i, p. 250.

territory, from the Ohio and the great lakes westward to the Upper Mississippi: from these points were planned and supplied the numerous hostile incursions which had spread desolation and blood along the wide frontier east of the Ohio; and these were the points at which the savages were supplied with arms, ammunition, and clothing, to enable them to carry on their murderous warfare into the remote settlements. To these points, too, they carried their captives, torn from their families, and the scalps of their murdered victims, as trophies of their prowess and evidence of their industry.

As the numerous settlements scattered over an extensive frontier region could not be protected against the midnight prowlings of small detached parties penetrating every portion of the country unseen, the only effectual means of security was to dry up the fountain, or, in Western phrase, to *cut up the tree by the roots*. At length the governor, Patrick Henry, with the Executive Council, prompted and guided by the genius and enterprise of Colonel George R. Clark, set on foot a secret expedition for the reduction of the British posts on the Upper Mississippi and upon the Wabash Rivers. What the commonwealth lacked in men and means was fully supplied by the courage and daring intrepidity of her frontier defenders. The expedition for the reduction of these posts, these fountains of Indian massacre, was intrusted to Colonel Clark, yet with strict injunctions to *treat with humanity* such of the enemy as the chances of war might place in his power.*

* The following is a copy of the instructions issued to Colonel Clark for his government in the projected expedition, viz.:

"Virginia in Council, Williamsburg, January 2d, 1778.

"LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,—

"You are to proceed with all convenient speed to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, and armed most properly for the enterprise, and with this force attack the British fort at Kaskaskia.

"It is conjectured that there are many pieces of cannon and military stores to considerable amount at that place, the taking and preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the state. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the state.

"For the transportation of the troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for boats; and during the whole transaction you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret; its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to secure the two men from Kaskaskia. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

"It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants of that post and the neighborhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this state (for it is certain they

The entire expedition was to consist at most of three hundred and fifty men, or seven companies of fifty men each, or such portion of them as could be enlisted for the enterprise. Yet that number could not be spared from the exposed frontier settlements, and he was compelled at last to execute the hazardous enterprise with less than half the number authorized by the governor.

With no other means than twelve hundred dollars in depreciated paper, and an order for transports and supplies of powder and ammunition, and a promised bounty of three hundred acres of land to each private, Colonel Clark, in January, set out from Williamsburg for Fort Pitt. Encountering great difficulties in recruiting his companies from settlements already too feeble for their own protection, he succeeded, by extraordinary exertions, in assembling at the Falls of the Ohio less than six incomplete companies about the middle of June. Selecting from his whole force four companies of picked men, under well-known captains, he prepared to descend the river upon the hazardous enterprise. The companies were commanded by Captains Montgomery, Bowman, Helm, and Harrod; and each man, after the Indian custom, was armed with a rifle, tomahawk, and scalping-knife. About the 24th of June he commenced his voyage down the river, after communicating to his officers the object and design of the expedition. The whole was conveyed in a number of keel-boats, and the destination was Kaskaskia.

live within its limits) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever shall be afforded them, and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart.

"The corps you are to command are to receive the pay and allowance of militia, and to act under the laws and regulations of this state now in force as militia. The inhabitants at this post will be informed by you, that, in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of France and Spain.

"It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskaskia will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances may make necessary.

"You are to apply to General Hand for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can not supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn brought from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders, and that may be delivered to you. Wishing you success, I am, sir,

"Your humble servant,

P. HENRY."

Arrangements for additional supplies had been made by the Federal authorities, through Captain William Lynn and Captain James Willing, to be obtained from the Spaniards in New Orleans, for the supply of all the posts in the region of the Ohio, as well as for the expedition to the Upper Mississippi.

About the last of June the expedition arrived at the "Old Cherokee Fort," below the mouth of the Tennessee, and about forty miles above the mouth of the Ohio. At this point important information was received relative to the actual condition of the British posts on the Upper Mississippi. Here, having obtained experienced guides through the wilderness, Colonel Clark determined to march through by land and take Kaskaskia by surprise. Having sunk his boats for concealment, he set out with his force, and plunged through the pathless wilderness, across extensive low grounds and marshes, a distance of nearly one hundred and twenty miles, each man bearing upon his back his scanty rations, baggage, and camp equipage, and encouraged by the dauntless energy of their commander, who shared equally with his soldiers every hardship, and led the way.

After a laborious and difficult march of several days through a trackless wilderness of swamps, flats, open woods, and prairies, in which even the guides were bewildered, they arrived, unperceived, in the vicinity of Kaskaskia, on the evening of July 4th, 1778. To avoid discovery, the troops remained concealed in the woods on the east side of Kaskaskia River, within two miles of the town, until night had obscured their movements from observation. Having procured boats for crossing the river, about midnight Colonel Clark prepared to advance against the enemy. Addressing his men in a short and sententious speech, he concluded by reminding them "that the town and fort were to be taken at all hazards." A portion of the troops, under command of the fearless Captain Helm, crossed the river to the town, and, having taken it by surprise, the principal street was secured while the inhabitants were asleep in their beds. Every avenue was guarded before they were apprised of their captivity.

On the opposite side of the river, Fort Gage was secured in like manner by the remainder of the force, under Colonel Clark himself. The garrison and the sleeping commandant, Lieutenant-governor Rocheblave, were awakened from their peaceful

slumbers only to find themselves prisoners of war. Apprehending no danger at this remote point, not even a sentinel was on duty, nor a gate secured. Colonel Clark, leading his column, was conducted silently by a guide he had captured, through a postern gate into the open fort, and while with his sturdy warriors he surrounded the sleeping garrison and controlled the defenses of the post, the fearless Simon Kenton, at the head of a file of men, advanced softly to the apartment of the commander. While quietly reposing by his wife, he was aroused by a gentle touch only to behold his own captivity, and to order the unconditional surrender of the fort and its defenders.*

The town of Kaskaskia, containing about two hundred and fifty houses, was completely surrounded, and every avenue securely guarded to prevent escape or intercourse; runners were sent to warn the people in the French tongue that every enemy found in the streets would be instantly shot down; at the same time, they were convinced, by the terrible shout and yelling of the troops around the town, that they were all prisoners of war. A strict patrol was kept on duty during the night throughout the town, and a sergeant's guard, passing through the streets and entering every house, succeeded in completely disarming the inhabitants in the course of two hours. The troops in the suburbs of the place were directed to keep up, during the remainder of the night, a continual tumult and whooping, after the Indian fashion, while the inhabitants were required to observe the most profound silence. All intercourse from house to house was strictly prohibited, and the terror inspired was general and appalling. At the same time, Colonel Clark had full possession of the fort and its artillery, which commanded the whole town from the opposite side of the river.

Such was the work of the first night, during which, in the true spirit of generous chivalry, this handful of brave backwoodsmen accomplished one of the most important conquests in the West, without the shedding of one drop of blood, or committing the slightest outrage upon the conquered people.† The

* Approaching the fort, a solitary light issued from a house outside the stockade, and a corporal's guard was dispatched to secure the party in the house. Among them was a Pennsylvanian, who entertained but little affection for the English name, and who cheerfully served as a guide to Kenton's detachment, entering the stockade through a small postern gate.—See Hall's *Sketches of the West*, vol. ii., p. 118, 119. Also, Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 53-55.

† There has been much discrepancy among authors relative to the actual fate of Colonel Clark's expedition, which proceeded from the "Falls of Ohio" with him for the

wife of M. Rocheblave, under the courtesy of the warrior to female prerogative, artfully concealed his public papers, which Colonel Clark did not succeed in obtaining.

On the day following, Colonel Clark proceeded to organize the affairs of the conquered post. Having obtained ample intelligence of the state of the defenses in the vicinity, and having properly secured his prisoners and all suspicious persons, he ordered the troops to be withdrawn from the town behind an eminence in view. All communication between suspicious persons and the troops was strictly prohibited, and several militia officers in the British service were unceremoniously placed in irons. An air of stern severity and prompt decision was assumed by the colonel, which struck terror into the citizens; every movement was made with the most rigid military discipline, enforced by the severest penalties; the most unqualified submission was required from every individual in the town, which was placed under strict martial law; his words were few and stern; and a general gloom appeared to gather over every countenance. They were now prisoners of war to that inexorable enemy, whom they had been taught to view as the most terrible of the "Bostonais," and all their fears and apprehensions were about to be realized.

At length the village priest, Father Gibault, at the head of six principal men of the town, was deputed to wait upon the American commander to supplicate his mercy and to deprecate his vengeance. They were introduced to him at his quarters, where he and his officers were seated. At the first sight of the sturdy warriors, Father Gibault and his associates for some minutes were almost speechless; all their fears and prejudices were more than realized in the rough and severe features of the men, no less than in their tattered and soiled apparel. The

reduction of Kaskaskia. Some give the number at three hundred men, and others less. The fact is as follows: that with all his efforts and extraordinary exertions, he succeeded in recruiting only four companies at his rendezvous on Corn Island, after having succeeded in raising an additional number of twenty men from the vicinity of "the falls," and from Harrod's Station. It was here he became acquainted with the brave Captain Montgomery, "an Irishman, and full of fight," who engaged in the enterprise with great ardor; also, Simon Kenton, a pioneer of Kentucky, and a number of resolute pioneers. After a number of desertions and the rejection of the faint-hearted, there remained only one hundred and fifty-three fighting men, according to General Kenton's statement, who served through the campaign. These were organized into four incomplete companies, under the four captains named in the text.—See M'Donald's Sketches of Simon Kenton and others, p. 219. This is probably the most authentic account of this extraordinary expedition.—See Hall's Sketches of the West, vol. ii, p. 118.

reverend father at length spoke, and stated that they had one small request to make of the American commander, which they desired as a special favor.

As the people expected to be torn from each other, and probably separated forever, they begged, through him, to be permitted first to assemble in the church to take a farewell of each other. Their request was granted; but they were warned not to attempt to leave the town. The colonel's replies were laconic and austere. The deputation were disposed to continue the interview; but, with a wave of the hand, they were informed that he had no leisure for further intercourse, and they retired. The whole village attended at church, and at length retired to their houses. The deputation again waited upon Colonel Clark, and tendered "their thanks for the indulgence they had received." They further continued, "they were sensible that theirs was the fate of war, and they could well submit to lose their property;" but they prayed not to be separated from their wives and children, and that something might be allowed for their support. They declared that heretofore in their conduct they had only obeyed their commandants, as their duty required; that they were ignorant of the nature of the contest between the United States and Great Britain; and that many of them felt more favorably inclined toward the people of the United States than they dared avow.

At this time, when their anxiety and fears were most excited, they were thus sternly addressed by the commander: "Do you mistake us for savages? From your language, surely you do. Do you think Americans will strip women and children, and take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen disdain to make war upon helpless innocence. To prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our own wives and children, we have taken arms and penetrated to this remote strong-hold of Indian and British barbarity, and not for despicable plunder. The King of France has now united his powerful arms with those of America, and the contest will soon be ended. The people of Kaskaskia may side with either party; their property and families shall be safe; their religion shall not be molested by Americans. To verify my words, go tell your fellow-citizens they are at liberty to do as they please, without apprehension of danger from me. I know they are convinced since my arrival that they have been misinformed

by British officers as to the character of Americans. Your friends shall be released from confinement."

The deputation attempted to apologize for the imputation implied against the American character, but it was unnecessary; they were desired to communicate his declaration to the people. In a few moments the gloom and dejection of the whole town was changed into the extravagance of joy. The bells rang their loudest peals, and the church was crowded with grateful hearts offering up to God their devout thanks for their unexpected deliverance from all the horrors they had anticipated.

The people, thus relieved from a state of fearful anxiety and bitter suspense, made the most unreserved expressions of their admiration for the generous conduct of the American commander and his brave associates in arms; at the same time they professed their firm attachment to the cause and government of the United States, and of the commonwealth of Virginia especially.

On the evening of the same day, Colonel Clark dispatched a detachment of troops under Captain Bowman to surprise and capture the post and village of Cahokia, on the banks of the Mississippi. The capture of this post was effected with the same secrecy and celerity which characterized the movements upon Kaskaskia. In this measure Captain Bowman was aided by many of the citizens of the latter place, who volunteered to serve as guides, and to lend their friendly influence with their countrymen at Cahokia to insure the successful issue of the enterprise.* The people gladly espoused the American cause.

Every post and settlement on the Upper Mississippi having been secured, Colonel Clark proceeded to reorganize the civil government by placing in office chiefly those who were citizens of the country. The people rejoiced at the change, and acknowledged themselves a colony dependent on Virginia, well pleased with the protection of the United States, which were now at war with the hereditary enemy of France.†

In the mean time, Colonel Clark had dispatched Captain Montgomery with his imperious and insolent prisoner, Governor Rocheblave, under a strong guard, to Richmond, to be dealt with as a prisoner of war. Simon Kenton, with dispatches to Kentucky, was directed to take the post of St. Vincent in his route,

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 57, 58.

† See McDonald's Sketches, p. 220.

and by a confidential messenger transmit to Kaskaskia a minute account of the condition of that post and the feelings of the people. In this hazardous duty, Kenton acquitted himself with his usual intrepidity. Having reconnoitered the post and town for three nights, lying concealed by day, he transmitted the result of his discoveries to his commander, and proceeded on his route to "the Falls."

On the 18th of July, the inhabitants of Vincennes, at the recommendation of Father Gibault, parish priest of Kaskaskia, threw off their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and voluntarily declared themselves citizens of the United States and of the State of Virginia. The commandant of the Wabash, Captain Abbot, being absent at Detroit, and the post at Vincennes being protected by only a small garrison, Colonel Clark early in August, having appointed Captain Helm commandant of Fort Sackville, and "agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash," dispatched him with a small garrison, to take possession of the post of St. Vincent, and to await the arrival of re-enforcements from Virginia. The new commandant was received with acclamation by the people, and entered upon his official duties. Instructed by Colonel Clark, he soon succeeded, by his address and influence, in convening an Indian council, attended by the great Wabash chief Tobacco, or "Grand Door," with whom, after some delay, he effected a treaty, which conciliated the Wabash tribes as far north as Ouiatenon and the Wea towns.

September came, and but few recruits from Virginia arrived. A new difficulty now presented to the commander; the troops had been enlisted for only three months, and the term of service with the greatest portion of them was about to expire. To remedy this difficulty, he exercised the full extent of his discretionary powers, and in the emergency determined to re-enlist upon new terms such of his men as were willing to continue in the service. Seventy of his men, including Simon Kenton, determined to return to Kentucky; the remainder re-entered the service, associated with one company of the resident inhabitants under their own officers. With these he organized two garrisons, one under Captain Williams at Kaskaskia, and one under Captain Bowman at Cahokia.

Colonel William Linn, who had entered the campaign as a volunteer, returned to Kentucky in charge of the discharged

recruits, with orders to erect a stockade at the "Falls of the Ohio." The sovereignty of Virginia was fully extended over the Illinois and Wabash countries, as known to the British authorities.

Before the close of September, Colonel Clark had commenced his negotiations with the Indian tribes occupying the regions drained by the Illinois and Upper Mississippi Rivers. Believing it impolitic, and a mistaken estimate of the Indian character, to invite them to treaties of peace and friendship, he lost no opportunity of impressing them with the power of the Americans and the high sense of honor which regulated all their military operations, no less than the unalterable determination to punish their enemies. Long acquainted with the Indian character, he maintained his dignified and stern reserve until they should ask for peace and treaties; and he fought them fiercely until they did sue for peace. When he treated with them, he avoided many presents, because they evinced to the Indian that those who gave them were moved by fear of their vengeance. In all his negotiations with the Indians, he impressed them by his manner, his fearless and stern reserve, as well as by his prompt decision, with a fear and terror of his authority which had been entirely unknown before.*

* To give the reader some idea of Colonel Clark's manner of intercourse with the Indians, the following sketch of an interview and speech may be taken. At the first of his treaties, the different parties of white and red men were assembled, when the Indians, being petitioners, opened the council by a chief, who advanced to the table at which Colonel Clark was sitting, "with the belt of peace in his hand; another followed with the sacred pipe; and a third with a fire to light it. The pipe, when lighted, was presented to the heavens, then to the earth, and completing the circle, was presented to all the spirits, invoking them to witness what was about to take place. The pipe was then proffered to Colonel Clark, and afterward to every one present." These formalities past, the orator addressed himself to the Indians as follows: "Warriors, you ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit has taken pity on you, has cleared the sky, and opened your ears and hearts so that you may hear the truth. We have been deceived by bad birds flying through the land (British emissaries), but we will take up the bloody hatchet no more against the long-knife, and we hope that, as the Great Spirit has brought us together for good, as he is good, so we may be received as friends, and peace may take the place of the bloody belt." The speaker then threw down the bloody belt of wampum and flags which they had received from the British, and stamped on them in token of their rejection. To this Colonel Clark guardedly and coldly replied, that "he had paid attention to what had been said, and would next day give them an answer, when he hoped the hearts of all people would be ready to receive the truth; but he recommended them to keep prepared for the result of this council, upon which their very existence depended."

"He desired them not to permit any of his people to shake hands with them, as peace was not yet made, for it was time enough to give the hand when the heart could be given too."

An Indian chief replied, "Such were the feelings of men who had but one heart, and

In October following, the jurisdiction of Virginia was formally extended over all the settlements on the Wabash and the Upper Mississippi, by the organization of the "County of Illinois," and the appointment of Colonel John Todd as civil commandant, and lieutenant-colonel of the county.*

The services of Colonel Clark and his brave companions were highly approved by the Legislature of Virginia, as expressed in a resolution of thanks to them "for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise, and for the important services thereby rendered to their country."†

The Indian tribes in the vicinity of all the northwestern British posts had been panic-stricken at the daring courage of the Virginia troops. The name of Clark struck terror into their chiefs, because of his sleepless vigilance and his rapid movements. Indian hostilities on the southeast side of the Ohio, for a time, had almost ceased, and many of the Indians most intimate with the French population proposed to take up arms against the English; but Colonel Clark desired no such allies in a civilized war, and their offer was rejected.

Before the middle of December, all appearance of Indian hostility had vanished; the people of Vincennes remained firmly attached to the cause of the United States, and in their allegiance to the commonwealth of Virginia. Captain Helm was left with only two soldiers and a few volunteer militia to protect the fort at Vincennes. The whole regular force at Kaskaskia and Cahokia was reduced to less than one hundred men.

It was not long before this state of things was made known who did not speak with a forked tongue." The council rose until next day, when Colonel Clark delivered a speech, of which the following is a specimen:

"Men and warriors! pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and you hoped, as he was good, it would be for good. I, too, hope the same, and expect each party to stand to what is agreed upon, whether it be peace or war, and hereafter prove ourselves worthy the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counselor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left peace. I am sent by the great council of the long-knife and their friends to take possession of all the towns owned by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the red people. I come to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river, and to clear the roads between us and those who desire peace, so that women and children may walk in them without striking their feet against any thing. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, that the red people may hear nothing but the sound of birds that live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes; I will dispel the clouds, that you may see clearly the cause of the war between the Great Fire and the English."—See Butler's Kentucky, p. 67, 68.

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 64, 65.

† Idem, p. 61

to Governor Hamilton, commandant at Detroit. Alarmed at the rapid successes of the Virginia troops, and mortified at the disasters of the British arms, he determined to make an energetic invasion of the Illinois country, and retrieve the honor of his majesty's arms by the recapture of all the posts on the Wabash and Illinois, and by leading Colonel Clark and his followers captive to Detroit.

Having assembled six hundred Indian warriors, in addition to his force of eighty regular soldiers and some Canadian militia, he set out upon the expedition to Vincennes. Ascending the Maumee to the sources of the St. Mary's River, and crossing over to the Wabash, he made a rapid descent, and approached the post at Vincennes about the middle of December. Captain Helm and his associates, though few in number, were upon duty, and witnessed the savage host which swarmed around the approaching column of red-coated Britons.* The British commander, having determined to carry the fort by assault, and to exterminate the feeble garrison, advanced to the attack.

But Captain Helm was not to be alarmed from the presence of mind belonging to a backwoods warrior. With an air of confidence, and as if supported by hundreds of defenders in the fort, he sprang upon a bastion containing a well-charged six-pounder ranged to the advancing enemy, and with a voice of thunder, as he brandished his match in the air, he commanded the column to "*halt*," or he would blow them to atoms. Surprised at such daring, and fearing a desperate resistance by the garrison, which possibly might far exceed his expectation, the British commander ordered a halt until a parley was opened. To the demand for the surrender of the fort, Captain Helm replied, that, with the full "honors of war," he would surrender the post, but otherwise he would resist while a man lived to shoulder his rifle. The Briton agreed to allow him all the "honors of war;" and when the fort was thrown open, Captain Helm and five men, with due formality, marched out and laid down their arms before the astonished commander.

The people of Vincennes, of course, were obliged again to acknowledge the authority of England and renounce that of the United States and Virginia. Captain Helm and one other American were retained as prisoners of war, the other three

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 78, 79, note.

being volunteer citizens of Vincennes. Here ended the efficient operations of Colonel Hamilton toward the discomfiture of Colonel Clark.

The winter had now set in with much rain and snow, creating obstacles to a military invasion almost insurmountable. Colonel Hamilton, therefore, determined to postpone the recapture of Kaskaskia and its dependences until the opening of spring, when he expected a re-enforcement of two hundred warriors from Michillimackinac, and five hundred Cherokees and Chickasas from the South.* In the mean time, he determined to give employment to his northern allies, who now, to the number of four hundred, were eager to commence their operations against the frontier population west of the mountains. For this purpose, they were sent out in detached parties and small bands, intending to spread over the border settlements of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania, to harass the exposed inhabitants, and to plunder and collect scalps until spring, when the governor would be ready to lead them, with the other Indian allies, against the American posts from Kaskaskia to Fort Pitt, scouring the whole frontier as they passed.

Such were the arrangements of Colonel Hamilton for prosecuting the enterprise of capturing Colonel Clark and his handful of backwoodsmen at Kaskaskia, and subsequently of prostrating the American settlements on the Ohio, by "sweeping Kentucky and Virginia" on his route to Fort Pitt.

[A.D. 1779.] Late in January following, Colonel Clark received intelligence that Colonel Hamilton was at Vincennes, with only eighty soldiers under his command, and was unsupported by his savage allies, yet contemplating the reduction of the post at Kaskaskia in the spring. To avoid the disagreeable alternative of being captured and led a prisoner to Detroit, he determined to make an energetic movement with such forces as he could raise, and anticipate his rival's designs by capturing Fort Sackville and sending Colonel Hamilton a prisoner to the capital of Virginia.

For this purpose, with great expedition, he prepared to make

* Arrangements had been made for a general council with the Cherokees and Chickasas at the mouth of the Tennessee, and the Indians were to bring with them down the Tennessee large supplies of corn for the grand expedition which was to rendezvous at this point. This grand council, of course, was broken up by the unexpected movements of Colonel Clark, and thus the operations of the Northern and Southern Indians were at once thwarted.

a sudden and unexpected march to Vincennes with his whole disposable force. This force, increased by two companies raised in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and such recruits as he could muster within ten days, amounted to only one hundred and seventy men. Preparations for the expedition were made without delay; two companies were immediately raised and organized to re-enforce his command; one from Kaskaskia, commanded by Captain Charleville, and one from Cahokia, commanded by Captain M'Carty. His force was thus increased to one hundred and seventy men. A large keel-boat was fitted up as a galley, and mounted with two four-pounder cannon and four swivels, and furnished with a suitable supply of provisions, ammunition, and military stores. This vessel was placed under the command of Captain John Rodgers, with a company of forty-six men, with orders to penetrate up the Wabash within a few miles of the mouth of White River, and there to take up his position and wait for further orders, permitting none to pass up or down the river.

On the 7th of February, Colonel Clark, with the remainder of his force, amounting to one hundred and thirty men, set out upon a perilous march of one hundred and fifty miles through the wilderness northeast to Vincennes. The route was an Indian trace, which lay through deep forests and prairies; the weather was uncommonly wet; the water-courses were out of their banks; and the larger streams had inundated their bottoms from bluff to bluff, often three or four miles in width; but the hardy backwoodsmen, under their intrepid and persevering leader, pressed forward in spite of every obstacle. On foot, with their rifles on their shoulders, and their knapsacks filled with parched corn and jerked beef, for six days they advanced along the trace, through forests, marshes, ponds, swollen streams, and inundated lowlands, for nearly one hundred miles, when they arrived at the crossings of the Little Wabash, where the bottoms, to the width of three miles, were inundated to the depth of "three feet, never under two, and frequently over four." Through these lowlands the whole battalion were compelled to march, often feeling for the trace with their feet, and carrying their arms and ammunition over their heads to protect them from the water.

Five days more brought them to the Wabash, just below the mouth of the Embarrass River, and nine miles below the post

of Vincennes. Here great difficulty was encountered in crossing the river. No boats were within reach, and the galley had not arrived. Nearly two days were spent in unavailing efforts to cross the river; the men became discouraged, and starvation seemed to await them in their present situation. At length, on the evening of the 20th, a boat was captured, and preparations for crossing the low grounds and the river commenced. After great difficulty in crossing the river, they traversed low grounds by wading often up to their armpits, and reached the opposite highlands nearly exhausted by fatigue, fasting, and cold.* Here they remained to recruit their exhausted bodies, and to prepare for their appearance before Fort Sackville. Such had been their hardships by day and at night, by hunger and exposure in the water, that the comparative mildness of the season alone prevented this gallant little band from perishing almost in sight of the object of their toils.†

On the evening of the 23d, Colonel Clark dispatched a message to the people of Vincennes, informing them that he should take possession of the town that night, and that no violence would be used against those who abstained from aiding the enemy, and urging all the friends of the King of England to repair to the fort, and to fight like men.

At twilight the troops were paraded with flags and martial music around the summit of a contiguous eminence, in order to display their lines, and to augment their numbers in the eyes of the people, while a detachment of fourteen men were sent to begin the attack upon the fort with the rifle. When the attack was first made, the British commander was not aware that any enemy was at hand, until the sharp crack of the rifle announced their presence, and warned him to his post.

When the attack commenced, Colonel Hamilton and his prisoner, Captain Helm, were amusing themselves over a social game of cards and apple-toddy. At the crack of the rifle, Captain Helm, as if inspired by the sound, sprung to his feet, and, with the usual expletive, exclaimed, "It is Clark, and we shall all be his prisoners!" The town of Vincennes, on the east side of the Wabash, immediately surrendered, and many of the inhabitants gladly assisted in the investment of the fort.

A constant fire by moonlight from the marksmen, securely

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 81-83.

† See Jefferson's Correspondence, Randolph's ed., vol. 1, p. 451, 452.

posted out of reach of the guns of the fort, took down every man who dared to expose his person above the walls. About midnight, when the moon had declined behind the western hills, and darkness had spread its mantle over the besiegers, Colonel Clark ordered a deep ditch opened within rifle shot of the fort, to shield his men from the fire of the enemy during the following day. Before the next dawn of day, the riflemen were securely sheltered in the ditch, from which they poured a continued volley of well-directed balls into the port-holes, and without the loss of a man silenced two pieces of cannon in fifteen minutes.* Every gunner who presented himself to direct the cannon was immediately killed by the unseen riflemen firing through the port-holes, until, terror-stricken at the unerring aim, they abandoned the batteries.

Eighteen hours had the garrison been exposed to this destructive fire, when Colonel Clark sent a menacing summons to the commander, demanding the surrender of the fort.† After a protracted conference relative to the terms of capitulation, Colonel Hamilton signed the article late in the evening of the 24th of February, and on the following day, Colonel Clark, at the head of two companies, entered the fort victoriously, while Captains Bowman and M'Carty, with their companies, received the prisoners.

In the first assault, one of Colonel Clark's men was wounded by a shot from the port-holes, who was the only man injured on the part of the assailants. During the siege on the second day, a war-party of Western Indians, ignorant of the presence of Colonel Clark, arrived from an excursion against the Kentucky settlements, bringing with them two white prisoners, and encamped in the vicinity of the fort. Colonel Clark soon resolved to give them battle, and detached a party, who encountered the savages, and in a short time completely routed them,

* See Colonel Clark's Report, Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 551.

† The following is a copy of the summons sent by Colonel Clark to his British antagonist, viz.:

"SIR,—In order to save yourself from the impending storm which now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c., for, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or injuring any house in town, for, by Heaven! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

"G. B. CLARK."

—See North American Review, No. 105, October, 1839, p. 301.

with the loss of nine warriors, besides the recapture of the two white prisoners. The remainder of the Indians, surprised at the courage and impetuosity of the American troops, fled with precipitation.

The humbled pride of the haughty commander of Detroit, upon his unexpected reverses, was but half concealed when, in signing the articles of capitulation, with affected complacency he declared, that in the surrender he was greatly influenced by the "*known generosity of his enemy.*"*

The articles stipulated for the surrender of Fort Sackville, with its military stores and ordnance, together with its entire dependences, including the whole force under his command, as prisoners of war.

After a few days, intelligence was received that an escort of forty men, convoying a large amount of merchandise, including goods for the Indians and supplies for the army, was advancing by way of the Wabash from Detroit. With the utmost dispatch Colonel Clark took measures to intercept and capture the rich cargo and the escort, before the commander should receive intelligence of the fall of the post at Vincennes. With the secrecy and dispatch so characteristic of all Colonel Clark's military operations, Captain Helm, the late British prisoner, at the head of sixty men, was on his way to intercept the unsuspecting detachment. The ever-successful captain, after a few days' absence, returned in charge of the entire escort, prisoners of war, and the cargo, amounting to ten thousand pounds in value, all of which had been captured without the loss of a man in the enterprise.

The private soldiers surrendered by Colonel Hamilton were dismissed on parole, many of them being Canadian French. But Colonel Hamilton himself, Major Hay, and a few other officers of lower grade, as company for Governor Rocheblave, were sent in charge of Captain Williams, under guard, to the capital of Virginia, prisoners of war, there to meet the just indignation of an outraged people from the hands of the civil authorities.

Having organized a provisional government at Vincennes and its dependences, Colonel Clark returned to Kaskaskia.

While at Vincennes, Colonel Clark had planned a campaign for the capture of Detroit, which was finally abandoned on ac-

* See Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 164, &c.

count of the remote situation of the post and the difficulty of procuring supplies at that distant point, and for want of sufficient re-enforcements from the settlements on the Ohio. At that time, having entered into treaty stipulations with most of the northwestern tribes, he had for the expedition the proffered service of several thousand warriors who were anxious to turn their arms against the British power in Canada, and to fight under the standard of the great American chief. But Colonel Clark was unwilling to conduct a savage invasion against the frontiers of Canada, and the enterprise was finally abandoned. An expedition for the reduction of Detroit, the great store-house of Indian warfare, had also been contemplated by General M'Intosh the same year from Fort Pitt. The object, however, was virtually accomplished by the captivity of the commandant and his army at Vincennes.

The executive council of Virginia, pleased with the opportunity of avenging the numerous wrongs, cruelties, and murders inflicted upon the frontier people, by retaliating condign punishment upon the authors and prime instigators of all those barbarities, consigned Governor Hamilton and his associates to close imprisonment in irons.

This sentence of the Executive Council was passed upon them for the following reasons,* viz.:

"1st. In retaliation for cruel treatment of our captive citizens by the enemy generally.

"2d. For the barbarous species of warfare which he himself and his savage allies carried on in our western frontier.

"3d. For particular acts of barbarity of which he himself was personally guilty toward some of our citizens when in his power."†

* See Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 162, 168, 185, and 453.

† During the whole course of the Revolutionary war, the British officers and agents permitted and instigated the Indians to indulge in every species of cruelty and barbarity against the American people within their reach. The following extract from the journals of the Executive Council of Virginia will throw some light upon the conduct of these agents of a Christian power. Among these, captured by Colonel Clark at Vincennes, were Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, Major Hay, Philip Dejean, justice of the peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers. The proceedings of the Executive Council on the 18th of June, 1779, "relative to the case of Henry Hamilton, Esq., who has acted for some years past as lieutenant-governor of the settlements at and about Detroit, and commandant of the British garrison there," &c.

"The council find that Governor Hamilton has executed his task of exciting the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of the United States, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, with an eagerness and avidity which evince that the general nature of his charge harmonized with his peculiar disposition," &c.

Although numerous attempts to harass the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia by savage incursions were made at Detroit subsequently, no attempt was ever made to recover the posts on the Wabash and Upper Mississippi. The

The journal continues to declare that "the uniform tenor of his cruelty is established by numerous documents and ample testimony. At the time of his capture, it appears he had sent considerable bodies of Indians against the border population of these states, and had actually appointed a great council to meet him at (the mouth of) Tennessee, to concert the operations of this present campaign. They find that his treatment of our citizens and soldiers, taken and carried within the limits of his command, *has been cruel and inhuman*; that in the case of John Dodge, a citizen of these states, which has been particularly stated to this board, *he loaded him with irons, threw him into a dungeon, without bedding, without straw, without fire*, in the dead of winter and in the severe climate of Detroit; that in that state he wasted with incessant expectations of death; that when the rigors of his situation had brought him so low that death seemed likely to withdraw him from their power, he was taken out and somewhat attended to, until a little mended, and before he had recovered ability to walk, was again returned to his *dungeon, in which a hole only seven inches square was cut for the admission of air*, and the same load of irons put upon him; that appearing a second time in imminent danger of being lost to them, he was again taken from his dungeon, in which he had lain from January until June, with the intermission of a few weeks only, before mentioned. That Governor Hamilton gave standing rewards for *scalps*, but *offered none for prisoners*; which induced the Indians, after making their captives carry their baggage into the neighborhood of the fort, *there to put them to death and carry their scalps to the governor*, who welcomed their return and success by a discharge of cannon; that when a prisoner, who had been destined to death by the Indians, was dextrously withdrawn by a fellow-prisoner, from pure humanity, after the fire was kindled, and himself tied to the stake, a large reward was offered for the discovery of the victim; and when his place of concealment was known, Dejean, being sent with a party of soldiers, surrounded the house and took the unhappy victim and his deliverer, and threw them into jail, where the former soon expired, under perpetual assurances from Dejean that he was to be again restored to the Indians for execution; and the latter, when discharged, was bitterly reprimanded by Governor Hamilton. It appears that Dejean was upon all occasions the willing and cordial instrument of Governor Hamilton, acting both as judge and keeper of the jail; instigating and urging him, by malicious insinuations and untruths, to increase rather than relax his severities; and heightening the cruelty of his orders by his manner of executing them; offering at one time a reward to one man to be hangman for another, threatening his life on refusal, and taking from his prisoners the little property their opportunities enabled them to acquire.

"It appears that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping-parties of Indians and whites who went from time to time, under general orders to *spare neither men, women, nor children*." These are only a few circumstances from many others.

"They have seen that the conduct of the British officers, both civil and military, has, in the whole course of this war, been savage and unprecedented among civilized nations; that our officers taken by them have been confined in crowded jails, loathsome dungeons and prison-ships, loaded with irons, supplied often with no food, generally with too little for the sustenance of nature, and that little sometimes unsound and unwholesome, whereby numbers have perished," &c. Therefore, "this board has resolved to advise the governor that the said Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean, and William Lamothe, prisoners of war, be put in irons, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded from all converse, except with their keepers; and the governor orders accordingly; they being some of those very individuals who, having distinguished themselves personally in this line of cruel conduct, are fit subjects to begin with in the work of retaliation."—See Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 456-458.

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all this were
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locality—

civil and military jurisdiction of Virginia was extended over the whole country, until after the close of the Revolutionary war, as the "County of Illinois." This county had been organized early in the spring of 1779.

By the treaty of peace, Great Britain renounced all claim to the whole territory east of the Mississippi.

Thus terminated forever the dominion of Great Britain in the Illinois and Wabash countries, with the loss of three military posts, which commanded the whole northwestern territory of the United States.

To the Americans the conquest was doubly important, because the victories on the Upper Mississippi were won without bloodshed or military devastation; and while the conquest secured the hearts of the people as well as the country, it was only a sure presage of similar reverses to the British arms upon the Lower Mississippi.

The Loss of West Florida.—From the commencement of the Revolutionary war until the spring of 1778, the people of West Florida had remained free from any participation in the war which had been raging along the Atlantic seaboard and upon the western frontier, or Ohio region. During the summer of 1777, the Federal government, having secured the friendship and favorable consideration of the Spanish authorities of Louisiana, had made arrangements, through Oliver Pollock, the American agent in New Orleans, for supplies of ammunition, military stores, and munitions of war for the western posts. Supplies of this kind, including several small field-pieces of artillery, transported up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers in keel-boats and barges, under the command of American officers, had been received at Fort Pitt in the autumn of the same year: The Spanish possessions on the west side of the river, and the constant intercourse between New Orleans and Upper Louisiana, by means of the river commerce, greatly facilitated the American officers in the arduous enterprise of transporting military stores upon a river which was partly claimed by the English, and which was occupied by numerous English settlements, with several military posts, for more than two hundred miles below the mouth of the Yazoo. The Spaniards had an undoubted right to the river navigation; but not so with the Americans. The latter encountered great hazard, and often imminent danger, in navigating the river, or in attempting to

evade the vigilance of the English commandants, being sometimes compelled to procure their supplies through Spanish bargemen beyond the surveillance of the British posts on the Lower Mississippi.

Nevertheless, through the enterprise and discretion of Captain William Lynn, Colonel Rodgers, Captain James Willing, and Captain Benham, the American posts on the Ohio and Upper Mississippi were repeatedly supplied during the years 1777, 1778, and 1779 with military stores and supplies from New Orleans.

It was in one of these expeditions, in the winter and spring of 1778, that Captain Willing descended the Mississippi with a detachment of fifty men, in two keel-boats, for supplies from New Orleans for the western posts. The King of Spain was on terms of peace with the United States, and maintained a neutral attitude as to Great Britain. Captain Willing, although in the service of the United States, which were engaged in a deadly war with Great Britain, was willing to consider the English settlements on the east side of the river, below the Yazoo, as neutrals in the war, taking no active agency either for or against the United States; yet as he was necessarily, in self-defense, compelled to observe the greatest circumspection and precaution, to avoid the vigilance of the English agent in New Orleans, who was closely observing any violation of neutrality in the Spanish authorities, and who had remonstrated with the Governor of Louisiana relative to former supplies obtained by agents of the United States, Captain Willing deemed it prudent that he should have some assurance, as he descended to New Orleans, that the people of the Natchez district would observe a strict neutrality on their part. In order to place this question beyond doubt, he landed at Natchez, where he had formerly resided for several years before the war, and having obtained an interview with some of the citizens, he took the sense of the town in a public meeting, and with the general approbation entered into a written convention of neutrality.

The convention having been concluded and signed, Captain Willing prepared to descend on his perilous enterprise; but it was not long before he was informed that several individuals, repugnant to the convention, would not be governed by its provisions. Having satisfied himself that the opposition of these

men would be highly prejudicial to his operations, he determined to place them in military custody, and thereby secure their neutrality by preventing interference with his operations. To accomplish this object, he dispatched, at night, a corporal's guard, under the direction of a faithful guide, to the dwellings of the most obnoxious of the Loyalists, who were conveyed, together with some of their slaves and other personal property, to his headquarters on board his vessel, where they were detained under guard until a satisfactory assurance was given that they would not violate the convention of neutrality. This assurance having been given, they were set at liberty, and their property restored. To this there was only one exception. One individual, a pensioner of the king, from his known energy of character, his strong attachment to the royal cause, and his zealous efforts to promote the interests of his majesty's government, Captain Willing retained in custody, and conveyed him to the city of New Orleans. After a few days, the captain was induced to give him the liberty of the city upon his parole until his return to Natchez. Disregarding his parole, which he may have deemed only a release from an unlawful restraint, he returned to the vicinity of Natchez, resolved to seek revenge by taking redress in his own hands.

These transactions led to the first overt act of hostility on the part of West Florida against the troops of the United States, and placed the people of the district in the attitude of parties in the war. It was but a short time before Spain became involved with England in the war; and Florida then stood to Spain in the relation of an enemy's country, and became a legitimate object for conquest.

It was not many weeks afterward, when the first act of open hostility by the people of the Natchez district against the American troops occurred at Ellis's Cliffs, a short distance below the mouth of the St. Catharine Creek. This was a wanton attack, made by about twenty-five men in ambuscade, upon the troops and crew of one of Captain Willing's boats on their return from New Orleans.* The boat, advancing against the

* Whether Captain Willing was taken prisoner by the English while on the Lower Mississippi or not, I have not been able to ascertain, but am inclined to believe he must have been captured before he left West Florida, in 1778. One thing is certain: in the spring of 1779 he was a prisoner of war, and was kept in rigorous confinement, and a portion of the time in irons, in the British army. He was exchanged near the close of the year 1779, at the same time that Colonel Hamilton, of Detroit, M. Rocheblave, of Kaskaskia, and others were exchanged. His rigorous treatment by the ene-

strong current, was decoyed to the shore where the ambuscade was laid, when a sudden volley from the concealed party killed five men and wounded several others.* The boat immediately made land, and the crew surrendered. This boat was commanded by Lieutenant Reuben Harrison, who had been instructed to take his position for a short time at Natchez, in order to secure a strict observance of neutrality. Hostilities were suppressed by the judicious interference of others.

It would hardly be deemed strange, under these circumstances, if Captain Willing subsequently, on his return to Natchez, did land and pay his respects to his former adversary, by levying a heavy contribution upon his vindictive enemy for the use and benefit of the American service.

The wanton attack upon Captain Willing's boat and men was an outrage upon the officers of the United States, which accelerated the determination of the Spanish authorities of Louisiana to make active preparations for the entire subjugation of that portion of Louisiana which had been annexed to West Florida. The influence of Captain Willing was exerted with great industry, and was seconded by many influential Americans then resident in the country, to induce the Spanish governor, upon the first intelligence of a rupture between the English and Spanish courts, to make a vigorous campaign at the onset, and reduce the British posts before they could re-

my was retaliated on Colonel Hamilton and others.—See Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i., letter xii., p. 169.

* The party in concealment had been awaiting the expected arrival of this boat, which was known to be a few miles below. An ambuscade was formed, and two persons were unconcealed, to entice the boat near the shore. The boat was seen for several miles below, as she slowly toiled up the strong current. In an affidavit made by James Truly before William Ferguson, Esq., on the 6th of November, 1797, in Fairchild's precinct, he declares, "he has resided in the Natchez district since 1773, and is well acquainted in that vicinity; and that the party was commanded by Colonel Hutchens. That the party was concealed in the bushes and cane, while Captains Hooper and Bingaman remained upon the shore to hail the boat; that when the signal for enticing the boat over was made, some one urged that they should fire upon them as soon as they came in reach, without speaking; but that the people objected, and said it would be time to fire when they found there was a necessity; when they appointed Captains Hooper and Bingaman to remain unconcealed by the water-side (the rest being concealed), to know their intentions; but when Lieutenant Harrison came near enough to speak, and discovered that he had been basely decoyed over, he spoke aloud, and said he desired all those who were *friends of the United States* to separate from those who were not; in answer to which, Captain Hooper ordered all those on board who were *friendly to the Natchez* (English) to fall below the gunwale or jump ashore. In the confusion which ensued, a volley was fired from all sides, and five Americans were killed; the rest jumped ashore and called for quarter."—See Ellicott's Journal, p. 131, 132.

ceive aid, and while the Republicans in the province were highly exasperated at the treacherous breach of neutrality in the Natchez district. Many persons in West Florida were emigrants from North Carolina, Virginia, and the Middle States, and others were from the New England States, who took a lively interest in the struggle of their friends near the Atlantic seaboard. Such were anxious to see the British power excluded from the Mississippi in the south, as it had been already on the north, by the individual State of Virginia alone. Hence the military operations of Governor Galvez, for the reduction of the British posts of West Florida in 1779, were accompanied by a large number of patriotic Americans from the districts of Natchez and Baton Rouge, as well as from the Illinois country, who contributed the whole weight of their influence and personal services in the enterprise.*

While England had been waging war vigorously against the colonies, France and Spain were not indifferent spectators of the contest. Circumstances connected with the operations of the British arms against the colonies gave rise to a hostile collision between the French and English governments; and Spain, by an attempt of friendly intercession between England and France, gave offense to the English cabinet, and soon afterward became involved in the war as an ally of France. Having declared war against Great Britain, his Catholic majesty resolved upon the re-annexation of Florida to the province of Louisiana. Don Bernard de Galvez, colonel in the armies of Spain and governor of Louisiana, a man of genius and daring ambition for military distinction, having received the earliest intimation of the declaration of war, concerted measures for the immediate subjugation of all that portion of West Florida contiguous to the Mississippi.†

Such was the energy and dispatch of the Spanish governor, that on the first of September he was before Fort Bute with an army of fourteen hundred men. The commandant refused to capitulate, and made a brave resistance for five days, when the fort was carried by storm and utterly demolished.

From this point, the Spanish governor, re-enforced by several hundred militia, including a large number of patriotic Americans, marched northward to Baton Rouge, the strongest British

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 48.

† See Stoddart's Louisiana, p. 75, 76. Also, book iv., chap. I., of this work.

post on the Mississippi. This post was garrisoned with four hundred regular troops, besides one hundred militia; and the arsenal was abundantly supplied with arms, ordnance, and all kinds of military stores. Many of the troops, however, were disabled by sickness and consequent debility, reducing the real strength of the garrison far below its numerical force. The fort was immediately invested; and on the 21st of September the Spanish batteries opened upon the works, and after a brisk cannonade and bombardment of two hours and a half, the commandant, Colonel Dickinson, proposed to capitulate, and terms were speedily arranged.

In this capitulation, Colonel Dickinson surrendered to the King of Spain, not only the post of Baton Rouge, but also all that portion of West Florida near the Mississippi River, including Fort Panmure at Natchez, one small fort and garrison on the Amite, and another at Thompson's Creek. Thus Spain became possessed of West Florida eastward to Pearl River, and Great Britain lost the last remnant of territory in the Mississippi Valley. From this time, all that portion of West Florida south of latitude 31° north, and west of Pearl River, was known as the Florida district of Louisiana, under the Spanish dominion for more than thirty years, when the people revolted and expelled the Spanish authorities preparatory to its annexation to the United States; that portion north of latitude 31° was peaceably surrendered to the United States in 1798.

The King of Spain, well pleased with the success of Don Galvez, as a mark of approbation for his energetic conquest, conferred upon him the rank and title of brigadier-general, and confided to his judgment and valor the enterprise of reducing the remaining English posts in Florida near the Gulf of Mexico.

[A.D. 1780.] Preparations were urged during the winter, and early in March following General Galvez arrived with a strong force before "Fort Charlotte," at Mobile. The commandant refused to surrender, and a regular investment commenced. After a severe cannonade, the commander, on the 14th of March, was compelled to surrender to the Spanish arms. In the capitulation was comprised all the territory dependent upon this post, or from Pearl River to the Perdido.

The same year the Spaniards of Upper Louisiana, assisted by Colonel Clark from Kaskaskia, repulsed an attack made

upon St. Louis by a large body of Indians from Mackinaw, under the command of the commandant of that post.*

The only remaining post in West Florida was that of Pensacola, the headquarters of the governor. This was a regular fortress, defended by a strong garrison, and was not to be reduced without heavy artillery and ample military stores, which the Spanish commandant could not at once command. Consequently, he returned to New Orleans to provide for the reduction of this important post, whereby the whole of West Florida would be again restored to the crown of Spain.

During the remainder of this year the intrepid Galvez was unremitting in his efforts to reduce Pensacola: Twice had he advanced his forces by land and sea to the investment of the devoted post, and twice had his utmost efforts failed to effect a breach in the walls, or to compel the commander to capitulate, although reduced to the greatest extremities. At length he determined to withdraw his forces to Mobile and New Orleans, and at Havana seek re-enforcements and a heavy train of artillery from the powerful armament which was expected in that port under the command of Admiral Solano.

[A.D. 1781.] But it was not until the last of February following that he had sufficiently completed his preparations, and set out for the harbor of Pensacola. Having encountered a severe gale on the way, with considerable injury to his fleet, he did not reach the Bay of Pensacola until the 9th of March, when he proceeded to invest the British fortress by land and sea. Yet such was the terrible cannonade kept up by the garrison upon the Spanish fleet, that it was not until the 19th of March that the vessels of war could take their position to bombard the fort.

Having at length completed several land batteries in the rear of the fort, by which the enemy's fire was diverted from the fleet, the vessels immediately took their position and opened the bombardment. The garrison bravely defended the fortress to the last extremity, although the fire from the united batteries of the fleet and land was so destructive that the men were repeatedly driven from their guns. Yet for more than thirty days the garrison continued to resist every renewed assault of the Spaniards, until the 8th of May, when a shot from one of the Spanish batteries lodged in the magazine, producing a most

* See book iv., chap iii., of this work, for a full account of this expedition.

awful explosion, and completely demolishing their works. They were now completely exposed to the enemy's fire, and deprived of their ammunition; and further resistance being impracticable, the commandant, Colonel Campbell, proposed to capitulate. A suspension of hostilities accordingly took place, and on the 9th, articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged. In this capitulation Colonel Campbell, after a heroic defense, surrendered the Fort and Port of Pensacola, including the garrison of eight hundred men, and all the stores and ordnance, together with the whole province of West Florida.*

East Florida subsequently yielded to the victorious arms of his Catholic majesty, and the whole of Florida, including the eastern and western districts, were fully confirmed to the crown of Spain by the treaty of peace in 1783.

Thus terminated the British dominion upon the Lower Mississippi, two years after its termination upon the Ohio and in the Illinois country, and after an occupancy of less than twenty years from the expulsion of the French from the same region.

For the acquisition of this great and fertile region, Great Britain had contended with France for more than sixty years, at an immense cost of blood and treasure, expended in no less than five long and expensive wars, and great human suffering by sea and land. The occupancy was but short, and after a vexatious possession of less than one third the period she had been engaged in the contest for its acquisition, she was doomed by the inexorable decree of fate to be exiled from it, together with all her extensive provinces contiguous. Such are the great political revolutions by which an all-wise Providence sees proper to rule the great moral universe of mankind in fulfilling the destinies of nations.

* Martin's Louisiana. Also, Stoddart, p. 78.

Stoddart says the capitulation included "about one thousand men." The whole number in the garrison and vicinity of Pensacola was about that number; but during the siege about one hundred of the English had been killed, and double that number had been severely wounded. The Spanish loss, of course, was much less.—Stoddart, p. 79.

BOOK IV.

SPAIN IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

CHAPTER I.

LOUISIANA UNDER THE DOMINION OF SPAIN FROM THE DISMEMBERMENT TO THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM FLORIDA.—A.D. 1763 TO 1783.

Argument.—Extent of Spanish Louisiana.—Repugnance of the French of West Florida to the English Dominion.—French Opposition to the Spanish Dominion in Louisiana.—Spain indulges their Prejudices by deferring her Jurisdiction.—Public Remonstrances and Petitions against the Transfer to Spain.—Jean Milhet sent a Delegate to Paris.—His Mission unsuccessful.—Arrival of Don Ulloa as Spanish Commissioner in New Orleans.—He delays the formal Transfer of the Province.—French Population in Louisiana in 1766.—Spanish Troops arrive for the different Posts.—Popular Excitement against Ulloa.—The Superior Council requires him to leave the Province or produce his Commission.—He retires on Board a Spanish Man-of-war.—Perilous Condition of the prominent Malecontents.—Second Convention.—Second Mission to Paris.—General O'Reilly arrives at the Balize with a strong Spanish Force.—He notifies Aubry of his Arrival and his Powers.—His Professions of Lenity.—Ceremony of Transfer, August 18th, 1769.—The Flag of Spain displaces that of France.—Population of Louisiana in 1769.—Settlements of Upper Louisiana.—Arrest of twelve prominent French Citizens.—Their Trials, Imprisonment, and Execution.—Spanish Jurisdiction formally introduced in the Province.—"Superior Council" superseded by the "Cabildo."—Inferior Courts organized.—Rules of procedure in the Courts.—Spanish Emigrants arrive.—Summary of O'Reilly's Administration.—Subsequent Spanish Rule.—Commerce and Agriculture under Unzaga's mild Rule.—Population of Upper Louisiana in 1776.—Galvez Governor of Louisiana.—British Traders from Florida endeavor to monopolize the Trade of the Mississippi.—Spain favorable to the American Revolution.—Oliver Pollock and Captain Willing in New Orleans.—Spain espouses the War against Great Britain.—West Florida invaded by Governor Galvez.—Fort Charlotte captured in 1780.—Unsuccessful Attack on Pensacola.—Attack on St. Louis by British and Indians from Mackinaw.—Repulsed by Spaniards and Americans.—Bombardment and Capture of Pensacola, May 9th, 1781.—Surrender of West Florida.—Cession of East Florida to Spain.—Revolt in the Natchez District, and Capture of Fort Panmure in 1781.—Proceedings of the Spanish Authorities against the Insurgents.—Treaty of 1783 concluded.—Revival of Agricultural and commercial Enterprise.

[A.D. 1763.] THE boundaries of Spanish Louisiana, after the dismemberment, comprised, as we have already stated,* all that vast unknown region west of the Mississippi River, from its sources to the Gulf of Mexico, and extending westward to the extreme sources of all its great western tributaries among the Rocky Mountains. It included, also, the Island of New Orleans, on the east side of the Mississippi, and south of the Bayou Iberville. On the Gulf of Mexico it comprised the whole

* See book ii., chap. x., of this work.

coast, from Lake Borgne on the east, to the Bay of St. Bernard and the Colorado River on the west, with an unsettled claim to the territory westward to the Rio Bravo del Norte. Of course, it included the Mississippi River, with the western bank above the Iberville, and both banks from the Iberville to the Balize.

The troops of Great Britain had already taken possession of Florida, and that portion of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi, and north of the Iberville or Manchac Bayou. Many of the French in that region, dissatisfied with the idea of coming under the dominion of England, had retired to the western side of the river, believing they would still be within the dominion of France. But soon it became rumored that Western Louisiana also had been ceded to a foreign power. Many became highly excited and greatly alarmed when it was intimated that this portion of Louisiana had been ceded to the crown of Spain. These rumors were confirmed by dispatches from the French court early in October, 1763, announcing the cession of Western Louisiana to his Catholic majesty. M. de Abadie, the governor and director-general *ad interim*, was furnished with instructions by which he was to be governed in surrendering the province into the hands of the authorized agents of Spain, when they should be duly empowered and commissioned to receive it from him.

In the mean time, such was the state of excitement and dissatisfaction among the French population of Louisiana, that for nearly two years subsequently no active measures were taken by the Spanish crown to take formal possession of the province. It was hoped by the court of Madrid that a few months would suffice to cool down the excitement, and to allay the dissatisfaction which had manifested itself so generally in the province; hence it had been deemed expedient to permit the former French authorities to administer the civil government under the laws and usages of France, as if it were still a French dependence. But the people seemed unwilling to abandon their prejudices, or in any wise to become reconciled to the change of dominion.*

Under these circumstances, the court of Madrid declined to press the formal delivery of the province and the extension of the Spanish jurisdiction. Yet the population evinced no dis-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 348, 349.

position to submit peaceably to the Spanish dominion: but a determination to resist was plainly indicated among all classes. All the prominent citizens seemed still to retain their first impressions and prejudices against a foreign yoke, and all joined in deprecating subjection to the Spanish king. They still hoped to avert the fulfillment of the treaty by appeals and petitions to the throne of France, and they left untried no effort by which they hoped to influence the royal decision.

Early in the year 1765, a general meeting of the principal inhabitants and planters of the province convened in the city of New Orleans, for the purpose of discussing freely the subject of their distracted condition, and for sending to the throne of France their united appeals and prayers for the royal interposition in their behalf. The meeting was attended by a numerous assemblage, and the whole subject was freely discussed before the people, when it was resolved unanimously to send M. Jean Milhet, a wealthy merchant, as a delegate to France, to lay their memorial at the feet of the king.

In their petition they entreated the king to make such arrangements with his Catholic majesty as might obviate the necessity of a separation of his faithful subjects from the paternal rule of France. M. Milhet arrived in Paris, and, to give effect to his embassy, he appeared before the prime minister in company with the aged Bienville, "the father of Louisiana," now in his eighty-seventh year, whose entreaties were joined with those of the whole province; but the complaints and remonstrances of the Spanish court had preceded them, and had prepared the minister and the king to disregard their petitions.

[A.D. 1766.] The minister was averse to the prayer of the petitioners, and artfully prevented M. Milhet from an interview with the king. After many unavailing efforts on his part, M. Milhet, discouraged at the apathy of the court, returned to Louisiana, and reported the result of his unsuccessful mission. Still the people would not despair until the result of a second mission should be known. But the second mission of M. Milhet the following year was equally unsuccessful, and all hope of evading the Spanish yoke began to vanish.

Two years had now elapsed since D'Abadie, the director-general of the province, had received instructions for the delivery of the country to the proper authorities of his Catholic majesty. The delusive hope of remaining under the dominion

of France did not forsake them until late in the month of July, when a formal notice was received to the director-general in New Orleans, by a messenger from Havana, that Don Antonio de Ulloa, commissioner of his Catholic majesty, would repair to New Orleans in the autumn for the purpose of receiving formal possession of the province.

Accordingly, he arrived in New Orleans, accompanied by two companies of Spanish infantry, where he was received by the people with constrained and silent respect. Perceiving the remaining dissatisfaction, and the violence of the popular prejudice against the Spanish authority, Don Ulloa deemed it prudent to refrain from the exercise of his authority, and declined to present his commission for receiving possession of the province until he should be sustained by such re-enforcements from Havana as would justify the departure of the French troops. Until the arrival of such troops from Havana, he determined to spend a few weeks in visiting the different military posts of Louisiana, and especially the old Spanish settlement of the Adaës, and the post at Natchitoches.

The population of Spanish Louisiana at this time was estimated at something more than ten thousand souls, of whom five thousand five hundred and fifty-six were whites; the remainder were negro slaves. Among the whites were nearly one thousand nine hundred men capable of bearing arms, and one thousand four hundred and forty-four marriageable women, besides one thousand three hundred and seventy-five boys, and one thousand two hundred and forty girls.*

[A.D. 1767.] At length the troops expected from Havana arrived; but still Don Ulloa declined to produce his commission, and deferring the formal reception of the province, distributed the troops among the different military posts, to relieve the French troops on duty. The Spanish government doubtless desired to effect the transfer of sovereignty with as little violence to the prejudices of the people as was practicable, and quietly to occupy the military posts while the civil jurisdiction was undisturbed, until the people should gradually become reconciled to the new order of government. Yet the delays and the temporizing movements of Don Ulloa served only to irritate the unsettled and suspicious apprehensions of the people. Many anxiously expected the return of M. Milhet,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., p. 354.

who was still in France; and a lingering hope still remained that his efforts might yet be successful in averting the transfer. At length he returned, a second time unsuccessful, when all hope suddenly vanished. Many became desperate; and others, exasperated at their disappointment, began to manifest their opposition to Don Ulloa, who still declined a public official recognition of his authority as commissioner. Yet he was upon intimate terms with the French director-general, Mons. Aubry, who had succeeded D'Abadie; and the people became jealous of the influence which he might exert against them. Public meetings were held in the different settlements and in the city. Each meeting elected delegates to a general meeting, or convention, to be held in New Orleans. This convention resolved to petition the Superior Council to direct Don Ulloa and the principal Spanish officers to leave the province. The petition was signed by five hundred and fifty of the most wealthy and respectable citizens and planters. Ulloa was denounced, and threatened as a disturber of the peace, and all viewed his presence in the province with jealousy and suspicion. Many believed the formal reception of the province was designedly delayed for state purposes, and none knew how deeply they might be interested personally in the result.

[A.D. 1768.] During the summer of 1768, rumor gave notice of the arrival of a powerful Spanish fleet at Havana, and that its ultimate destination was the province of Louisiana. Strong apprehensions were aroused in the public mind. Many expected the people would be driven to open resistance, with all its consequent horrors. The English authorities of West Florida were consulted for aid, in case matters were urged to extremities; but no encouragement was given. At length, on the 29th of October, the popular anxiety and excitement became so extreme, that the Superior Council, overruling the opposition and protest of Aubry, the president, deemed it expedient to require Don Ulloa to produce his commission and credentials from the Spanish court, for verification and record in the minutes of their proceedings, or to depart from the province within one month. This decree of the council was sustained by the inhabitants of the city of New Orleans and of the German coast, and six hundred armed men stood ready to enforce obedience to the order. Under these alarming appearances, and the increasing discontent of the people, Don Ulloa deter-

mined, without further delay, to retire from Louisiana into the Island of Cuba. He retired on board one of the king's vessels then moored opposite the city, where he remained until night of the following day, when the cables were cut by the populace and the vessel was set adrift. Other Spanish vessels soon left the port.*

Things had now remained in this state of anxious suspense for nearly three years. The people determined, since the Spanish vessels and commissioner were gone, to make one more effort with the King of France to avert the dreaded transfer. A mere difference of opinion, and a discontented mind, had now become an offense against the authority of Spain; and the consequences to them, personally, might well be apprehended as any thing but desirable, especially to such as had been most active in expressing their dissatisfaction. A general meeting, or convention, of all the delegates from the parishes was again convened at New Orleans. From this convention two members were selected, and commissioned to repair with all haste and lay the petition and entreaties from the province of Louisiana once more before the king. The two delegates selected were M. St. Lette, of Natchitoches, and M. La Sassier, a member of the Superior Council.†

[A.D. 1769.] In March following, the Spanish intendant for Louisiana arrived at Havana; but learning from Don Ulloa the popular excitement and the general discontent, he declined proceeding to New Orleans, and finally returned to Spain. The delegates had proceeded to Paris; but the voyage across the Atlantic had been long and tedious, and they arrived too late. A large Spanish force was in readiness to sail for the Mississippi, to silence all opposition against the dominion of Spain. Apprehending much resistance in the province, the King of Spain had prepared a formidable army, to proceed to Louisiana under one of his most energetic generals. Don Alexander O'Reilly, lieutenant-general in the armies of Spain, had been appointed governor and captain-general of the province of Louisiana by the king's commission, dated at Aranjuez, April 16, 1769. With a strong military force at his disposal, he was now on the Atlantic, sailing for the mouth of the Mississippi.

At New Orleans, things remained tranquil until the 29d of

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. I., p. 358, 359.

† *Idem*, p. 352.

July, when intelligence was received that a strong Spanish armament, with four thousand five hundred troops on board, had arrived at the Balize, on their way to New Orleans. On the day following, Governor Aubry received by express a dispatch from Don Alexander O'Reilly, commander of the Spanish forces, notifying him that he was duly authorized to receive formal possession of the province of Louisiana in the name of the King of Spain. He expressed himself desirous of maintaining a good understanding between the authorities of Spain and the people of Louisiana, but with a firm determination to put down all opposition, and to extend the jurisdiction of his sovereign over the province.*

On the 27th of July, a meeting of the citizens was convened, from whom were selected three persons, M. Grandmaison, town-major, Lafrenière, attorney-general, and M. Mazent, a wealthy planter, as delegates to Don O'Reilly, informing him of their determination to abandon the province, and praying only the favor of permission to remove, with their effects, within two years. The Spanish captain-general received the delegates with courtesy, and returned a conciliatory reply. He promised that all former occurrences should be forgotten; that to all who proved themselves good citizens, and yielded a proper obedience to the Spanish authority, all former acts should be buried in oblivion, and all offenses should be forgiven to those who returned to their duty.

In the mean time, the people of the German and Acadian coasts were still in arms, and refused to submit to the Spanish government. A considerable body of them, conducted by M. Villière, had marched down to the city, where they arrived on the first of August.

About two weeks afterward, the Spanish armament cast anchor before the city of New Orleans; and in two days more the troops finally disembarked, and were marched into the public square in front of the government buildings. Here, on the 18th of August, in presence of a large concourse of people, and before the troops of both powers, the public ceremony of delivering the province to the Spanish governor was performed, when the flag of France slowly descended from the top of the flag-staff, greeting that of Spain as it mounted aloft before the assembled multitude, and was cheered by the troops

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. i, p. 361.

of both nations. The Spanish authority was forthwith proclaimed dominant over the whole province.*

Thus was Louisiana, on the 18th of August, 1769, and about seventy years after its first colonization under Iberville, forever lost to France. During the period of its colonial dependence on France, it had slowly augmented its population from a few destitute fishermen and hunters to a flourishing colony of twelve thousand souls, distributed in several important settlements, besides the city and vicinity of New Orleans.

At this period there had been for many years quite a lucrative trade between the Illinois country and Lower Louisiana in the mutual exchange of their respective commodities. For more than ten years past, Louisiana had carried on quite a respectable foreign trade through the ports of New Orleans and Mobile. During the last year, the exports of the province were valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, embracing the following articles and amounts respectively, viz.: Indigo, valued at one hundred thousand dollars; deer-skins, to the value of eighty thousand dollars; lumber, to the value of fifty thousand dollars; and other miscellaneous articles, to the value of twenty thousand dollars.* Cotton and sugar had not become articles of export.

Don O'Reilly entered upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to his station with every outward mark of respect from all classes of the population. Tranquillity soon prevailed over the whole province; but great anxiety was entertained by many as to the subsequent policy and designs of the new governor.

The first act of his administration was to order a complete census of the city of New Orleans. This was accomplished with great accuracy, and presented an aggregate of 3190 souls. Of these, 1803 persons were free whites; 31 were free blacks; 66 were of mixed blood; 1225 were slaves, and 60 were domesticated Indians. The city contained 468 houses of all descriptions.

The population of the province, exclusive of New Orleans, amounted to ten thousand two hundred and forty-eight souls, exclusive of about fifteen hundred souls who were comprised in the district of West Florida, under the dominion of Great Britain.

* Martin, vol. i., p. 362. Stoddart's Louisiana, p. 72.

† Martin, vol. i., p. 363.

Thus the aggregate population of Spanish Louisiana at the period of the transfer, including the settlements on the Upper Mississippi, was about thirteen thousand five hundred and forty souls.*

Up to this time but few habitations had been made on the west bank of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio. The oldest of these was St. Geneviève, first settled by a few French families in the year 1751. There were several other small settlements of more recent date, but none of much importance except St. Louis, which received its principal population after the cession of the Illinois country to Great Britain, as did most of the other small towns in this quarter. The site of St. Louis was first selected for a town by M. la Clede, in the year 1764, when it was made the general dépôt for the fur-trade.

Although Governor O'Reilly had promised pardon to all who submitted quietly to his authority, and oblivion for all past offenses, he had resolved to except and to punish the principal instigators of the late discontent, and the former opposition to the Spanish authority. This determination was artfully concealed until about the last of August, when, by an act of treachery and dissimulation, he first made known his designs by the arrest of four of the most prominent citizens of the province. These were M. Focault, former commissary-general and ordonnateur, M. de Noyant and M. Boisblanc, two members of the former Superior Council, M. la Frenière, former attorney-general, and M. Brand, the king's printer.

These men, confiding in his professions of esteem and friendship, accepted an invitation to attend his levée; and, while enjoying the hospitality of his house, were, with true Spanish treachery, invited by O'Reilly himself into an adjoining apartment, where they soon found themselves surrounded by a body

* The population, as given by Martin, is as follows:

Parishes and Settlements, exclusive of New Orleans.

1. Below the city on the river . . .	570	Brought forward,	7678
2. Bayou St. John and Gentilly . . .	307	9. Attakapas	409
3. Tchoupitoulas	4192	10. Avoyelles	314
4. St. Charles	639	11. Natchitoches	811
5. St. Jean Baptiste	544	12. Rapides	47
6. La Fourche	267	13. Washita	110
7. Iberville	376	14. Arkansas	88
8. Point Coupée	783	15. St. Louis, or Upper Louisiana	891
Carried forward,	7678		10348

—See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii, p. 3.

of grenadiers with fixed bayonets, the commander of which, informing them that they were the king's prisoners, conveyed them under a military guard to places of confinement, there to await their trial.

O'Reilly had determined to make an example of eight other prominent individuals concerned in the opposition to Don Ulloa's authority. Within a few days afterward, this number was completed by the arrest of the following persons, agreeably to his order, viz. : M. Marquis, officer of the troop ; M. Doucet, a lawyer ; Messrs. Villière, Mazent, and Petit, planters ; and Messrs. John Milhet, Joseph Milhet, Caresse, and Poupet, merchants.

Soon after the arrest of M. Villière, while in confinement on board a man-of-war, he was visited by his wife, who was not permitted to enter his apartment. Indignant at the outrage, and frantic with despair, he attempted to force his way to her, when a struggle with the guards ensued, and he was killed. Still she was not permitted to witness his last moments, and, to aggravate her frantic grief, his bloody shirt was afterward thrown out to her, as evidence of his death, with an order for her immediate departure from the ship. Such was a specimen of the lenity which others might expect from the mercy of O'Reilly.

The remaining eleven prisoners were soon put upon a formal trial, charged with having aided and abetted an insurrection against the king's authority, as provided by the laws of Castile and Spain, which were unknown in Louisiana. The trials which followed were hasty, arbitrary, and tyrannical in the extreme, evincing the vindictive resolution of the captain-general to make an example of those who had been active in the late revolt.

They all pleaded against the jurisdiction, and declined to be tried by the laws of Spain, which had not been extended over the province at the time of the alleged insurrection. They claimed to have been subjects of the King of France ; that the French flag was then waving over the province ; and that their acts had been in accordance with their allegiance and duty to the King of France : that they owed no allegiance to the King of Spain until the Spanish authority had been proclaimed, and the Spanish flag and laws had duly superseded those of France ; that the acts charged could not constitute an offense against

the Spanish laws while those of France retained their empire over the province; that Ulloa had never made known his authority, but had studiously concealed it, if, indeed, he were clothed with any; that O'Reilly could not claim or expect obedience from the people until he had made known to them his character and powers; and that no act was charged against them after this manifestation of his authority.

The plea was sustained relative to several who had been officers of the former government, but was overruled in relation to De Noyant, La Frenière, Marquis, Joseph Milhet, and Caresse, who were formally convicted, and by O'Reilly sentenced to be hanged, with confiscation of property.

This severity, impolitic as it was cruel and uncalled for, was justified by O'Reilly as necessary to protect the province against other and more daring combinations, which might convulse the peace of the country unless such offenders were brought to punishment. Such was the plea of necessity with which he vindicated his acts of cruel revenge, if not his atrocious treachery.

Consternation and fear fell upon all the French residents, and none could deem themselves safe against arbitrary power; and from the sullen silence observed by O'Reilly, they knew not how far he might be disposed to wreak his vengeance upon those who might be obnoxious to his displeasure.*

The victims enjoyed but a short respite between conviction and the execution of their sentence. O'Reilly remained inexorable to the most earnest entreaties from persons of every rank in the community, that he would suspend the sentence of death until the royal clemency could be implored. The only concession he would grant was the commutation of death by hanging to death by fire-arms, or military execution.

On the 28th of September all the troops were under arms, and were paraded through the streets until noon, when they were stationed in martial order along the levée and in the public square. Alarm and apprehension spread through the city, and many of the inhabitants fled into the country. The troops were kept under arms until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the victims were marched to a small square in front of the barracks, where they were bound to stakes and blindfolded. In a few moments more a loud discharge of musketry announced to the remaining inhabitants that their friends were

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 5-7.

no more.* Thus terminated the sacrifice of the first victims of O'Reilly's tyranny.

The proceedings against the other prisoners were suspended for a few weeks, after which the following persons were sentenced to imprisonment in the Moro Castle at Havana for different terms, viz. : Messieurs Boisblanc, John Milhet, Petit, and Poupet. It was not long before they were shipped to Havana, to take their cells in the Moro Castle, where they remained until the following year, when they were discharged by order of the king.†

O'Reilly proceeded to abolish the French courts and the municipal regulations, and to substitute those of Spain. On the 21st of November he issued his proclamation for the abolition of the Superior Council, which he alleged had been deeply implicated in the former treasonable movements against the Spanish authority, as appeared from the testimony elicited during the late trials.

In place of the Superior Council, he established the Cabaldo, constituted of six perpetual regidores, two ordinary alcaldes, one attorney-general syndic, and one clerk. The offices of perpetual regidores and clerk were to be acquired by purchase, and, on certain conditions, were transferable. The ordinary alcaldes and attorney-general syndic were to be chosen on the first day of every year by the Cabaldo, and might be re-eligible by the unanimous vote of the Cabaldo. Thus the high court was made virtually perpetual and self-constituted. The inferior civil offices were filled chiefly with French citizens of Louisiana.

The ordinary alcaldes were vested with judicial powers individually within the city, in common civil and criminal cases. The attorney-general syndic was not a prosecuting officer of the crown, as his title might seem to indicate, but his duty was to propose to the Cabaldo such measures as the interests of the people required, and to defend their rights from invasion.

The Cabaldo was a high court and a legislative council, at which the governor presided. In its judicial capacity it exercised only appellate jurisdiction, in appeals carried up from the alcalde courts. The Cabaldo sat every Friday, and it was subject to be convened at any time by a call from the governor.‡

The Cabaldo being duly organized, the governor surrendered the chair, or the presidency in that body, to Don Louis de Un-

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 5-7.

† *Idem*, p. 8.

‡ *Idem*, p. 9, 10

zaga, colonel in the regiment of Havana, who had been designated as the future governor of the province after O'Reilly's departure.*

The next step taken by O'Reilly in organizing the new government was to cause a set of instructions to be prepared for the regulation of proceedings in civil and criminal cases, to be conducted in the courts agreeably to the laws and usages of Castile and the Indies. Other minor regulations were prepared for the government of the probate courts and the succession of estates. A commandant, with the rank of captain, was appointed for each parish, with authority to exercise a mixed civil and military jurisdiction; being an officer of the peace, he had authority to enforce all general police regulations, and to decide all controversies in which the amount did not exceed twenty dollars. The Spanish language was made the tongue in which the judicial records throughout the province were to be kept and the proceedings conducted.†

The Spanish authority and laws were now duly enforced, without further arrests or executions, and confidence began slowly to be established in the minds of the French population. Spanish emigrants soon began to arrive in great numbers from Spain, the Indies, and the American provinces, by which the population of the city and province was augmented so rapidly as to produce a general and alarming scarcity of provisions. Flour in the city rose in value to twenty dollars per barrel,‡ and other provisions in proportion.

[A.D. 1770.] During the short period of O'Reilly's power, although exercised with great rigor and severity, he introduced many useful regulations, and enacted many salutary laws, which he caused to be published for the use of the province. Numerous grants of land were made and located on the western bank of the Mississippi, and in the prairies west of the Atchafalaya and Teche.

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 12, 13.

† Idem, p. 14, 15.

‡ At this time, during the extreme scarcity of breadstuffs, Oliver Pollock, from Baltimore, arrived with a cargo of flour, which he offered to General O'Reilly upon his own terms, for the use of the troops and city. But O'Reilly declining to receive it on those terms, Pollock sold it to him at fifteen dollars per barrel. O'Reilly was so pleased at the purchase, that he granted to Pollock the free trade of Louisiana as long as he lived, and promised to report his generosity to the king. The advantages of this trade were enjoyed by Pollock for several years afterward, and placed him in a situation, subsequently, to act for the United States as "agent" for supplying the western posts on the Ohio and Upper Mississippi.—See book iii., chap. iv., of this work. Also, Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 12.

The "black code," *code noir*, formerly given by Louis XV., was re-enacted for the protection and government of the slaves. Foreigners were prohibited from passing through the domain without a passport from the governor, and the people were prevented from trading with individuals descending the river from the United States. Many of the local regulations and ordinances were particularly oppressive to the French, but they had permission to retire from the province quietly whenever they saw proper. Many, of course, availed themselves of this privilege, and abandoned a country where their situation was rendered more precarious, from a remaining suspicion of their disaffection to the Spanish authority, entertained by a governor who had clearly shown himself despotic, arbitrary, and treacherous. They preferred the alternative of departing to the Island of St. Domingo, the nearest French colony, where they could enjoy personal safety among their own countrymen, and free from suspicion.

But when the tyrant found that he was effectually driving from the province many valuable citizens, merchants, mechanics, and planters, he determined to put a check to this kind of emigration by refusing to issue passports. Hence many were compelled to remain and abide the concealed vengeance of a vindictive governor. By such means he suppressed the manifestation of a desire to emigrate, but did not eradicate it from the discontented mind.*

The province was, however, soon relieved from further anxiety, and the fear of O'Reilly's vengeance. At the end of one year he was superseded in the command of the province by Don Antonio Maria Bucarely as "Captain-general of Louisiana." O'Reilly returned to Spain under the severe displeasure of his sovereign, Charles III., who forbade his appearance at court.

The subsequent government of Spain in Louisiana was generally mild and paternal, partly military and partly civil. The governor exercised both civil and military authority. The captain-general was commander of all the military posts and of the troops of the province. The intendant superintended the administration of the revenue laws, and not unfrequently

* An excellent synopsis of the civil and military polity of Spain in Louisiana may be seen in Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, from p. 270 to 290, to which the reader is referred for a more full account of the minutiae of the Spanish provincial government.

this duty was exercised by the governor himself. The governor exercised judicial powers in such civil cases as might be brought before him. The affairs of the Church were committed to the charge of the vicar-general. In each parish there was a military officer, or commandant, whose duty was to attend to the police of the parish, and to preserve the peace. He also exercised most of the duties which are usually assigned to magistrates and notaries public in the United States, and had jurisdiction in all civil cases where the matter in dispute did not exceed twenty dollars in value.

The Captain-general of Cuba, under the king, exercised a general supervision of the province as intermediate between the crown and the king's officers in Louisiana.

[A.D. 1771.] The commerce of Louisiana, under the restrictions imposed by O'Reilly, continued to languish for two years, but it soon afterward began to revive under the judicious policy of Unzaga, who soon rescinded most of those restrictions which were in force during the first months of his administration.* He also encouraged agricultural industry and enterprise, by such means as were within his power; and thereby gave an impulse to agricultural enterprise, which had been almost entirely suppressed under his predecessor. Notwithstanding the restrictions of the royal schedule in 1766, he wisely permitted the planters to supply themselves with slaves for the cultivation of their estates from the British traders in West Florida.

[A.D. 1773.] After three years the province began to assume a state of general prosperity, and, under the judicious moderation and wise administration of Unzaga, the French population had gradually become reconciled to the Spanish dominion and to the Spanish authorities. Emigrants from Spain and her provinces also continued to flock to Louisiana under the mild and pacific rule of Unzaga, who soon afterward received from the king the commission of brigadier-general, and "Intendant of Louisiana," as a special mark of the approbation and confidence of his royal master, in addition to his office of governor of the province.†

[A.D. 1775.] During Unzaga's administration, the population on the Lower Mississippi, as well as in Upper Louisiana, had steadily increased, and before the close of the year 1775

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 25, 26.

† *Ibid.*, p. 31, 34.

the town of St. Louis had augmented its population to eight hundred persons. The number of houses was one hundred and twenty, including many good stone buildings. The people of St. Louis possessed large numbers of domestic stock, and especially horses and horned cattle, which ranged at large upon the fertile prairies for miles in the vicinity. St. Geneviève, at the same time, contained a population of four hundred and sixty persons, and about one hundred houses of every description.*

[A.D. 1776.] The mild and benevolent rule of Unzaga continued in Louisiana until the close of the year 1776, when, having received from the king the appointment of Captain-general of Caraccas, he was succeeded as Governor of Louisiana by Don Bernard de Galvez, a colonel in the "Regiment of Louisiana," and connected with the ruling nobles of Spain and the provinces. He entered upon the exercise of his office on the first day of January, 1777, at a time when England was waging a bloody and cruel war against her American provinces. As a Spaniard, he had no predilection for the English monarchy, and his sympathies were enlisted for the colonies, which were struggling against the power and tyranny of the British crown.

The province of Louisiana at this time was prosperous, and carried on quite an active trade with the French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies, to promote which, during the past year, the King of Spain had granted permission for French vessels from the West Indies to trade direct with the city of New Orleans, and, under certain restrictions, with the planters on the coast above the city. The cultivation of tobacco, as a valuable staple product, was encouraged by the royal government, which instructed the liberal purchase of crops to be received into the royal warehouses.†

[A.D. 1777.] The same year witnessed the first regular commercial intercourse between the ports of the United States and the city of New Orleans. The pioneer in this commerce was Oliver Pollock, a citizen of Baltimore, who had been residing in the city of New Orleans since the close of O'Reilly's administration.‡ During the year 1777 he received the appointment of United States agent in New Orleans for the purchase and supply of military stores, ammunition, and munitions of

* Imlay's America, p. 501, 502, ed. of 1797.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 40.

‡ Idem, p. 12 and 40.

war for the use of the American posts upon the Ohio frontier, as well as subsequently for those in the Illinois country. Being an active and energetic man of business, and an enterprising merchant of New Orleans, he soon received the favorable attention of Governor Galvez, which greatly facilitated his commercial operations in behalf of the Federal government, and enabled him to render important services to the cause of the American Revolution.

[A.D. 1779.] A few months elapsed, when France and Spain were involved in the war with Great Britain in favor of the American colonies. England, having taken offense at the action of the French court in relation to the revolted provinces, by a recognition of their independence, declared war against France herself. Subsequently, the King of Spain, in order to bring about a general pacification, proposed, through his minister in London, to the English cabinet, a general amnesty of peace, to be settled for a term of years, by a conference of ministers from the belligerent powers, to be convened at Madrid, and that those of the United States should be admitted upon an equality with others. But England could not brook the indignity, and, in very unequivocal language, and in no very courteous manner, rejected the Spanish minister's proposition. The latter, offended at the reception of his Catholic majesty's good offices to put a close to the war, without ceremony departed from London and returned to Madrid. With imprudent haste the English cabinet issued letters of marque and reprisal against the Spanish commerce, and the King of Spain was soon compelled to take an active part in the existing war. On the 8th of May, 1779, his Catholic majesty formally declared war against Great Britain, and took measures to commence active operations against the common enemy.*

A portion of the loyal British provinces immediately contiguous to Louisiana had already commenced hostilities against the American authorities, which placed them in the attitude of enemies to Spain and the United States, and as such rendered the province of West Florida a legitimate object of conquest.

From the first occupancy of Louisiana by the Spanish authorities, much annoyance had been experienced from the advance of the British settlements and posts on the Lower Mis-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 47.

issippi. The subjects of Great Britain, entering the river by way of the Amíté and Iberville, introduced into the Spanish settlements near the Mississippi, as well as into those which were more remote, contraband goods and articles of merchandise, which entirely evaded the revenue laws of Spain, and thus created for themselves an entire monopoly of the trade with the province, through their trading-posts established upon the east bank of the river, as high as the mouth of the Yazoo. Such had been the annoyance of the Spanish authorities, that any event which might remove a troublesome neighbor and restore the eastern bank of the river to the Spanish dominion could not be otherwise than hailed with satisfaction.

The court of Spain had viewed with concealed satisfaction the revolt of the English provinces along the Atlantic coast, and secretly desired to see them successful in their resistance to British tyranny and power. Hence the Spanish authorities of Louisiana had offered no impediment to the agents of the United States in their efforts to procure military supplies in New Orleans for the western posts on the Ohio.

The governor and captain-general of Louisiana was early notified of the war, and was instructed to proceed vigorously against the British posts in West Florida. After some opposition and consequent delay from the Cabaldo, Galvez succeeded in organizing about fourteen hundred men ready to take the field. With these he marched against the English Fort Bute, on the north side of the Manchac, and carried it by assault on the 7th of September.* From this point, having received a re-enforcement of six hundred militia, he marched to Baton Rouge, the principal British post on the river. The post at this place was well supplied with arms, military stores, and provisions, and was garrisoned by four hundred regular troops and one hundred militia. After a cannonade of two hours and a half, the commandant, Colonel Dickinson, on the 21st of September, surrendered not only this post, but also Fort Panmure, at Natchez; also, a fort on the Amíté, and one small post on Thompson's Creek, together with all this portion of West Florida.† Thus all that part of West Florida, now comprising the parishes of Baton Rouge and Feliciana, came under the dominion of Spain as a part of Louisiana, which had been severed in 1763.

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 48, 49.

† Idem, p. 49.

[A.D. 1780.] For his soldier-like conduct at the Manchac and at Baton Rouge, and for the successes which attended his movements, the King of Spain conferred upon Don Galvez the commission of brigadier-general of the royal forces of Louisiana, with orders to prosecute the further reduction of the British power in West Florida. Having made preparation during the winter, and having received re-enforcements from Havana, he was ready in January to sail for the reduction of Fort Charlotte, at Mobile. On the voyage to Mobile Bay, he narrowly escaped utter destruction of his fleet by a violent gale in the Gulf of Mexico; and after tedious delays, he succeeded in making a landing of his troops, artillery, and military stores on the east bank of the river, near the British fort. Six strong batteries were erected, from which the fort could be bombarded with great effect. The batteries opened upon the fort, and a practicable breach having been made, the commandant capitulated on the 14th of March, without further resistance. The reduction of this post being effected, Galvez returned to New Orleans to concert measures for the reduction of Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, which was defended by the strongest fortress in the province. The remainder of the year was spent, during a protracted siege, in fruitless attempts to reduce the place.

At length Galvez, finding all his efforts ineffectual for the reduction of the post, suspended further operations until he should receive re-enforcements, together with a train of heavy battering cannon and a naval force, to aid in the final reduction of this important point.

In the mean time, while the Spanish arms had been triumphant on the Lower Mississippi and in West Florida, the settlements of Upper Louisiana, and the town of St. Louis, had been exposed to an invasion, concerted and put in motion at the British post of Mackinaw, on the northwestern lakes of Canada.

The British commandant at Michillimackinac, hearing of the disasters of the British arms in Florida, conceived the idea of leading an expedition upon his own responsibility against the Spanish settlements of St. Louis. Early in the spring he had assembled one hundred and forty regular British troops and Canadian Frenchmen, and fourteen hundred Indian warriors for the campaign. From the southern extremity of Lake Mich-

igan this host of savages, under British leaders, marched across to the Mississippi, and encamped within a few miles of St. Louis. The town had been fortified for temporary defense, and the hostile host made a regular Indian investment of the place. Skirmishes and desultory attacks continued for several days, during which many were killed, and others were taken captive by the Indians. Much of the stock of cattle and horses belonging to the place was killed or carried off.

The people at length, believing a general attack was contemplated, and having lost confidence in their commandant's courage, or in his preparations for defense, sent a special request to Colonel Clark, then commanding at Kaskaskia, to come to their aid with such force as he could assemble. Colonel Clark immediately made preparation to march to their relief. Having assembled nearly five hundred men under his command, he marched to the bank of the Mississippi, a short distance below the town of St. Louis. Here he remained encamped for further observations. On the 6th of May the grand Indian attack was made, when Colonel Clark, crossing the river, marched up to the town to take part in the engagement. The sight of the Americans, or the "Long-knives," as they were called, under the command of the well-known Colonel Clark, caused the savages to abandon the attack and seek safety in flight. They refused to participate in any further hostilities, and reproached the British commandant with duplicity in having assured them that he would march them to fight the Spaniards only, whereas now they were brought against the Spaniards and the Americans. They soon afterward abandoned the British standard, and returned to their towns, near Lakes Superior and Michigan.

During the siege, which continued about a week, nearly sixty persons were killed in the town and vicinity, and about thirty persons had been captured by the Indians. The timely arrival of Colonel Clark rescued these and twenty other prisoners, which they had taken in their advance. Such was the invasion of Upper Louisiana in 1780 from Mackinaw.*

* The attack on St. Louis was in May, 1780, but Judge Hall erroneously makes it in 1778, at which time Colonel Clark had not been on the Upper Mississippi.

The people of St. Louis, having heard that this expedition from Michillimackinac was in preparation in the fall of 1779, had fortified the town with a rude stockade six feet high, made by two rows of upright palisades a few feet apart, filled in with earth. The outline of the stockade described a semicircle around the place, resting its

[A.D. 1781.] During the winter General Galvez had been indefatigable in his preparations for the effectual reduction of Pensacola. He had repaired to Havana for the requisite reinforcements and munitions of war, together with a strong naval force. At length, on the 28th of February, 1781, he set sail from the West Indies for the coast of Florida, to co-operate with the forces from Louisiana. The armament from Havana comprised one man-of-war, two frigates, and a number of transports, and off the coast of Louisiana he was joined by the land and naval forces from New Orleans. On the 9th of March the whole armament appeared before the port of Pensacola, when the fort opened a heavy fire upon such vessels as ventured within the range of its guns.

A regular investment commenced, and the works progressed with great activity until the first of April, when several batteries were ready to open upon the fort. The cannonade commenced with great vivacity, and with decided effect; but the garrison made a determined resistance, and all the efforts of the Spanish forces were insufficient to compel a surrender, until the 9th of May, when the lodgment of a bomb-shell exploded the magazine, and rendered all further resistance in vain. The commander then proposed to capitulate. Terms of capitulation were arranged and signed on the same day.*

By the articles of capitulation, the English commander surrendered to his Catholic majesty the fortress and port of Pensacola, together with the garrison of eight hundred men, as prisoners of war, and the whole of the dependence of West Florida. The whole of East and West Florida was confirmed to Spain by the subsequent treaty of 1783. Thus terminated the last vestige of British power upon the Lower Mississippi, after an occupancy of nearly nineteen years.†

During the protracted investment of Pensacola, a partial revolt of the English colonists in the Natchez District had well-

two extremities upon the river, above and below the town, flanked by one small fort at each extremity. Three gates gave opening to the country in the rear, each defended by a piece of ordnance kept continually well charged. When the attack was first made, the people, having supposed it abandoned, were not fully prepared to meet it; hence the number of persons killed and captured. The invading host was led on by English and Canadians, and consisted chiefly of Ojibeways, Menomonies, Winnebagoes, Sioux, and Sauks.—See Martin, vol. ii., p. 53; *Life of Black Hawk*, Extract in "*Western Pilot*," p. 138-142; *Stoddart's Sketches*, p. 79, 80; and *Hall's Sketches*, vol. i., p. 111, 112.

* See book iii., chap. iv., of this work.

† See Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 61.

nigh brought upon them the vengeance of their conquerors, the Spaniards of Louisiana.

These men having learned by rumor that a powerful British armament was off the coast of Florida for the recovery of his majesty's posts and possessions on the Lower Mississippi, and believing the cause of England already triumphant in Florida, determined to evince their zeal for his Britannic majesty's service by overpowering the Spanish garrison in Fort Panmure, and restoring the British flag over that portion of the province. Accordingly, having organized themselves under military officers, and having secured the co-operation of a large number of Choctâ warriors, they repaired, on the 22d of April, to an eminence above the town of Natchez, and in full view of Fort Panmure, where they raised the British flag, and commenced their operations for the capture of the Spanish post.

During the night they approached the fort, and planted their cannon so as to bear upon the works; but a heavy fire from the artillery of the fort next morning soon compelled them to retire. During the following day and night, a moderate cannonade was continued between the garrison and their besiegers.

On the 29th of April, the commandant sent a flag from the fort to the insurgents, representing to them the danger to which they exposed themselves by an open rebellion against their lawful sovereign, at the same time tendering to them the royal clemency, provided they would deliver up their leaders and disperse. They promised an answer next day.

Next day the garrison was induced to believe that the fort had been undermined from the deep ravine contiguous, with a powerful mine, the train of which was to be ignited on the following day; whereupon the commandant, seeing his supply of provisions and ammunition was nearly exhausted, and his men worn down with fatigue and watching, proposed to capitulate, upon condition that he should be permitted peaceably to retire from the fort, and march his troops without molestation to Baton Rouge. These terms were accepted by the insurgents, and the fort was surrendered to them.

A few days brought intelligence that the fleet which had arrived was a Spanish re-enforcement for Galvez, and that Pensacola had fallen into his hands by the fate of war.

This brought consternation to the insurgents, who deemed it

expedient to provide for their own safety before they were within reach of Spanish vengeance. Among the insurgents were General Lyman and many of his colony, as well as others from Ogden's colony, on the Homochitto, who immediately sought safety by flight from the country. Mindful of the fate of O'Reilly's victims ten years before, they determined to elude the vengeance of the Spanish governor by seeking the protection of the nearest British post in Georgia, upon the Savannah River. Without loss of time, they took up their pilgrimage, men, women, and children, with such of their effects as were available, through the Indian wilderness to the western parts of Georgia, through the Creek nation, of whose friendship they had no assurance. After a long and distressing journey of one hundred and thirty days, they reached the settlements on the Savannah, exhausted with fatigue, exposure, and privations.*

Others took refuge in the Indian nation, some of whom subsequently fell into the hands of the Spanish authorities, and were treated as rebels against the king's government.

On the 29th of July, Don Carlos de Grandpre, "lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Louisiana," entered upon his duties as "civil and military commandant of the post and district of Natchez," when measures were immediately instituted for the punishment of such of the late insurgents as were within reach of the Spanish authorities. Arrests, seizures, and confiscations commenced.† During the months of September and October, the goods, chattels, effects, and dues of every kind, pertaining to more than twenty "fugitive rebels," had been seized for confiscation. Some of these were men of wealth, especially George Rappleje and Jacob Blomart. Before the middle of November,

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 63-65.

† The MS. Spanish records at Natchez exhibit a list of the "fugitive rebels," and the proceedings against such as were arrested. Those who had fled the country were Philip Alston, John Ogg, Christian Binghamen, Caleb Hanebrough, Thaddeus Lyman, John Watkins, William Case, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkey, Ebenezer Gosset, Thompson Lyman, Nathaniel Johnson.

The following were "leaders of the rebellion," who were prisoners in New Orleans on the 16th of November, awaiting their trials, viz.:

1. John Alston, who was arrested in the Indian nation.
2. Jacob Blomart, "chief of the rebels."
3. John Smith, "lieutenant of rebels."
4. Jacob Winfrey, "captain of rebels."
5. William Eason.
6. Parker Caradine.
7. George Rappleje.

—See MS. Spanish records at Natchez, in Probate Court, book A.

seven of the leaders were prisoners in close confinement in New Orleans, "charged with the crime of attempting to promote a general rebellion" against his Catholic majesty's government in the "District of Natchez." Seven were convicted and sentenced to death, but were subsequently reprieved by the governor-general. Thus terminated the first revolt of the Anglo-Americans in Florida. The second, nearly thirty years afterward, was more fortunate.

[A.D. 1782.] Meantime, the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers were engaged at Paris in negotiations for a general peace in Europe and America. On the 20th of November, 1782, the provisional treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was executed. This treaty established the southern limit of the United States to be the 31st parallel of north latitude, from the Mississippi eastward to the St. Mary's River of East Florida.*

[A.D. 1783.] On the 20th day of January, 1783, the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain on the one side, and France and Spain on the other, were signed by their respective plenipotentiaries at Paris, and hostilities in Louisiana and Florida ceased. In September following, the definitive articles of peace were signed by the same parties and the United States respectively, for the final ratification of their respective governments.

By this treaty Great Britain confirmed to Spain the whole of the Floridas south of the 31st degree of latitude, reserving the right that all British subjects then resident in Florida should be allowed the period of eighteen months from the ratification of the treaty to sell their property and close their business, provided they desired to retire from the province.†

Meantime, the provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas, under the Spanish dominion, returned to a state of peace and repose, when military parade and martial display gave place to domestic cares, and the excitement of trade, agriculture, and individual enterprise. Emigration from the Spanish provinces of Mexico and the West Indies continued to augment the population as well as the commerce of the country, and enterprising emigrants from the United States began to arrive also.

* See Walker's Reports of Supreme Court of Mississippi, p. 63, note.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 72.

CHAPTER II.

LOUISIANA UNDER THE SPANISH DOMINION, FROM THE TREATY OF
1783 TO THE YEAR 1796.—A.D. 1783 TO 1796.

Argument.—Prosperous Condition of Louisiana after the War.—Population in 1785.—Galvez retires from Louisiana.—Don Miro succeeds to the provisional Government.—Judge of Residence.—Catholic Church in Louisiana.—Inquisition excluded.—Acadian Emigrants.—Indulgence to British Subjects in West Florida.—Irish Catholic Priests for the Natchez District.—Miro succeeds as Governor-general of Louisiana in 1786.—Arrival of the Commissioners of Georgia.—Georgia Act creating "Bourbon County."—Spanish Duties upon American river Trade.—Extension of American Settlements in the Ohio Region.—Claims of western People to free Navigation of the Mississippi.—Their Impatience under Spanish Imposts.—They contemplate the Invasion of Louisiana by military Force.—Nature and Extent of Spanish Imposts.—Relaxation of impost Duties.—Colonel Wilkinson's Agency in effecting Relaxation of revenue Laws.—Emigration of Americans to West Florida and Louisiana.—General Morgan's Colony.—"New Madrid" laid off.—Guardoqui urges rigid Execution of impost Regulations.—The Intendant rigorously enforces revenue Laws.—Louisiana threatened with military Invasion from Ohio Region.—Conflagration of New Orleans in 1788.—Supplies from the Ohio admitted by the river Trade.—Colonel Wilkinson engages in the tobacco Trade.—Emigration from Cumberland to Louisiana encouraged; also from the Ohio and the Illinois.—Population of Louisiana in 1788.—Emigration and Trade from the Ohio Region in 1789-90.—Policy recommended by Navarro to Spain.—Spain jealous of the Extension of the Federal Jurisdiction.—First Schools and Academies in New Orleans.—Baron Carondelet succeeds Miro as Governor of Louisiana.—Population of New Orleans in 1792.—Trade with Philadelphia.—Political Disturbances emanating from revolutionary France in 1793.—Genet's Intrigues and contemplated Invasion of Louisiana and Florida from the United States.—Defensive Movements of Baron Carondelet in Louisiana.—Measures of the Federal Government to suppress any hostile Movement.—Fort Barrancas commenced at the fourth Chickasaw Bluff.—Counter-plot of Carondelet for effecting a Separation of western People.—Don Rendon Intendant of Louisiana and Florida.—Louisiana and Florida an independent Bishopric.—Carondelet improves and fortifies the City of New Orleans; drains the back Swamps.—A navigable Canal.—"Canal Carondelet" completed.—The Indigo Crop fails, and Cotton, Sugar, and Tobacco succeed.—Louisiana relieved from Apprehension.—Genet's Agents arrested; himself recalled.—French Royalists propose to settle a Colony on the Washita.—Arrangements with Maison Rouge.—Alleged Grant and Colony of Maison Rouge.—Subsequent Litigation.—Adjudication and final Rejection of the Claim as fraudulent.—Grant to Baron de Bastrop.—Americans excluded from Louisiana and Florida.—Grant to Dubuque on Upper Mississippi.—Carondelet's Intrigues for the Separation of Kentucky from the Union.—Gayoso sent to negotiate with the Kentucky Conspirators.—Sebastian descends to Natchez and New Orleans.—Negro Insurrection discovered and suppressed in the Island of Point Coupée.—Negro Importation interdicted.—Don Morales is Intendant for 1796.—Baron Carondelet's last Effort to detach Kentucky in 1796.—Route to Upper Louisiana through the Bayou Barthelemy and St. Francis River.

[A.D. 1784.] LOUISIANA, relieved from the danger and privations of active warfare, began to prosper as a Spanish province. Emigration from Spain, the West Indies, and Mexico

continued to augment the population in all the settlements. Trade from the interior, and commerce with foreign ports and with the colonial dominions of Spain, began to develop the resources of the country, and to increase the strength and wealth of the settlements.

[A.D. 1785.] In the spring of 1785, according to a census by order of Governor Galvez, the population of the whole province of Louisiana, including the Natchez and Baton Rouge districts of West Florida, exclusive of Indians, was over thirty-three thousand souls. Of this amount, Lower Louisiana, exclusive of the Florida districts, contained 28,047 persons, including the population of New Orleans, which was 4980 souls. The West Florida districts contained 3477, and Upper Louisiana 1491 souls.* Thus the province, in fifteen years from the departure of O'Reilly, had more than doubled its population.

The greater portion of this increase of population was not altogether the result of emigration from Spain and the Spanish possessions near the Gulf of Mexico, but there had been many French emigrants from France and the French West India Islands, consequent upon certain privileges which had been extended to the French population for several years past. Among these were the privilege of serving in the "Royal Regiment of Louisiana," and of filling many of the inferior civil offices in the royal government.

In the course of the summer following, Governor Galvez retired from the province of Louisiana, to enter upon the duties of "Captain-general of Cuba," to which office he had been promoted by the king. The province of Louisiana and the two Floridas were to remain attached to his government, under his lieutenants, until a regular appointment should be made. On his departure from Louisiana, he was succeeded in the administration of the government by Don Estevan Miro, "colonel of the Regiment of Louisiana," who, having been appointed Judge of Residence† for Galvez, was intrusted with the duties

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 77.

† This office was peculiar to the Spanish colonial government and polity. In the Spanish colonies, "Judge of Residence" was a wise and salutary provision for investigating the official conduct of any crown officer *after* he had retired from office, either by removal, promotion, or death. The judge of residence, after having made full inquiry into his official acts, made a full and formal report of the same to the "Council of the Indies" for the king. This provision was intended to act as a wise and salutary check upon the officer, and to insure a zealous and upright discharge of his official duties. Knowing that his whole administration was to be scrutinized by an officer, who

of governor until a successor should be regularly appointed by the king.

The Catholic Church had already been established in Louisiana, and its influence was felt in every Spanish and French settlement; but it was not until the year 1785 that the successor of St. Peter attempted to introduce the terrors of the Holy Office to sustain the true faith against foreign heresies.

Heretofore the church establishment was supported by funds from the royal treasury, as a portion of the government establishment, and consisted of sixteen curates, four assistants, and six nuns, under the control of the vicar-general of Louisiana.* To give greater effect to their doctrines, and to check the progress of heresy, which was apprehended from the constant intercourse with the western people of the United States, it had been deemed expedient by the head of the Catholic Church to introduce the Inquisition into Louisiana. A clergyman of New Orleans was accordingly appointed "Commissary of the Holy Office" in that city. But Governor Miro, having been instructed by the king to prohibit the exercise of all inquisitorial functions in the province, notified the commissary of his instructions, and forbade him to exercise the duties of his office. But the "reverend father," deeming it his duty to obey his spiritual rather than his temporal master, entered upon the exercise of his commission. The governor, firm to his duty and obedient to his instructions, determined to remove him from the province, and soon afterward, without any other warning, the zealous ecclesiastic, while enjoying the slumbers of midnight, was suddenly aroused by an officer at the head of eighteen grenadiers, who conveyed him safely on board a vessel ready to sail for Spain, and by daylight next morning he was upon his voyage for Europe.† Thus was the first and *the only attempt* to establish the Inquisition in Louisiana effectually suppressed, although no other religion was tolerated.

During the same year, the province received an accession to its population by the arrival of a large number of Acadian French families, introduced by the King of France to enable

might be strict in the disclosure of his errors, his partiality, his avarice, or his injustice, it was to be expected that he would be prompted to an upright discharge of his duties; yet experience proves that, under the Spanish colonial government, this end was not always attained; for the rapid accumulation of large fortunes by the Spanish governors was not uncommon.—See Martin, vol. ii., p. 76.

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 80, 81.

† Idem, p. 84.

them to join their friends, who, to escape the English dominion, had emigrated from their country to Louisiana in the year 1755. They were located upon grants of land made by the Spanish authorities, chiefly upon the Terre aux Beufs, upon the Bayou Lafourche, and in the districts of Oppelousas and Attackapas, where their descendants still reside. The whole number of persons in this importation was about three thousand five hundred souls, comprising the greater portion of the remainder of the original French population of that country.

During the same year, many of the English residents retired from West Florida, and especially from the districts of Natchez and Baton Rouge. Yet, as the period specified in the treaty of 1763 for their departure had elapsed, and many were still unprepared to remove, the acting governor, Miro, had granted an extension of the time, to enable them to complete their arrangements for their final departure from the province. The King of Spain not only approved the act of the governor, but signified his pleasure that such of the British subjects as desired to remain in the country should be entitled to all the rights and privileges of Spanish subjects by taking the oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown, and promising not to leave their respective districts without the permission of the governor.

[A.D. 1786.] To favor those who might desire to remain in the settlements of Natchez and Bayou Sara, where there were many Irish emigrants, the king directed that these districts should be supplied with Irish Catholic priests, in order to afford them the privileges of the Catholic Church. The priests arrived early in the following spring, and entered upon the duties of their office.

Early in the summer of 1786, Miro received his commission from the king as "Governor, civil and military, of Louisiana and West Florida," and on the 2d of June he issued his *bando de buen gobierno*,* setting forth his powers and the general principles of his administration of the government. Soon afterward he published several general regulations for the preservation of good order and religious decorum in the province,

* A *bando de buen gobierno* is a proclamation which the governor of a Spanish province generally issues when first entering upon the duties of his new office. The object is to make known the principles which are to regulate his future intercourse with the people of his province, and to notify them of any new ordinances or police regulations necessary to be enforced. It is literally an inaugural address.—See Martin, vol. ii., p. 86.

together with sundry police regulations for the government of the city of New Orleans. Among these were ordinances prohibiting concubinage, and incontinence as a livelihood, and providing for the enforcement of all laws for the suppression of gambling, duelling, and the wearing of dirks, pistols, and concealed weapons.

Under his wise administration the province continued to enjoy a high degree of prosperity; population and commerce increased, the river trade with Upper Louisiana, and the settlements upon the Ohio and its tributaries, had become active, and the Spanish dominion upon the Mississippi appeared to be increasing continually in importance and power.

In the mean time, the serious attention of the Spanish authorities was attracted to the growing power of the United States, whose western settlements were coming in collision with those of Louisiana and Florida.

The State of Georgia claimed the whole southern portion of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, bounded on the south by the thirty-first parallel of latitude. Hence all the territory near the Mississippi on the east side, from Loftus's Heights northward for several hundred miles, was properly the territory of Georgia. But this whole region was in the possession of Spain, with a population of nearly ten thousand souls.

This subject had not been overlooked by the state government, and commissioners on the part of Georgia had arrived at New Orleans, during the autumn of 1785, with a demand for the surrender of the territory, and the establishment of the line stipulated in the treaty of 1783. The subject, however, had been referred to the Federal government for settlement and amicable negotiation.

The commissioners notified the Spanish governor "that on the 7th of February, 1785, the Legislature of Georgia had passed an act, which provided for the erection of a county, by the name of 'Bourbon county,' near the Mississippi, comprising all the lands below the mouth of the Yazoo, to which the Indian title had been extinguished; and that said act provided, that whenever a land-office should be established in said county, the persons occupying any of said lands, being citizens of the United States, or of any friendly power, should have a preference claim allowed and reserved to them: provided *they*

actually lived on and cultivated said lands." The subject, however, having been referred to the Federal government for negotiation, the act of February 7th, 1785, was repealed on the first day of February, 1788.*

An active trade from the population on the Ohio had forced itself down the Mississippi to every part of Louisiana and West Florida, and the people of these western settlements claimed the natural right to the use of the river through the province of Louisiana; although, in the eyes of Spain, they were unquestionably citizens of a foreign power. It had early become a matter of great interest to the Spanish authorities to derive a large revenue from this trade by the imposition of transit and port duties, besides harbor duties, and such other expenses as were unavoidable in trade. A revenue officer, with a suitable guard and a military post, was established at New Madrid and other points, at which all boats were required to make land and comply with the revenue laws, which were enforced with rigor, even to seizure and confiscation of the cargo.

The western people were multiplying rapidly, and their surplus products adapted to the Louisiana trade continued to increase astonishingly, and forced their way down the Mississippi. The river duties, which by them were deemed oppressive and unjust, were collected and extorted by the officials of Louisiana, supported by military force. The western people believed these duties exorbitant, and the many restrictions which were imposed oppressive and unjust toward those who possessed a natural right to navigate the river free of all such impositions. Under these impressions, it is not strange that many of the sturdy Republicans should resist these exactions, and disregard the attempts of the Spanish authorities to enforce them. In this manner, it frequently happened that persons were seized, fined, and imprisoned, with other vexatious delays and expenses; and sometimes their cargoes were confiscated as contraband, or forfeited, and the owners or supercargoes were discharged, penniless, to find their way home.†

[A.D. 1787.] Repeated occurrences of this kind in the lapse of two years, from 1785 to 1787, had greatly incensed the western people, and disseminated a general feeling of revenge

* See American State Papers, folio edition, vol. i., Public Lands, p. 120. The Georgia act was entitled, "An act for laying out a district of land situate on the River Mississippi, and within the bounds of this state, into a county, to be called 'Bourbon.'"—See Toalmin's Digest, p. 464.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 90, 91.

throughout the whole Ohio region, from the sources of the Monongahela to those of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. To such an extent had this vindictive feeling been carried in Kentucky and upon the Cumberland River, that a military invasion of Louisiana was devised for redressing the wrongs of the western people, and seizing the port of New Orleans; provided the Federal government failed to obtain from Spain, by negotiation, such commercial privileges in Louisiana as were indispensable to the prosperity of the western people.

Such had been the excitement in Kentucky and Tennessee, as early as the spring of 1787, that the Spanish governor became seriously apprehensive of an invasion from Kentucky, in defiance of the Federal authority. At the same time, the western people, indignant at the neglect of the Federal government in not securing for them the free use of the Mississippi, were strongly tempted to separate from the Atlantic States, and to secure for themselves an independent form of government, which would enable them to obtain from Spain, under one form or another, those commercial advantages which they were determined to possess.

It was under these circumstances that Colonel James Wilkinson, an enterprising merchant of Kentucky, and a man of fine talents and address, made arrangements with the Spanish authorities to descend to New Orleans with several boats loaded with tobacco, flour, and other articles of western production. Having reached New Orleans in safety, he obtained an interview with the governor, and at length succeeded in securing for himself and a few friends permission to trade with the city, and to introduce free of duties many articles of western production adapted to the Louisiana market.*

* The exactions of the Spanish government were in the shape of heavy transit and port duties on all produce and articles of trade descending the Mississippi from any of the western settlements upon the Ohio and its numerous tributaries. Every article thus introduced into Louisiana, of which Western Tennessee was claimed as a portion, and all kinds of trade descending the river, were compelled to pay an excise duty to the government, varying at different times, according to the arbitrary will of the intendant, or the orders of the king, from *six to twenty-five per cent. ad valorem*. For the collection of this duty, a military force, with revenue officers, was stationed at New Madrid, and other points below, by whom every boat was compelled to land and submit to have their cargoes overhauled, and sometimes, when deception was suspected, to have them unloaded, in order that the Spanish officers might be satisfied of the cargo, upon which to assess the duties. When duties were thus paid, and papers furnished, the boat was required to land at each post below, and exhibit the evidence of having paid duties; refusal to do so exposed them to be fired into from the batteries, or to be pursued, and subjected to heavy fines, imprisonment, and confiscations. The latter penalty was a

In making concessions in favor of the western people, Governor Miro desired to avail himself of the talents and popularity of Colonel Wilkinson in Kentucky and Tennessee for conciliating the hostile feelings and the inimical prejudices which had been excited against the Spanish authorities. Through him, in addition to the relaxation of the restrictions upon the river trade, and an abatement on the transit duties, the governor proposed to encourage emigration from Kentucky and the Cumberland settlements, to the parishes of West Florida contiguous to the Mississippi.*

The Spanish minister, Don Diego Guardoqui, apprised of the governor's views, and conceiving that he might derive a pecuniary advantage from such a state of things, readily assented to the policy, and became deeply interested in promoting the proposed plans for securing harmony of feeling between the western people and the Spanish authorities of Louisiana. The intendant of Louisiana, agreeably to the views of the governor, had consented to relax the revenue laws, and indirectly to sanction occasional violations of a rigorous and oppressive law.

This state of things continued for nearly two years, when Guardoqui, perceiving that his expectations, in a pecuniary point of view, were not realized, determined to require the rigid execution of the revenue laws upon the river trade.

"While Colonel Wilkinson was in New Orleans, in June, 1787, Governor Miro requested him to give his sentiments freely, in writing, respecting the political interests of Spain and the Americans of the United States inhabiting the regions upon the western waters. This he did at length in a document of fifteen or twenty pages, which the governor transmitted to Madrid to be laid before the King of Spain.

favorite measure with the Spanish officers; for, in that case, they generally managed to appropriate the spoils to their private use.

* See Butler's *History of Kentucky*, *passim*. In several portions of this work we have been compelled, in making references to authority, to depend chiefly on Butler's *History of Kentucky*, which embraces most of the early history of Western Virginia and Kentucky, which is imbodied in the first volume of Humphrey Marshall's *History of the state*. The material facts and incidents are certainly imbodied in Butler's *History of Kentucky*, which comprises much western history besides that properly belonging to that state. It is only to be regretted that Mr. Butler did not devote more time and attention to a systematic order of arrangement, to a perspicuous, dignified, and comprehensive phraseology, so becoming the history of a member of this young and glorious Republic. Had his work been prepared with that patient care and mature reflection which would have enabled him to present the useful matter therein contained in that clear, concise, and lucid manner which characterizes our ablest historians, he would have merited and received the gratitude of the Great West.

"In this document he urges the natural right of the western people to follow the current of rivers flowing through their country to the sea. He states the extent of the country, the richness of the soil, abounding in choice productions proper for foreign markets, to which they have no means of conveying them should the Mississippi be shut against them. He sets forth the advantages which Spain might derive from allowing them the free use of the river. He proceeded to show the rapid increase of population in the western country, and the eagerness with which every individual looked forward to the navigation of that river; he described the general abhorrence with which they received the intelligence that Congress was about to sacrifice their dearest interest by ceding to Spain, for twenty years, the navigation of the Mississippi; and represents it as a fact that they are on the point of separating themselves entirely from the Union on that account; he addressed himself to the governor's fears by an ominous display of their strength; and argues the impolicy of Spain in being so blind to her own interest as to refuse them an amicable participation in the navigation of the river, thereby forcing them into violent measures. He assures the Spanish governor that, in case of such alternative, 'Great Britain stands ready, with expanded arms, to receive them,' and to assist their efforts to accomplish that object, and quotes a conversation with a member of the British Parliament to that effect. He states the facility with which the province of Louisiana might be invaded by the united forces of the English and Americans, the former advancing from Canada by way of the Illinois River, and the latter by way of the Ohio River; also, the practicability of proceeding from Louisiana to Mexico, in a march of twenty days; that in case of such invasion, Great Britain will aim at the possession of Louisiana and New Orleans, and leave the navigation of the river free to the Americans. He urged forcibly the danger of the Spanish interests in North America, with Great Britain in possession of the Mississippi, as she was already in possession of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. He concluded with an apology for the freedom with which he had expressed his views by the governor's particular request; that such as they are, they are from a man 'whose head may err, but whose heart can not deceive.'"

* Butler's History of Kentucky, 2d ed., p. 519, 520, Appendix.

These views accorded so nearly with those which had been already suggested by the condition of things on the Mississippi and in the West, that they were unhesitatingly adopted as the correct principles for the government of his Catholic majesty's officers charged with the administration of affairs in Louisiana.

The object of Colonel Wilkinson, in this statement of the relative feelings and interests of the two countries, was evidently to impress upon the Spanish government forcibly the importance of granting to the American people of the West those commercial privileges which Spain could not long withhold with safety to her dominion on the Mississippi. In doing this, he deemed it expedient to operate upon not only their fears, but their interests and their love of self-preservation. Hence he held out to the Spanish governor the possibility of an alliance between the western country and Louisiana.

Nor was the latter mistaken in his views as to the proper manner in which these concessions were to be effected. The statement of Colonel Wilkinson, and the influence of his address and talents, were the first efficient means which led to the change of policy in the government of Louisiana. Through Colonel Wilkinson's negotiation and his diplomatic address, the governor was convinced of the policy of conciliating the western people, and of attaching them as far as practicable to the Spanish government. For this purpose, he granted permission for Americans from Kentucky and the Cumberland River to emigrate to West Florida and establish themselves under the protection of Spain, with liberal grants of land, and other privileges granted only to the most favored nations. At the same time, the intendant of Louisiana, with the approbation of the governor and of the minister, Don Guardoqui, near the Federal government, relaxed the exactions required by the revenue laws, and extended special indulgences to favored persons from Kentucky and the Cumberland. While these things were exerting a salutary influence in conciliating these growing and populous settlements, the Spanish minister conceived the plan for effecting a political union between the western people and the province of Louisiana. The first step toward the accomplishment of this desirable object was the plan of forming American settlements in Upper Louisiana, as well as in the Florida district of Lower Louisiana.*

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 80, 91.

[A.D. 1788.] A large American settlement was to be formed on the west side of the Mississippi, between the mouth of the Ohio and the St. Francis River. General Morgan, an American citizen, received a large grant of land about seventy miles below the mouth of the Ohio, upon which he was to introduce and settle an American colony. Soon afterward, General Morgan arrived with his colony, and located it about seventy miles below the mouth of the Ohio, upon the ancient alluvions which extend westward to the White Water Creek, within the present county of New Madrid, in Missouri. Here, upon the beautiful rolling plains, he laid off the plan of a magnificent city, which, in honor of the Spanish capital, he called "New Madrid." The extent and plan of the new city was but little, if any, inferior to the old capital which it was to commemorate. Spacious streets, extensive public squares, avenues, and promenades were tastefully laid off to magnify and adorn the future city. In less than twelve months from its first location, it had assumed, according to Major Stoddart, the appearance of a regularly built town, with numerous temporary houses distributed over a high and beautiful undulatory plain. Its latitude was determined to be $36^{\circ} 30'$ north. In the center of the site, and about one mile from the Mississippi, was a beautiful lake, to be inclosed by the future streets of the city.

This policy was continued for nearly two years, in hopes of gaining over the western people to an adherence to the Spanish interests. Nor was it wholly unsuccessful. In the mean time, many individuals in Kentucky, as well as on the Cumberland, had become favorably impressed toward a union with Louisiana under the Spanish crown, and a very large portion of them had been highly dissatisfied with the policy of the Federal government, because it had failed to secure for them the free navigation of the river, either by formal negotiation or by force of arms.

But this state of mitigated feeling toward the Spanish authorities was of but short duration. Don Diego Guardoqui, the minister, had failed to derive that pecuniary advantage which he had expected from his connivance at repeated infractions of the revenue laws. As if the facts had just come to his knowledge, he now affected great indignation at the remissness of the intendant, who had permitted these delinquencies; and, in an official communication, severely reprimanded his derelict-

tion of duty, and threatened to represent his conduct and his delinquencies to the court at Madrid. The intendant, alarmed for the safety of his office, resumed the rigorous enforcement of the revenue laws. Seizures, confiscations, delays, and imprisonments, affecting owners, supercargoes, and crews of flat-boats descending the river, became frequent and embarrassing; and Louisiana was again menaced with invasion from the Ohio. Hundreds of fiery spirits in Kentucky and on the Cumberland were anxious to embark in the enterprise.

In the mean time, the city of New Orleans had been nearly destroyed by fire. On the 21st of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the chapel of a Spaniard in Chartres-street took fire, and, by a strong wind, it soon spread over the city, until nine hundred houses were consumed, besides an immense amount of property of every description. This was the severest calamity which had ever befallen the city, and threw the whole province into want and embarrassment.* Provisions of all kinds became scarce, and great distress prevailed in the city. To prevent actual suffering and famine, the government was obliged to take measures for supplying the necessities of the people. A contract was opened for the supply of a large quantity of flour from the Ohio region, upon which large advances of money were made, and, as an additional inducement to traders and boatmen, the privilege of introducing other articles was granted to those who brought cargoes of flour.

The embarrassment and privations occasioned by this unforeseen calamity in the city admonished the governor of the necessity of relaxing all the commercial restrictions upon the river trade, and of releasing those individuals who had been imprisoned for former violations of the revenue laws, and to restore the property previously seized and confiscated.

About this time an arrangement was entered into with Colonel Wilkinson for the introduction of one or more boat-loads of tobacco annually into the city. Permission was also extended to emigrants from the settlements upon the Wabash, Kentucky, or Cumberland Rivers, to settle in Louisiana, upon condition of their paying a duty of twenty-five *per cent.* upon all property introduced for sale. Slaves, stock, provisions for two years, farming utensils and implements, were to be free from any duty whatever. Lands for the settlement of farms and

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 97.

for residences were freely tendered to those who were willing to become Spanish subjects. Many American citizens, encouraged by these conditions, and allured by the mild climate and the productive soil of West Florida, removed, with their families and effects, to that country, and became incorporated as Spanish subjects.

During the year 1788 the jurisdiction of the United States was extended over the Northwestern Territory, which comprised the whole country from the Ohio northwestwardly to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. By the ordinance of 1787, for the organization of this territory, involuntary servitude or slavery was forever abolished within its limits. Many of the French settlers in the Illinois country were in the possession of negro slaves, introduced under the French jurisdiction, which tolerated slavery, as did that of Virginia afterward. Unwilling now to be stripped of a valuable species of property by subsequent legislation, they determined to remove into the Spanish dominion west of the Mississippi, where negro slavery was free from restrictions.

The population of Louisiana for several years had been gradually increasing in number, from Spain and France and their dependences, no less than from the United States, and the census taken during the year 1788 presented an aggregate population of 42,611 souls in Louisiana and the West Florida districts. This aggregate indicated an increase of nearly ten thousand persons since the census of 1785, the greater portion of whom were Spanish immigrants and French Acadians, introduced two years before; the remainder were chiefly Americans, who had settled in the West Florida districts.

The whole population by this census is divided into the following classes and numbers, viz.: free whites, 19,445; free persons of color, 1701; slaves, 21,465.*

* See Martin, vol. ii., p. 99, 100. This population was distributed over the province in the following order, viz.:

<i>I. Lower Louisiana.</i>		9. St. James	1551
1. City of New Orleans	5338	10. La Fourche	1164
2. Below the city to the Balize	2378	11. La Fourche Interior	1500
3. Terre aux Beufs	661	12. Iberville	944
4. Bayous St. John and Gentilly	772	13. Point Coupée Parish	2004
5. Barrataria	40	14. Opelousas	1985
6. Tchoupitoulas Parish	7589	15. Attakapas	2541
7. Parish of St. Charles	2381	16. New Iberia	190
8. St. John Baptist	1368	17. Washita	232
		18. Rapides	147

From the year 1788 we may date the settled policy of Spain, through her colonial and diplomatic authorities, to endeavor, by intrigue and diplomacy, to acquire the western portion of the United States. The king, having approved the judicious policy of Governor Miro relative to the indulgences extended to the western people, relieved him from the interference of the intendant by the resignation of Navarro, and the union of his duties and authority in the governor himself. Navarro, in the mean time, had endeavored to rouse the court of Madrid to the danger to be apprehended from the increasing power of the United States.* He had portrayed in strong colors the ambition of the Federal government on the subject of western territory, and the thirst for conquest, which, he asserted, would be gratified only by the extension of their dominion to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. He also recommended, as the only true policy for Spain to pursue, the necessity of dismembering the Federal union by procuring the separation of the western country from the Atlantic States. This accomplished, the danger of the Spanish provinces from the encroachments of the Federal power would immediately cease, and Spain would be at liberty to enter into negotiations mutually advantageous to Louisiana and the western people, who were impatient of the delays and failures of the Federal government to promote their interests.

To effect this object, he recommended the judicious distribution of pensions to prominent individuals of Kentucky, and an extension of commercial privileges to the western people generally. The judicious control of these means, in his opinion, would make it no difficult matter for Spain to arrest forever the designs of the United States for extending their territory in the West, while it would greatly augment the power of Spain in Louisiana, and immensely increase its resources. The suggestions of the minister were well received at court, and

19. Avoyelles	209	III. <i>West Florida.</i>	
20. Natchitoches	1021	1. Manchac and Galveston . . .	552
21. Arkansas Settlements.	119	2. Baton Rouge	683
II. <i>In Upper Louisiana.</i>		3. Feliciana	730
1. St. Geneviève	896	4. Natches	2679
2. St. Louis	1197	5. Mobile	1468
		6. Pensacola	265

* In this respect Navarro seemed to have had a prophetic vision into futurity, and to have foreseen the events which were to transpire more than half a century afterward, when Texas and Oregon were finally embraced in the limits of the Federal jurisdiction, permanently in 1846.

formed the basis of the subsequent policy of Spain and Louisiana toward the Federal government and the western people respectively, until the "Treaty of Madrid," seven years afterward.*

[A.D. 1789.] Thus commenced that series of intrigues and vexatious court delays on the part of Spain, which characterized the political relations of that power toward the United States until the final evacuation of the Natchez District ten years afterward; a state of uncertain peace, which for years continued to disturb the harmony of the two countries, and to destroy mutual confidence.† Nor were persons of talent and influence wanting in Kentucky who were willing to promote the designs of Spain in producing a separation of the West, for the purpose of effecting a political and commercial alliance with Louisiana under the protection of Spain.

Under the adopted policy of Spain relative to emigration from the United States, and the river trade, the population continued to advance west of the mountains, and emigration to Louisiana and West Florida began to add hundreds annually to the population of the province.

At the same time, a new impulse was given to the trade of the western people with the Spanish provinces generally, through the port of New Orleans. The surplus products of the settlements on the Monongahela, the Ohio, the Kentucky, and Cumberland Rivers consisted of flour, pork, beef, whisky, apples, cider, lumber, horses, cattle, and many other agricultural and manufactured products, which met with a ready sale in New Orleans, as well as other points upon the river.‡ An active trade in breadstuffs had likewise been opened with the city of Philadelphia by sea, and a state of general good feeling existed between the western people and the Spanish authorities in Louisiana.

Enterprise was awakened in the West, and capital freely invested in rearing those products most in demand in Louisiana and the Spanish provinces throughout the Continent, as well as in the West India Islands, and men of enterprise and capital embarked their means in the navigation of the river and in the extension of western commerce.

[A.D. 1790.] For two years this state of amicable trade

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 100, &c. See, also, Butler's Kentucky.

† See Butler's Kentucky.

‡ Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 103.

continued, and from all these settlements emigrants and adventurers continued to descend, upon every spring flood, in company with the regular trading-boats from the Ohio. Many of them, well pleased with the climate and the agricultural facilities of the country, remained and entered into the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, and indigo, then the most valuable staples of Louisiana. Others, who had contemplated a permanent residence in the Florida districts, averse to the tenets and rites of the Catholic Church, to which all were required to adhere, yielding to their prejudices, returned to the United States, to enjoy freedom of opinion in their religious sentiments and the church rituals.

But Spain had become jealous of the advance of the Federal power, and the Spanish authorities became highly disquieted by the extension of the Federal jurisdiction over the "South-western Territory," and the relinquishment of sovereignty over the same by the State of North Carolina. About the same time, the commissioners of the Federal government had succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace and boundary with the chiefs of the Creek nation, and which had been fully ratified by them in the city of New York. To counteract the effects of this treaty, the Spanish authorities immediately instituted a negotiation with the Creeks, by which they were induced to prohibit the opening of the boundary line stipulated in the treaty. Thus, for more than a year subsequently, did the Creeks refuse to ratify the boundary line* stipulated in the treaty, and many of them had been induced by the Spanish emissaries to assume a hostile attitude toward the United States.

[A.D. 1791.] Hence, during the years 1790 and 1791; the intercourse between the western people of the United States and those of Louisiana was greatly embarrassed by the continuation of Indian hostilities upon the northwestern frontier, and also upon the southwestern borders of the Cumberland settlements. Such had been the hostile operations of the northern Indians, that a succession of military expeditions had been arrayed against them, and had penetrated to the center of their country. The southern Indians had now taken up arms against the southern frontier, for the avowed purpose of arresting the further advance of the Federal power.

Heretofore but little attention had been given to education

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 106.

in Louisiana ; schools were few, and confined exclusively to the wealthy, or were under the control of the clergy, where the expenses of education effectually excluded the great mass of the people. The only school in New Orleans was one under the control of the priests, taught by a few Spanish nuns who arrived soon after O'Reilly's departure. During the autumn of 1791, however, a number of French refugees from the massacre of St. Domingo arrived in New Orleans, and, being destitute of property, were compelled to seek a livelihood in the capacity of teachers. Many of them having been well educated, became valuable citizens of Louisiana, and contributed greatly to the subsequent introduction of schools in the province. The same catastrophe in St. Domingo furnished New Orleans with the first regular dramatic corps.

[A.D. 1792.] The same year closed the mild and judicious administration of Governor Miro in Louisiana. Being promoted to the Mexican provinces, he retired from Louisiana, esteemed and regretted no less by the people of the province than by those of Kentucky and the Cumberland settlements. He was succeeded in the government of Louisiana by Don Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, who exercised the offices of governor and intendant. On the 22d of January, 1792, he issued his *bando de buen gobierno*. In it was set forth the general policy of his future administration, besides several new regulations for the city police. He also instituted regulations for lighting the streets, and for organizing fire companies for the protection of the city from the calamity of destructive fires.

In July following, he issued his proclamation, by order of the king, establishing sundry wholesome and humane regulations for the treatment of slaves, tending greatly to meliorate their general condition.*

The city of New Orleans continued to augment in population and to extend its commerce. By the census of 1792, it was found to contain nearly six thousand inhabitants, with a proportionate increase in commercial importance.

The new governor, imitating the example of his predecessor, continued to extend commercial facilities to the western people, and to encourage the existing trade between the city of Philadelphia and New Orleans. Although contrary to instructions from the minister of finance, yet such was the general ad-

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 112.

vantage of this policy to the city of New Orleans, and to the whole province indirectly, that the king subsequently justified him in the partial infraction of the revenue laws relative to the western people. In accordance with the same amicable commercial policy with the people of the United States, before the close of the year 1792 the governor had permitted several merchants from Philadelphia to establish commercial houses in New Orleans for conducting the American commerce of the city.*

[A.D. 1793.] About this time the political disturbances in France began to affect, not only the United States, but Louisiana also. France and Spain were at war; and French emissaries sought, through the prejudice which had been roused against the Spaniards relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, to instigate an invasion of Louisiana and Florida by the people of the United States, and, if practicable, even a separation of the Western States, and an alliance with Louisiana under the dominion and protection of France. Connected with this scheme, a revolt of the French population of Louisiana against the Spanish authority was contemplated.

Such was the menacing attitude of affairs in Louisiana, that Governor Carondelet deemed it expedient to adopt all prudent measures for placing the province in a proper state of defense against foreign as well domestic enemies. The old fortifications near the city were superseded by two new forts commenced upon the bank of the river, one above and the other immediately below the city. Three redoubts defended the back part of the city, the central one being the principal. At the middle of each flank was also a battery; and the whole was surrounded by a deep ditch, within which was a strong palisade barrier.† Other forts, at different points on the river, above and below, were likewise placed in a proper state of defense.

The militia were also organized and trained, ready for service at the shortest notice. The governor reported the number of militia fit for service in the province as between five and six thousand men, and that the provincial authorities could at any time within three weeks concentrate three thousand men in any part of the province.‡

* Martin, vol. II, p. 115.

† Idem, p. 117.

‡ The militia were organized as follows:

1. In New Orleans there were five companies of volunteers, one company of artillery, and two companies of riflemen, each containing one hundred men.

Meantime the revolutionary spirit of France had begun to extend its influence into Louisiana. The political zealots of Jacobinical France were eager to commence a crusade for the recovery of their estranged countrymen of Louisiana under the dominion of France, and to release them from the thralldom of the Spanish dominion. At the head of these political fanatics was M. Genet, the French minister near the government of the United States. This fiery and indiscreet functionary of Republican France endeavored to rouse the people of the United States into an unlawful invasion of Louisiana and Florida. For this purpose, under the authority of the French Republic, he issued commissions to a number of men as officers in the French armies, with authority to raise troops in the United States for the contemplated invasion and revolution of Louisiana. The principal field of M. Genet's operations was the western country, especially in Kentucky and Tennessee. Seizing upon the excited prejudices of the western people, his agents were active in descanting upon the incalculable advantages which would accrue to the whole country by a separation from the Federal Union and an alliance with Louisiana under the protection of France. Many of the western people of the United States were seduced by his emissaries to espouse the schemes of the French agitator, and troops were actually imbodyed upon the southern frontier of Georgia. An emissary had been dispatched to the Creek nation, and had enlisted a large body of Creek warriors in the enterprise.*

[A.D. 1794.] Although the Federal government of the United States had used the utmost vigilance and decision in arresting the contemplated treasonable expedition, the Governor of Louisiana neglected no measure for putting his province in a proper state of defense to meet the threatened danger. The fortifications around the city of New Orleans were progressing

2. Between the city and the Balize were four companies of one hundred men each.
3. The "legion of the Mississippi," comprising the militia on both sides of the river, from the vicinity of the city up to Point Coupée, constituted ten companies of fusiliers, four companies of dragoons, and two companies of grenadiers, each of one hundred men.

4. At Avoyelles, one company of infantry.

5. At Washita, one company of cavalry.

6. At the Illinois, two companies of cavalry and two companies of infantry.

7. At the German and Acadian coasts, one regiment of one thousand men.

8. At Mobile, one company of infantry and one company of cavalry.—See *Martin*, vol. ii., p. 117, 118.

* See *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 123. Also, *American State Papers*, vol. x., Boston edition of 1817. See, also, chap. iii. of this book.

daily toward completion; the forts at Natchez, Walnut Hills, and New Madrid were re-enforced, and a treaty was concluded with the Chickasàs, by which the alliance of that nation was secured, and permission obtained for the establishment of a military post near the mouth of the Margot or Wolf River, upon the fourth Chickasà Bluff, which was soon afterward occupied by a stockade fort.*

The militia throughout the province were kept in a state of complete organization, and the people were exhorted to a faithful adherence to their duty and allegiance to his Catholic majesty, to resist every attempt to excite rebellion, or in any wise to favor the military invasion designed by the adherents of France. To carry out measures for insuring the peace and due observance of the law, he issued his proclamation about the first of June, strictly requiring the enforcement of certain police regulations throughout the province.†

Yet the French population of Louisiana, influenced by reports of the successes and victories of the French arms on the Continent of Europe, the extension of Republican principles throughout France, and the successful experiment of free government in the United States, were for a time elated with the prospect of a speedy emancipation from absolute monarchy. But, restrained by the strong arm of a military despotism, with its watchful agents, no overt act of rebellion was disclosed in Louisiana, and soon afterward the agents of Genet were arrested by the Federal authorities, and by their demand Genet himself was recalled by his government.‡

To counteract the effects of Genet's intrigues in the West, and to conciliate the feelings and prejudices of the western people

* The treaty with the Chickasàs was conducted by Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, commandant and lieutenant-governor of the Natchez District. The Chickasàs ceded to him the fourth bluff, with the view of erecting thereon a fort, which was to be kept in good repair for the purpose of protecting Louisiana from any invasion which might proceed from the United States. Although a stockade was commenced soon afterward, it was not completed until May, 1795, when it was called "Fort San Fernando de Barancas." It was situated upon the peninsula formed by the junction of the Margot and the Mississippi. In June, 1795, the Baron de Carondelet wrote to Maison Rouge, "that the strong fort at the post of 'Echore Margot,' defended by eight pieces of eight-pounder cannon, was completed on the 31st of May, 1795, when the Spanish flag was hoisted, and saluted by repeated discharges of cannon from the shore as well as from the galleys in the river."—See report of case, United States, plaintiffs in error, *v. Cox* and King, Supreme United States District Court, Louisiana, 1843, p. 93.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 126, 127.

‡ See Martin's Louisiana. Butler's Kentucky. Also, book iv., chapter iii., of this work.

toward the Spanish authorities of Louisiana, the governor again relaxed the restrictions upon the river trade, and extended important privileges to men of enterprise, preparatory to another attempt to win over the western people to the dominion of Spain.

For this purpose, he employed Thomas Powers, an intelligent Englishman, who had become a subject of his Catholic majesty, and who was dispatched as a secret emissary to Kentucky, for the purpose of conspiring with some of the leading men of that state relative to the best measures for securing the friendship and favor of the people toward an alliance with Louisiana under the Spanish monarchy. His ostensible business, however, appeared to be the collection of materials for a natural history of the western country. Under this pretext, he penetrated as far as the interior of Kentucky, where he held many private conferences with some of the most prominent men in the state, who were favorably inclined to his plans. In this visit, his real and principal object, so far as practicable, was to remove the predilections in favor of a French alliance, to hold out stronger inducements for an alliance with Spain, and to ascertain the general state of feeling in relation to each of these projects, together with any general information relative to the strength of the Federal government in the West.*

In the alliance with Louisiana, he was authorized to promise every thing desired by the people; and also to give assurance of the readiness of the colonial government to *furnish arms, ammunition, and money* to sustain them in the attempt to throw off the authority of the Federal government.

Meantime, the people of Louisiana, relieved from apprehension relative to the French conspiracy, had become reconciled to the mild and judicious administration of his Catholic majesty's government, by which his French subjects were admitted to all the privileges pertaining to his Spanish colonists.

The internal administration of government, the ecclesiastical as well as the civil authority, became firmly and quietly established, and the officers of the same exerted themselves to promote the prosperity and general welfare of the province. The intendant for the year 1794 was Don Francisco de Rendon. The pope, having erected Louisiana and Florida into an independent bishopric, the worthy Don Louis Penalvert was in-

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 123, 124. Also, book iv., chap. iii., of this work.

stalled bishop of the diocese, with two additional canons to the corps of the provincial clergy.

The bishop having established his Cathedral in the city of New Orleans, Don Almonaster, a perpetual regidor and alferéz-real, at his own individual cost, completed the Cathedral church edifice, which had been commenced two years previously.* The same venerable relic of former years still remains in front of the public square in the French municipality.

[A.D. 1795.] At the same time, the Baron de Carondelet was laudably exerting himself to enlarge, beautify, and fortify the city. Early in May, 1794, he had given public notice of his intention to open a canal in the rear of the city, for the double purpose of draining the marshes and ponds in that vicinity, and opening a navigable communication with the sea. This canal, communicating with a branch of the Bayou St. John, would effectually accomplish the latter object, to the great commercial advantage of the city, while it would also remove one great source of annoyance and disease proceeding from the generation of innumerable swarms of musquitoes and marsh miasma from the stagnant pools.

To accomplish this important undertaking for the advantage of the city, he proposed to accept the voluntary contribution of such slave labor as the planters and others in the vicinity might be willing to give. The month of June had been announced as the time for beginning the work, at which time sixty negro slaves were sent by the patriotic inhabitants, and the canal was commenced. The work progressed rapidly; but the depth of the canal was only six feet.† The convicts and a few slaves continued to labor upon the work during the remainder of the year, until it was opened to the intersection of the Bayou St. John, through which a navigable route lay to Lake Pontchartrain. The following year the plan of making the canal navigable up to the city was concurred in, and the governor made a second call upon the patriotism and public spirit of the people for additional labor. To this call a generous response was given, and one hundred and fifty negroes were sent to expedite the work. The excavation was now made to the width of fifteen feet, with a depth sufficient to admit small vessels up to the vicinity of the ramparts on the rear of the city. In November the governor made one more call

* *Martin*, vol. ii., p. 122-126.

† *Idem*, p. 124, 125.

for aid from the planters within fifteen miles of the city, assuring them that with eight days' work from the same number of hands he would be able to render the canal navigable for small vessels up to the "basin," which had been excavated near the ramparts of the city. The labor was cheerfully contributed, and the canal was in successful operation during the following winter. Early in the spring a number of schooners came up and moored in the "basin." Thus, in the autumn of 1795, was there a navigable canal route opened from the city, by way of the lakes, to the sea; and the spring of 1796 witnessed ships at anchor in the rear of the city. In honor of the projector and patron, the Cabalde, by a decree, designated it as "Canal Carondelet,"* a name which it retains to this day.

[A.D. 1796.] The completion of the canal by the governor was considered a presage of the future grandeur and commerce of New Orleans, which was to become the great emporium of Louisiana; but it could hardly have entered his imagination that it was to become the great commercial emporium of the whole Valley of the Mississippi, under a free and independent Republic. A change was also about to be introduced in the great agricultural staples of the province.

During the last two years, 1793 and 1794, such had been the ravages of the insects in destroying the indigo plant, that planters were compelled to turn their attention to some other staple product. Up to this time, indigo had been one of the most valuable staples; but now it gave place gradually to the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, and cotton, which were deemed a more certain crop. Indigo, as a crop, had formerly been liable to a partial failure from the vicissitudes of the seasons; but for the last two years the insect had nearly destroyed the entire crop. In the year 1794, whole fields of indigo were stripped of their foliage by these destructive vermin, leaving only the naked stalks and stems.†

[A.D. 1795.] During the summer of 1795 a number of French royalists arrived in New Orleans, and professed to desire an asylum for many of their friends, who had arrived in the United States and advanced westward to join their countrymen near Gallipolis, on the Ohio. Among these exiled royalists were two noblemen, designated as the Marquis de Maison Rouge and the Baron de Bastrop. The marquis proposed to

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 128-131.

† Idem, p. 125.

settle a colony of French upon the banks of the Washita ; for which he undertook to introduce thirty French families from the Ohio for the cultivation of wheat and the manufacture of flour. But the nobleman was poor and destitute, and, withal, wanting in energy and character ; consequently, he was unable to advance the means of introducing and locating his colony. The Baron de Carondelet, deeming it a favorable opportunity for settling the banks of the Washita with an industrious agricultural population, tendered his aid, upon the most liberal and advantageous terms for the marquis. For this purpose, the governor proposed to enter into an agreement jointly with the intendant and royal treasurer, to pay to the order of the marquis for every French Royalist family introduced and settled upon the Washita, and consisting of at least two persons capable of agricultural or mechanical labor, the sum of two hundred dollars. Besides this amount advanced to the marquis, the governor agreed to give every such family, for their use and benefit, four hundred acres of land, and to refund the actual expense of emigration from New Madrid. The conditions of the agreement were subsequently approved by the king. But the marquis never completed the location of his colony ; having taken up his residence near the post of Miro, he spent a few years in poverty and obscurity, until 1799, when he died in indigent circumstances, having entirely failed to establish his agricultural colony.

During the last three years of his life his only means of subsistence appears to have been the pension drawn from the Spanish treasury, in the shape of compensation under his contract, for three or four families, including two Anglo-American, which he alleged to have introduced and settled near him.

Such is the foundation upon which was reared, after his death, a noted *land-claim* on the Washita for thirty square leagues of land, embracing both banks of the Washita for nearly thirty miles below the post of Miro. This claim, comprising an aggregate of more than 200,000 acres, was known and designated as the "Maison Rouge grant," covering some of the most splendid alluvions in Louisiana.*

The claim made its first appearance about the year 1806, soon after the constrained departure of the surveyor-general Don Trudeau, and many other Spanish *ex-officials*, from Louisi-

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 139 and 137.

ana, in 1805.* The claim passed into the hands of Daniel Clarke and Daniel Coxe; and, subsequently, many other persons claiming through them have been largely interested in its confirmation by the United States.†

Consequently, for the next forty years it became a fruitful source of embarrassment to the settlement of the country, as well as to the legislation of the Federal and State governments. By the Congress of the United States, the question of title was referred to the decision of the judicial tribunals. The United States District Court of Louisiana, having adjudicated the case fully, decided certain points at issue in favor of the claimants; but the Supreme Court of the United States, in its final decision, adjudged and decreed *the claim* to be utterly null and void.‡

* See vol. ii., book v., chap. xv., "Territory of Orleans."

† According to Martin, this "grant," as originally claimed by the heirs-at-law, or assignees of Maison Rouge, comprised only thirty thousand acres; subsequently, the claim set up comprised more than two hundred and thirty thousand acres, and extended below the town of Monroe (the Spanish post of Miro, subsequently the post of Washita) more than fifty miles by the meanders of the river.

From the testimony introduced in the District Court in 1844-5, it appears that the inception of the claim dates back to the year 1802 or 1803, about three years after the death of the alleged *grantee*, and at a period when many of the Spanish officials, apprised of the approaching termination of the Spanish dominion in Louisiana, were actively employed for the benefit of their friends and favorites, as well as for their own pecuniary advantage, in fabricating land-titles for alleged previous grants during the legal existence of the Spanish authority. It is clearly shown that, during the *quasi interregnum*, the Spanish officials prepared hundreds of spurious Spanish titles, which were thrown into the market to the highest bidder *for what they would bring*, and large sums of money from time to time had been raised upon them, from that time to the final adjudication in the spring of 1845; each new claimant or adventurer in the speculation nominally augmenting the value of the general claim, because he increased the influence which could be brought to operate in the final decision of the question of confirmation, whether by Congress or otherwise. The final decision demonstrates that the Supreme Court of the United States is entirely beyond the reach of combined wealth.

‡ To test the principles involved in the main question, the parties claimant mutually agreed to present the case in the name of Richard King, a purchaser, holding under Daniel Coxe, of Philadelphia. The case came up for adjudication in New Orleans in 1844; finally disposed in 1845.

The testimony most important was as follows: On the 17th of March, 1795, Governor Carondelet and the intendant, Don Francisco de Rendon, contracted with the Marquis de Maison Rouge, a poor nobleman of France, for the introduction of twenty or thirty French families for a stipulated amount of money, and a certain quantity of land to each settler; the terms were approved by the king on the 14th of July following; the marquis, neglecting to avail himself of the liberal terms, settles near Miro in June, 1798, and dies late in 1799. In the year 1801 Louisiana is ceded conditionally to the French Republic, but is not formally delivered until near the close of the year 1803. For several months previous to the delivery to the French commissioner, it was known in Louisiana and the United States that it had been ceded to the United States, and required only the formality of passing through the French commissioner, being already the property of the United States. The Spanish officers hold office for the emolument pertaining to it, and for the opportunities which their official authority gives them for

A similar grant is alleged to have been made to the Baron de Bastrop the year after the grant of Maison Rouge, and under similar conditions, which, in like manner, were never complied with on his part.* One was also made the same year to Julien Dubuque, upon the Upper Mississippi, for nine square leagues above the mouth of the Little Macoketta River. This was in the heart of a rich mining region, and comprised what the proprietor termed the "Mines of Spain."

The De Bastrop claim, like that of Maison Rouge, has never been recognized by the government of the United States.

Among the events of this year, none tended so much to disturb the tranquillity and domestic prosperity of the province as the difficulty of controlling the slaves. These people, inured

accumulating wealth, directly or indirectly, through their official transactions, &c. Again, in the first adjudication of Spanish land-claims under the Federal government, the validity of the claims were decided by a majority of a board of three commissioners, before whom oral and documentary testimony was adduced to establish the claim. Claims not contested, of course, were not closely investigated; the oath of one or more persons established a claim not contested. The Maison Rouge claim was not adjudicated by the commissioners, who conceived it beyond their jurisdiction. This claim was owned by Louis Bouligny and others, the alleged heirs at law or assignees of Don Vincente Fernandez Fejeiro, former commandant of the post of Washita from the year 1800 to 1804. Louis Bouligny was at the post of Washita during the years 1802 and 1803, and was, in fact, a joint partner with Fejeiro in the Maison Rouge claim, which turns out to be for thirty square leagues of land. During these same years the commandant, Fejeiro, had made several visits to the city of New Orleans.

The title papers presented by the claimants purported to be,

1. A "plat survey, and corners," without any proper courses, distances, &c., made and certified by Don Carlos Laveau Trudeau, surveyor-general of Louisiana, bearing date June 14th, 1797.

2. A Spanish patent, or *título in formo*, dated June 20th, 1797, and calling for *thirty superficial leagues of land*.

On the part of the United States, it was shown that the Maison Rouge claim, if authentic, could not exceed four thousand acres previous to the death of the grantee.

John Filhiol, formerly commandant at Fort Miro from the year 1783 to 1800, "and an honest man," had no knowledge of any grant or survey for thirty square leagues to any person or persons; nor does he believe that *Maison Rouge ever claimed* such amount.

It is charged that this large amount was procured in fraud by said Bouligny and Fejeiro; that the plats of survey and the documentary evidence are false and fraudulent, and procured after the death of Maison Rouge.

It was proven that the Spanish governor-general himself had no authority to make such a grant; also, that the said "Don Vincente Fejeiro, in the spring of 1804, of his own absolute will, made a number of sales and transfers of land to different inhabitants, which were not asked from, or ever granted by the Spanish government;" that a "few days before the arrival of the American officer appointed to take possession of Fort Miro, this same Don Vincente Fejeiro called together a number of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of his district, and persuaded them to make these abominable sales and transfers to each other; however, with one exception, not a single man has attempted to use them, but appeared to scorn and detest the vile, intriguing spirit of him who seduced them."—See Printed Case, No. 99, United States, Plaintiffs in Error, *versus* D. Cox and R. King, Supreme Court of the United States.

* See Martin, vol. ii., p. 132.

to toil and hardships, and conscious of their physical strength, were prone to rebel against the feeble authority by which they were surrounded, and upon any emergency they were apt to take advantage of their physical power, in districts where the slave population was five times as numerous as the whites.

A few years only had elapsed since the horrible tragedy of St. Domingo had transpired, in which a whole race had asserted their freedom, and had expelled or exterminated their enslavers. They had assumed a national independence by their fearless daring; should the slave of Louisiana continue to submit patiently to his thralldom? The theme was one which required only the reckless intrepidity of a desperate leader to rouse the minds of the slaves of Louisiana to the hopeless effort of throwing off their bondage. Such was the motive which was urged by a few daring slaves who had heard of the catastrophe of St. Domingo. A conspiracy was put on foot, in like manner, to exterminate the white population in Louisiana. The plot originated upon the plantation of Julien Poydras, situated upon the island of Point Coupée, while the proprietor was absent on a visit to the United States.

The insurgents designed to murder all the whites of the parish indiscriminately; but a disagreement among the leaders as to the day for commencing the massacre gave occasion for the discovery of the plot before it had entirely matured; the execution of the whole conspiracy was therefore defeated, and promptly suppressed. The militia were immediately under arms, and were soon re-enforced by the regular troops. The slaves had imbodyed and made a furious resistance. Twenty-five of them were killed before they were subdued. Upon the surviving ringleaders the full rigor of the law was enforced. In the subsequent trials fifty were found guilty, and were condemned to death. Of these, nine were hung in different parts of the parish of Point Coupée; nine others were taken down the river, and one of them was hung and left suspended at each parish church, as a warning to others. Many of the conspirators, who were less guilty, were severely whipped and discharged.* Thus terminated the first fruits of the St. Domingo tragedy within the present limits of the United States.

Such had been the general excitement and apprehension of the people at the imminent danger from which they had escaped,

* The insurrection of the slaves in the French portion of St. Domingo took place on

that all resolved to take measures for preventing a recurrence of similar danger. The Cabaldo soon afterward petitioned the king for his prohibition against the further introduction of negroes from any portion of the world.*

During the year 1795, the authorities of Louisiana experienced much anxiety in regard to the continued advance of the western settlements of the United States. This advance was not only upon the region of the Ohio; it caused a direct conflict of jurisdiction upon the immediate bank of the Lower Mississippi. This was the period of the famous "Yazoo speculation," under the impulse of which the State of Georgia chartered the "Mississippi Company," and had erected the whole settled portion of the Natchez District into the "County of Bourbon." Although the act was subsequently repealed, it had thrown a large number of Anglo-American adventurers within the Spanish dominion. It was about this time that his Catholic majesty issued his schedule prohibiting the emigration of American citizens to Louisiana.

About the same time, apprehending hostilities on the part of the United States, and an interruption of the intercourse with Upper Louisiana by way of the Mississippi River, the Baron de Carondelet was diligent in preparing to meet the emergency. Additional posts were established upon the Upper Mississippi, and at several points below the mouth of the Ohio. Also, while he was establishing military posts at the mouth of the Ohio, New Madrid, the Echore Margot, Walnut Hills, and Natchez, he was providing for another route to Upper Louisiana, entirely west of the Mississippi River. This route was by way of the Washita River and Bayou Barthelemy to the Arkansas River, and thence by way of White River, the St. Francis, and its great eastern tributary, White Water Creek. By this route he had discovered that a practicable water communication, with short portages, could be opened from New Orleans to the settlements of Upper Louisiana.†

During the following year, the intendant of the province was

the night of the 23d of August, 1791. Hundreds of families were butchered by the infuriated negroes, and many escaped only with their lives on board the ships in the harbors, or fled to the Spanish part of the island for protection. Many ultimately came to Louisiana under Spanish dominion, and some fled to the United States.—See Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. v., p. 368, 1st ed., and Martin, vol. ii., p. 109. Also, Marbois's *Louisiana*, p. 186-200.

* Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 135.

† This route had been explored by experienced hunters and voyageurs, showing the Barthelemy navigable to within a few miles of Pine Bluffs, on the Arkansas.

Don Juan Beneventura Morales, who had succeeded Don Rendon. Morales had entered upon the duties of his office with a firm determination to enforce the revenue laws rigorously against the river trade from the United States, and to prohibit entirely emigration from the Western States to Louisiana, as directed by the king's schedule.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF LOUISIANA WITH THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE TREATY OF 1783 TO THE TREATY OF MADRID.— A.D. 1783 TO 1795.

Argument.—Field of national Controversy opened by Treaty of 1783.—Construction of the Treaty by Spain.—Construction by United States.—Navigation of the Mississippi.—Claimed by the United States.—Spain claims the exclusive Right.—Denies Use of the River to the western People.—Restrictions and Duties exacted by Spanish Authorities.—Embarrassed Condition of the western People.—Jealous Apprehensions of Spain.—Condition of American Settlements.—Indian Tribes.—Policy pursued by Spain toward Kentucky.—Indignation of the western People.—Excitement by a Rumored abandonment of the Claim of the United States.—Change of Spanish Policy.—Governor Miro relaxes the Restrictions upon the western Trade.—His conciliatory Policy to western People in 1788-9.—Colonel Wilkinson's commercial Enterprise with New Orleans suspected.—Western People become reconciled to the Spanish Authorities.—Cumberland Settlements.—"Miro District."—Emigration from Kentucky and Cumberland encouraged.—Grants of Land in 1790.—Spanish Intrigue for separating the Western States.—Negotiations of the Federal Government.—Impatience of the western People.—Disaffection appears in Kentucky.—Negotiations by the Federal Government.—Spanish Emissaries embarrass Negotiations with Creek Indians, 1789-1790.—"Southwestern Territory" organized.—Baron Carondelet commences his Intrigue with Kentucky, 1793.—Creeks instigated to Hostilities by Spanish emissaries.—Intrigues of M. Genet, the French Minister.—Threatened Invasion of East Florida from Georgia.—Spain procrastinates Negotiations while Carondelet operates upon the western People.—War with Spain apprehended by President Washington in 1794.—Baron Carondelet apprehends Danger from the western People.—Five political Parties in the West.—Powers, the Spanish emissary, sent to Kentucky.—Views of the Federal Government.—It restrains the western Excitement.—Carondelet renews his Mission to Kentucky in 1795.—Gayoso and Powers sent to negotiate with the Kentucky Conspirators.—The Mission Fails.—Prospects of Disunion blasted.—Sebastian visits New Orleans.—Overtures from the Spanish Court.—Thomas Pinckney Minister to Spain.—Treaty of Madrid signed, October 20th.—Stipulations in the Treaty relative to Boundary and the river Trade.—The Georgia Bubble—"Yazoo Speculation."—Its Effects on Louisiana.

[AD. 1783.] The stipulations in the treaty of 1783, between the powers of Great Britain and of the United States, France, and Spain, opened a wide field of controversy between the Federal government and the court of Madrid, and the issue was made upon two principal points, deeply affecting the interests of

the western portion of the United States. These were, *first*, the right of the western people to the free navigation and trade of the Mississippi; and, *second*, the establishment of the southern boundary of the United States under the provisions of the treaty. This controversy, which arose soon after the general peace, was continued with strong animosity on both sides, and with but little intermission, for nearly twelve years, until finally arranged by the treaty of Madrid in 1795.*

By the treaty signed September 3d, 1783, Great Britain relinquished to the United States all the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, from its sources to the 31st parallel of north latitude, which was to be the boundary of Florida on the north.

With this relinquishment, of course, was ceded all the previous rights of Great Britain to the free navigation of the river to its mouth, as derived from previous treaties with France and Spain. The United States, therefore, claimed the free navigation of the river to the mouth.

At the same time, Great Britain had ceded to Spain all the Floridas, comprising all the territory east of the Mississippi, and south of the southern limit of the United States. Hence Spain possessed all the territory on the west side of the river, and Florida on the east; and the river, for the last three hundred miles, flowed wholly within the dominions of Spain. His Catholic majesty therefore claimed the exclusive right to the use of the river below the southern limit of the United States.

Independent of this principle, Spain refused to recognize the southern boundary of the United States as extending further south than the old British boundary of Florida, which was an imaginary line extending from the mouth of the Yazoo due east to the Chattahoochy, or in latitude thirty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes north. As the treaty of 1783, in the cession of Florida to Spain, designated no boundaries, but presumed that of the United States, Spain demanded Florida with its British boundaries, alleging that England, by the treaty, confirmed to her the dominion of Florida, which was then in her possession as a conquered province.

* The first negotiation on the subject was opened by John Jay, on the part of the United States, on the 26th day of July, 1785, with the Spanish minister, Don Guardoqui. The negotiation was protracted in a very unsatisfactory manner until 1789.—See *American State Papers*, vol. x., p. 107, Boston edition.

In 1791, negotiations were renewed at Madrid by William Short and William Carmichael, charges to Madrid and Paris, duly authorized as commissioners, December 22d, 1791.

[A.D. 1784.] Yet Spain had been a party to the triple treaty, and had acquiesced in the article which had stipulated for the 31st parallel as the southern limit of the United States; and they now demanded the specified boundary. Nor could it be doubted that both Great Britain and the United States, in the treaty, contemplated the 31st parallel as the northern limit of Florida.

In reference to the free navigation of the Mississippi, the United States asserted a natural right, independent of any claim derived through Great Britain. The American people occupied and exercised dominion over the whole eastern portion of the Mississippi Valley, comprising all the country drained by its great eastern tributaries, and the east bank as low as the northern limit of Florida. This gave to them the natural right to follow the current of their rivers to the sea, as established by the admitted laws of nations.

The use of the river was necessary and absolutely indispensable to the western settlements, which were now fast rising into political importance. Situated as they were, no power on earth could prevent the final appropriation of the river below them to their use, when their numbers should enable them to maintain their rights by force.

Such were the questions at issue between Spain and the United States; and concession on the part of the former, or war on the part of the latter, was the only alternative by which the question was to be finally decided.

Spain was jealous of the growing power and the increasing population of the United States. The western country was rapidly filling up with a hardy and restless population, which was already encroaching upon the limits of the Spanish provinces. Their political principles, too, were at war with the laws, usages, and policy of Spain. To concede the free navigation of the river to them under such circumstances would be little less than political suicide; for it would be throwing open the flood-gates for a political inundation of Louisiana and her monarchical institutions. Such were the views of the two powers.

[A.D. 1785.] The tide of immigration was already setting strongly to the West. Kentucky alone contained about twelve thousand inhabitants; and within the present limits of Tennessee there were still more populous settlements upon the Hol-

ston and Clinch Rivers, and which were advancing upon the Cumberland. If it were not possible for Spain to check the advance of this tide, it certainly was impolitic to invite it into her dominions. Her only true policy was, to use every means in her power to embarrass the western people while connected with the Federal government, and at the same time to hold out strong inducements to them in favor of a separation from the Atlantic States and an alliance with Louisiana under the Spanish crown, whereby they would secure for themselves all the privileges and advantages which they so much desired.

Circumstances were favorable to such a policy. The settlements of Kentucky and Tennessee were isolated, cut off from the populous parts of the Atlantic States by a vast wilderness and lofty mountain ranges, which virtually removed them nearly six hundred miles from their respective state capitals. They were imperfectly protected from Indian hostility by the Federal government; they were without the advantages of trade and commerce, while their country was every where intersected by navigable streams, and abounded in all the valuable products for foreign markets. The ties on one side were weak, and on the other the inducements were strong. Under these circumstances, Spain did not for a moment hesitate in her course of policy, believing she would be able, ultimately, to goad the western people into a separation from the Federal Union.

Previous to the close of the war of Independence, the settlements in the western country were few and weak, surrounded by powerful tribes of hostile Indians, many of whom, on the south, were in alliance with the Spanish provinces. All the region south of Tennessee was a savage wilderness, and Spain claimed the territory as a part of Louisiana and Florida. But since the close of the war, settlements had been advancing into the West in a manner without a parallel. The whole country appeared in motion for the Mississippi. The United States had been entering into treaties of peace and amity with Indian tribes over whom Spain claimed to exercise protection and sovereignty.

The Spanish king had never entertained any sincere friendship for the American people. In the war of the Revolution, his Catholic majesty, yielding to the solicitations of the King of France, and prompted by his own jealous hostility to the

English power, had consented to make common cause with France and the revolted colonies against Great Britain; yet it was not for any good will he entertained for the people of the colonies, except so far as he might add to his own dominions, by humbling his powerful rival and repossessing the Floridas. Although he had been successful, and had subjugated Florida, he appeared to regret the aid which had been incidentally rendered to the United States, which now seemed to presage a more formidable obstacle to the peace and integrity of the Spanish provinces than the power of England herself. Hence the extreme reluctance with which his Catholic majesty ratified the treaty of 1783, which confirmed the independence and defined the boundaries of the new power.*

For the whole West there was but one great outlet to the ocean, and that was through the province of Louisiana and by way of the port of New Orleans. This circumstance alone must, of necessity, at length lead to difficulties between the Spanish authorities and the people of the United States. Indications of this were already too plain to be mistaken. The western people had already begun to demand as a right the free navigation of the Mississippi, the great river of Louisiana.

[A.D. 1786.] Three years after the ratification of the treaty of 1783, Spain occupied both banks of the Mississippi below the Ohio, and no less than four Spanish posts confirmed the military occupation of the eastern bank, and the governor and intendant of Louisiana were required to enforce the laws of Spain, in the collection of heavy duties on all imports by way of the river from the Ohio region. These duties were arbitrary, and often extremely heavy and unjust; but an excise officer, supported by a military force, was stationed at every commandant's headquarters on the river to enforce the collection of the revenue. Every boat descending the river was compelled to make land, and submit to the revenue exactions, with only such relaxations and modifications as the commandant saw fit to admit. All violations of these arbitrary regulations and restrictions thus imposed were met with seizure and imprisonment, and often by confiscation of the whole cargo to the use and benefit of the officers of the crown, who valued their offices in proportion to the profit derived from them.*

* See Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. i., p. 466.

† The Spanish authorities in Louisiana seldom failed to use their offices and authority.
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This system of exaction upon the trade of the western people became exceedingly oppressive under the arbitrary power of the excise men ; many acts of oppression and unjust exaction would of course take place from time to time, and the western boatmen had not been well schooled in submission to arbitrary rule. Many, disdaining to submit to the arrogant demands of the Spanish officials, were from time to time exposed to their official resentment, which occasionally ended, not with a mere temporary delay and embarrassment, but sometimes brought upon the offender the penalty of confiscation of property, and a vexatious imprisonment. Repeated occurrences of this kind soon spread great indignation among the trading portion of the western people, and made them impatient for that revenge which might be inflicted by a military invasion of Louisiana and the capture of New Orleans, which would give them the control of the whole commerce of the river.

As early as 1785, the Federal government, through John Jay, their commissioner, opened a negotiation with the Spanish minister, Don Guardoqui, relative to these embarrassments to the prosperity of the western people ; but the Spanish minister, in behalf of his government, persisted in his refusal to concede any of the points in controversy, and, after a fruitless negotiation of twelve months, Mr. Jay had almost consented to waive the right of the western people to the free navigation of the Mississippi *for twenty years*, provided *Spain would concede their claims* at the expiration of that period.

[A.D. 1787.] It was about the close of the year 1786 that the rumor obtained currency in the West that the Federal government, regardless of the interests of the western people, was

ity for their private gain and emolument, with but few scruples for the impartial rights of the crown in competition with their own pecuniary interests. The estimate of Spanish integrity in the discharge of their official duties varied but little, in the time of Governor Miro, from the account given of it by Daniel Clarke, the American consul, twenty-five years afterward, in 1803. He says, "the auditors of war, and the assessors of government and intendancy, have always *been corrupt*, and to them only must be attributed the mal-administration of justice ; for the governor and other judges, who are unacquainted with the law, seldom dare to act contrary to the opinions they give. Hence, when the auditor or assessor was bribed, suitors had to complain of delays and infamous decisions. But all the officers will plunder when the opportunity offers ; they are all venal. A bargain can be made with the governor, the intendant, a judge, or a collector, and all others down to a constable. If ever an officer be displeased at the offer of money, *it is not because it is offered*, but because circumstances *compel him to refuse*. Instead of spurning the man who offers a bribe, he looks on him with additional favor, which encourages him to make a second offer when a better opportunity may present for its acceptance.—See Martin, vol. ii., p. 210.

about to conclude a treaty with the Spanish minister, in which the United States *were to abandon their claim* to the free navigation of the Mississippi *for twenty years*, to conciliate the good will of Spain. The very possibility of abandoning their rightful claims produced the highest degree of excitement in all the western settlements, which not only endangered the safety of Louisiana, but caused great anxiety to the Federal government itself for several years subsequently.

The indignation of the western people had been fully aroused, and they had determined *no longer to submit* to the vacillating negotiation of the Federal government, which could for a moment hesitate to urge the immediate recognition of their rights. The feelings of indignation were expended in a determination to plan a military invasion of Louisiana, which should compel Spain to concede their demands without delay.

This state of things had continued nearly a year, when Governor Miro entered upon the duties of his office. Perceiving the tendency of the policy heretofore pursued by the government of Louisiana toward the American people, he resolved to adopt a different course during his administration. With the consent and approbation of the Spanish minister, Don Guardoqui, resident at the seat of the Federal government, he resolved to relax the import and transit duties on the river trade from the western settlements. He accordingly granted the privilege of free trade to certain persons, and relaxed many of the oppressive restrictions heretofore imposed upon Americans visiting the province of Louisiana. Among these were the privileges granted to Colonel James Wilkinson, between the years 1787 and 1790, of a free trade in tobacco, flour, and other western productions, besides the privilege of introducing several hundreds of American families into Louisiana and the West Florida districts.*

[A.D. 1788.] Scarcely one year had elapsed after the extension of these indulgences to the western people, when Miro began to experience great opposition to his policy from the Spanish minister, who had failed to realize the pecuniary advantages which he had anticipated from this state of things.† The same opposition was also experienced from the intendant,

* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 154-170.

† Don Guardoqui retired from his mission at the close of the old Confederation, in 1789.

Don Navarro, who had been influenced by the minister to require a rigid execution of the revenue laws and regulations. The opposition from the latter quarter, however, ceased with the close of the year 1788, when Navarro retired to Spain, leaving Governor Miro, by the king's command, invested with authority to discharge the duties of intendant in addition to his other prerogatives. This new arrangement tended greatly to calm the anxious excitement among the western people, who esteemed Governor Miro as their friend and benefactor.

[A.D. 1789.] Colonel Wilkinson, with an eye to his individual interests, had correctly represented the western people, and had entered into arrangements with Governor Miro for the *exclusive* supply of tobacco from Kentucky for the Mexican market; and he continued, for several years after 1787, to send his annual cargoes of tobacco and other western produce to the New Orleans market. In 1789 he received from New Orleans a large amount of specie, estimated at *ten thousand Spanish dollars*, shipped to him at Danville, in Kentucky, for the ostensible purpose of purchasing tobacco for his engagements with Governor Miro. But suspicions were awakened in Kentucky, and many believed that Wilkinson was in the secret service of Spain, for the purpose of winning over the western people to the Spanish dominion, and that he received an annual pension from the Spanish king, concealed under commercial remittances made to him on account of his tobacco monopoly. Unfortunately, subsequent developments were not calculated to remove this impression.

[A.D. 1791.] Until the year 1791, the same mild and conciliatory policy was maintained by Governor Miro toward the western people, not only of Kentucky, but also those on the Holston and Cumberland Rivers, in the Southwestern Territory, and also to those of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela. Many of the most fiery spirits became reconciled to the Spanish authorities, and entertained for Miro himself an affectionate regard. The prevalence of these feelings among the people on the Cumberland River was fully evinced in designating one of their judicial districts by the name of "Miro District."*

Many of the people of Kentucky and Tennessee, although

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 110.

satisfied with the Spanish authorities, and pleased with the commercial privileges extended by Governor Miro, were unwilling to submit to the species of vassalage implied by the *manner* in which the river commerce was enjoyed. They claimed all these advantages, not as special favors, *but as common and indefeasible rights.*

To allay anxiety on that point, indulgences were extended to emigrants desirous of settling in Louisiana, and various inducements were held out to those who were willing to submit to the Spanish dominion. Grants of land were promised to such as desired to make their permanent residence in Louisiana, while intimations were secretly disseminated among the unsuspecting people that the Spanish government would grant to them as a community *every commercial advantage and privilege* which could be desired, provided they were disconnected from the Federal government east of the mountains. The Spanish minister resident in the United States had been bold enough to declare unequivocally to his confidential correspondents, that unless the western people, and especially those of Kentucky, would *declare themselves independent* of the Federal government, and *establish for themselves* an independent form of government, Spain never would allow them the free navigation of the Mississippi: "But upon those terms *he was authorized*, and would engage to open the navigation of the river, for the exportation of their products and manufactures, on terms of mutual advantage."* The same intimations were zealously disseminated among the people of all the western settlements by persons supposed to have been secretly in the employment and pay of the Governor of Louisiana.

Such were the conflicting interests and feelings of the western people, and the secret designs of the Spanish government; such were the intrigues and plans of the Spanish governor to effect a separation of the western people from the Federal Union, by alienating them from their allegiance, and winning over their feelings, no less than their interests, to the dominion of Spain. Many were seduced from the Federal government, but a greater number remained firm in their adherence to the Union.

In the mean time, the subject had been one of deep interest

* Butler's Kentucky, p. 177, &c.

to the Federal government. Congress, under the old confederation, had early brought the subject before the Spanish cabinet. In the year 1787, that body had directed the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to open a negotiation with the Spanish minister resident in the United States, and to press upon his *serious attention* the danger of an interruption of the good understanding existing between the two countries. He was also instructed and "required expressly to stipulate for both the territory of the United States, agreeably to the boundary of 1783, and the *free navigation of the Mississippi*, from its source to its mouth."

In the negotiation which ensued, Guardoqui, the Spanish minister, replied, that the Spanish king "*never would permit any foreign power* to use that river, both banks of which belonged to him."*

[A.D. 1792,] After fruitless attempts at negotiation for several years, all further efforts were suspended; as Guardoqui, having refused to consent to any treaty whatever on the subject which would require Spain to acknowledge in the United States any *right* to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, had retired to Spain.

The great mass of the western people, in the mean time, became impatient of the restraints and exactions which had been again imposed upon their commerce, and were highly exasperated against the authorities of Louisiana. The population upon all the great tributaries of the Ohio, next the mountains, had greatly multiplied; and the augmented agricultural products demanded an outlet adequate to the supply. On the east, commerce and export were entirely cut off by lofty ranges of mountains. On the west, the great branches of the Ohio gave them a direct and easy transportation from their doors to the Mississippi, and by that river to every part of the habitable globe. In fact, the Mississippi was the natural outlet for the whole West, and yet it was held and controlled by a power which claimed *exclusive* navigation upon it, because it held possession of the mouth.

Many, in their impatience at the privations imposed upon the river commerce, censured the tardiness of the Federal government and its want of energy, because Spain was not required

* Jay's Life, vol. i., p. 235, 236.

imperatively to concede the right of free navigation to the people of the United States. Some, prompted more by interest than honorable independence, began to devise means of conciliating the favor of Spain, at the expense of patriotism at home. They became disaffected toward the policy of the Federal government, because its negotiation had failed to secure to them their rights; and, despairing of more efficient measures by the government, began to look to the Spanish authorities themselves for relief. This relief had been secretly promised to them by men who were in the interest of Spain.

In the forcible language of General Wilkinson, such had been the precarious condition of the western settlements, that they seemed to labor under *every disadvantage*, political as well as natural; "open to savage depredations, exposed to the jealousies of the Spanish government, unprotected by the old confederation, and denied the navigation of the Mississippi, the only practical channel by which the productions of their labor could find a market," could it be a matter of surprise if they did reluctantly consent to abandon country and friends for relief?

But the Federal government had not been neglectful of their interests, and was now prepared for more vigorous negotiations. In the month of September, 1788, a resolution of Congress had declared "that the free navigation of the Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such." To this declaration a response was gladly echoed from the whole West, and from all the Southern States. The negotiation to this effect had been pressed under the old confederation without effect, until the Spanish minister retired to Spain upon the change of the Federal government. The president, under the new confederation, had kept up a constant negotiation through the American ministers, Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Short, resident at Madrid. These ministers had been charged specially to negotiate for the *cession of West Florida* near the Mississippi, and *the Island of New Orleans*, including the city of New Orleans, and the whole eastern bank of the river to the sea, which were to be obtained *at any cost*, provided the free use of the river through Louisiana *could not be obtained otherwise*.*

* For an account of this instruction, see Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. v., p. 278 first edition.

But the King of Spain little thought of giving up the empire of the Mississippi. In 1783, he had, with great reluctance, given his assent to the treaty establishing the western and southern boundary of the United States, but with no intention of surrendering to them the territory which had been claimed as a part of his dominions east of the Mississippi. The Spanish minister, in his negotiation on the subject, had pretended to deny any right accruing to the United States, east of the Lower Mississippi, in virtue of the treaty of 1763, because, up to the declaration of independence, Great Britain had prohibited the settlement of lands west of the sources of the Atlantic streams. To sustain this position, he referred to the king's proclamation of 1763, prohibiting all settlements west of the mountains, and which had been cited by the last royal governor of Virginia, to bar the claims of the Transylvania Company in 1776.* Acting under this assumption, and presuming the Indian tribes to be independent nations, possessing the rightful sovereignty of the country occupied by them, Spain lost no opportunity, by means of agents and emissaries, to prevent the sale and transfer of territory from the Indians to the United States. Thus, while Spain, by negotiation, procrastinated any definite understanding with the United States relative to the claims under the treaty of 1783, she determined to check the advance of the settlements, and prevent the origin of any other title to the country through the Indian right.†

[A.D. 1793.] The Cumberland settlements were now included within the limits of the "Southwestern Territory," under the jurisdiction of the Federal government, protected by military posts and an organized militia. This advance of the Federal jurisdiction, extending to the Mississippi River, placed the people of Tennessee, who were on the head waters of the Holston and Clinch Rivers, and upon the Cumberland River, beyond the influence of Spanish intrigue and allurements; but Kentucky was still a district attached to the State of Virginia, and holding no separate political relation to the United States; and her citizens were impatient of a change in the form of their government which would release them from the condition of a mere colony of Virginia. This state of things stimulated

* See book iii., chap iii., of this work, near the close of the chapter, i. e., the Transylvania purchase by Henderson and Co.

† See book v., chapter viii., of this work, viz., "Indian Relations," &c.

the Governor of Louisiana to renew the intrigues of Guardoqui for detaching Kentucky from the Federal Union, by holding out strong inducements for an alliance with Louisiana under the protection of Spain.

The Baron de Carondelet, having succeeded Miro as Governor of Louisiana, entered upon the duties of his office early in January, 1792. The condition of the western country, and the unsettled state of political feeling among the people, not only of Kentucky, but also of Western Pennsylvania, encouraged him to hope for ultimate success in accomplishing an object which was greatly desired by Spain. Hence he entered, with great ardor and perseverance, upon a regular and systematic plan of operations for this purpose. Nor did he cease his operations or despair of success until after the final ratification of the treaty of Madrid, nearly three years afterward. The intrigues of the baron and his emissaries were directed to Kentucky perseveringly, until nearly three years after that state had been admitted as an independent member of the Federal Union.*

In the mean time, he had succeeded in sowing the seeds of disaffection widely through the western settlements. Many were induced to favor the views and plans of the Spanish governor, and desired a separation from the Atlantic States.

Nor were the intrigues and operations of the Baron confined to the white settlements alone. Still further to arrest the advance of the white population in the "Southwestern Territory," in a region over which the Federal jurisdiction had been formally extended, emissaries had been sent to the Creek Indians in the western parts of Georgia to alienate them from their alliance with the United States. A treaty of peace and friendship had been concluded by the United States, in the year 1790, with M'Gillivray and other principal Creek chiefs, stipulating for a cession of territory and the establishment of a line of demarkation, to be surveyed and marked the following year; but before the time for running the line of demarkation had arrived, M'Gillivray, prompted by Spanish intrigue, had been induced to disavow the treaty, and to forbid the establishment of a line of demarkation. In the mean time, he had been taken into the Spanish service, with the rank and pay of a brigadier-general. Through his influence a war party had

* See book v., chap. vi., "Political Condition of Kentucky," &c.

been formed in the Creek nation, and hostilities had been commenced against the frontier settlements on the Holston and Cumberland Rivers. A hostile incursion of Creeks and Cherokees had actually penetrated the Holston settlement, and invested the stockade at Knoxville.*

This state of Indian hostility was known to have proceeded from Spanish intrigue in Florida and Louisiana, and the people of the "Southwestern Territory" became more than ever clamorous for the invasion of Louisiana by the Federal government. The Creeks were not reduced to peace until after the victory of General Wayne over the northwestern Indians, in the autumn of 1794, when, apprehending a similar visit, they made overtures, and entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with the Federal government.

[A.D. 1794.] The collision of interests between the people of the western country and the authorities of Spain in Louisiana soon became more apparent, and Spain began seriously to apprehend an invasion of Louisiana from the United States. To stir up this state of feeling more effectually against Spain, emissaries from France were now in the United States, all anxious to wrest Louisiana from the Spanish crown, and to place it again under the dominion of Republican France.† Their efforts to this effect, through the people of the United States, although instigated and directed by the French minister, M. Genet, were promptly arrested by the authorities of the United States.‡

Under the influence of the French minister, M. Genet, and his emissaries in the United States, a strong French party had been formed, not only in the Western States, but also in the South. The frontiers of Georgia were lighted up with a flame of enthusiasm for the invasion of East Florida, while the western people were preparing to invade Louisiana and West Florida from the Ohio region. At the head of the "French Legion," in Georgia, for the invasion of Florida, was General George Clark, of Georgia, a man of strong passions, of violent antipathies against the English, and of warm partialities for the

* See book v., chap. vii., "Indian Hostilities and early Settlements in Southwestern Territory."

† See book iv., chap. ii., of this work.

‡ The reader will find an interesting account of the character, temperament, and reception of the French minister, M. Genet, in the United States, in 1793, in Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. v., p. 409-412, first edition. Also, his official acts and insolence, *idem*, p. 413-450. Also, his intrigues with the southern and western people, *idem*, p. 452, &c.

French.* It was understood that M. Genet was to be appointed major-general, and to serve as commander-in-chief. The Creek Indians were to be enlisted in the cause by agents sent into the nation. Such was the state of affairs on the Georgia frontier, that the Spanish governor of East Florida, alarmed at the threatening aspect, had made his complaint to the Governor of Georgia, who, on the 5th of March, 1794, had issued his proclamation against the unlawful enterprise.†

* American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. iii., p. 230.

† The active state of hostile preparations against East Florida may be inferred from the dispatches of the officers of the United States army to the War Department. Major Henry Gaither, commandant of the Federal troops on the St. Mary's, dispatched a letter, dated April 13th, 1794, to the department, with information that the French had many friends in Georgia, and that their preparations for the invasion of Florida were active; that the French sloop-of-war *Las Casas*, of eighteen guns, recently arrived from Charleston, with two hundred men on board, mostly French, and one company of infantry, and that she was then lying within musket-shot of the fort, at anchor. They report thirteen sail, equally large and well supplied, that are soon to arrive from the United States. They have a recruiting post at Temple, eighteen miles above Fort St. Mary, where they have eighty men, and shortly expect three hundred more from the upper part of Georgia. Major Gaither, having withheld his approbation to their proceedings, was apprehensive of danger, and began to make additional defenses.—See American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. ii., p. 52.

A dispatch from Fort Fidius, dated April 18th, 1794, asserts that "officers have been appointed, and are now acting under the authority of the French Republic. Parties of recruits have already reached the rendezvous appointed for them; several men of this corps have crossed the Oconee, and are encamped opposite Greensborough. A small party was for some days opposite the Rock Landing; they have since marched to Carr's Bluff, to join those assembled at that place. The general rendezvous, we are told, is on the St. Mary's River. An agent is appointed to furnish the supplies, and he has, for that purpose, received ten thousand dollars. A person, who was formerly the contractor's clerk at this post, is employed by him to purchase four thousand rations of provisions. He has gone down the country to execute this business." A Colonel Carr and Major Williamson showed Captain Martin "a letter of instructions which they had received from General Clark, directing them to repair to Fort Philips, the Rock Landing, and Carr's Bluff, for the purpose of paying to the French legion an allowance for mileage from their homes to the place of rendezvous." The late Lieutenant Bird, who is now a captain in said legion, commands the men who are encamped on the Oconee, opposite to Greensborough. Major Williamson says that General Clark would cross the Oconee in ten days from that time, to take the command, and that Colonel Carr would be one of the adventurers. "Major Williamson has been employed as paymaster."—*Idem*, p. 52.

"Colonel Carr stated that large detachments had marched from the back settlements of South Carolina and from the State of Kentucky, and that the men were to be engaged for three months, and were to receive bounties of land in the provinces of East and West Florida, and in Louisiana, which they were to conquer from the Spaniards."—*Idem*, p. 53.

On the 6th of May, 1794, General Clark was on the Georgia side of St. Mary's with two hundred men, and their numbers were daily increasing, preparatory to crossing into Florida, and taking the oath of allegiance on Amelia Island, where the French had landed a few men, and were making preparations. Colonel Hammond, from Savannah, formerly of the Continental army, is one of the principal officers. The people of Savannah are strongly opposed to the enterprise. Intercourse with Kentucky and

The Spanish government was no less fearful of the invasion of Louisiana than of the introduction of political principles which might influence the western provinces of Mexico; but the firm and decided tone now assumed by the executive of the Federal government was such that Spain perceived plainly the negotiation must be brought to a *speedy close*, or *war would be inevitable*. It became evident that any policy for the separation of the western country from the Federal Union must be put into speedy operation, or it *must inevitably fail*. In the mean time, Spanish posts, with Spanish garrisons, occupied the country on the east side of the Mississippi, as far north as the present site of Memphis. The western and southern people, with all the checks of the Federal authorities, had been barely restrained from open violence against Louisiana. The President of the United States himself, under the impression that war with the Spanish provinces would be *forced upon him*, had begun to make preparations for the conflict, and had required from the proper departments such statistical information as would enable him to prepare for any emergency.*

The excitement among the western people was extreme, and large military forces were concentrated upon the Ohio River for the purpose of prosecuting the Indian war on the northwestern frontier. This had greatly increased the anxiety of the Governor of Louisiana, who now feared an invasion on every spring flood which descended from the Ohio River, since the Federal troops had been victorious over the northwestern savages.

The views and political feelings of the people of Kentucky and Tennessee, relative to the most salutary policy, were various and discordant, each proposing relief to their embarrassments by a different mode of action. During the period of this excitement, the people of Kentucky, and the West generally, were ranged under one or other of the following "five parties:"

1st. For separation from the Union and the formation of an independent Republic, which should form a treaty of alliance and commerce with Spain.

Tennessee by way of the "Wilderness Road" to Georgia and Carolina was extensive, &c.

* General Washington, believing a war probable, and being determined not to be taken unprepared, had provided the necessary information relative to the military force, and means of defense and offense, possessed by the Spanish provinces, and the preparation necessary on the part of the United States for subduing Florida and Louisiana.—See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. v., p. 465; also, p. 475, first edition.

2d. For annexing the country to the province of Louisiana, and submitting to the introduction of the Spanish laws and forms of civil jurisprudence.

3d. For actual war with Spain, the capture of New Orleans, and the whole district of West Florida.

4th. For active and forcible measures by Congress, to compel Spain, by force of arms or by hostile array, to yield the privileges and rights which had been so long refused by negotiation.

5th. To solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and to extend her protection over Kentucky and the Cumberland settlements.*

This unsettled and divided state of public feeling among the western people presented to the mind of Governor Carondelet a favorable opportunity for a successful mission to Kentucky, for the purpose of sounding the feelings of the people upon the subject of an alliance with Louisiana, under the protection of Spain. Accordingly, he made his first attempt at intrigue with the people of Kentucky through an artful emissary. This emissary was an intelligent and intriguing Englishman, who had become a Spanish subject, and who was devoted to the interests of Spain. This man, under the authority of the Governor of Louisiana, proceeded on the doubtful and hazardous enterprise of sowing the seeds of sedition among the western people, at a time when Western Pennsylvania was greatly agitated by the "excise on distilled spirits," commonly known as the "whisky insurrection."† The spirit of resistance to the Federal government, in the enforcement of the iniquitous law, had developed itself in open insurrection, which was quelled only by the presence of an army of twelve thousand troops from the Eastern States. No time could have been more propitious for the enterprise of separating Kentucky and the western country generally. Besides the insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, and the divided feelings of the people of Kentucky and Cumberland, the whole northwestern tribes of Indians had been engaged in open war, instigated and aided by British agents and traders from Canada; the Federal government was embarrassed by tedious and vexatious negotiations with Great Britain, with Spain, and even with France. The

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 101.

† See book v., chap. v., "Political Condition of Western Pennsylvania."

stipulations of the treaty of 1783 were violated by England on the northwestern boundary, and by Spain on the southwestern limit; Great Britain still held the northwestern posts, and Spain the southern territory; both powers seemed to unite in the purpose of restricting the western limits, and each power had her emissary in the West, one from Baron Carondelet and one from Lord Dorchester, on a mission of political intrigue with the western people.*

Yet, so far as the Federal government was concerned, Spain was on terms of peace and amity. The great national questions of boundary and the free navigation of the Mississippi were still unsettled, and afforded subjects of protracted negotiation. Spain, having an eye to the separation of the western country, and desirous of waiting the result of the prevailing difficulties in the West, had deemed it most politic to defer any definite negotiation upon the subject, which might ultimately endanger the peace and safety of Louisiana. In the mean time, the restrictions and exactions upon the commerce and trade of the river had been again enforced with rigor; and "Spain had persisted in withholding all the rights and privileges of that navigation from the citizens of the United States. There were various grounds of policy for the refusal; but probably the most operative was a secret hope that the western people, weary of these obstacles to their commerce, and dissatisfied with the national government for not removing them, might sooner or later dis sever themselves from the Union, and form a separate republic, which would fall under the control of Spain."†

[A.D. 1795.] Under these influences, it is not strange that the court of Madrid should have resorted to its usual policy of procrastination and court delays. Another consideration bearing on the general question was the state of the Indian tribes in the West. Those on the northwest had been for several years in open war against the frontier settlements, and those on the southwestern frontier were far from friendly to the American settlements. The hostilities of those on the northwest, instigated by British emissaries, and those on the southwest, under the influence of Spanish agents, might ultimately compel a separation.

* See Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. v., p. 460-462, first edition.

† Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vol. i., p. 467.

The Federal government was fully apprised of the conflicting interests in the West, upon which foreign emissaries might operate to accomplish a dismemberment of the Union. Although there might be apparently strong reasons for complaint, and for a partial alienation of feeling in the western people toward the Federal government, still the President confided in the virtue and patriotism of the people, their inveterate repugnance to regal authority, and their attachment to their friends east of the mountains, doubly cemented by the presence and influence of hundreds of revolutionary officers and soldiers, who had taken up their residence in the West. Determined to maintain the rights of the western people with the whole power of the Federal government, President Washington had assumed a firm and decided tone, and persisted in urging upon the Spanish crown the necessity of a speedy adjustment of all the points under negotiation.

Still the Baron de Carondelet did not despair of final success in severing the Western from the Eastern States. Early in the year 1795, relieved from the apprehension of danger from a French and Kentucky invasion of Louisiana, he determined, while the court of Madrid was procrastinating the negotiation with the Federal government, to press his secret negotiations with the disaffected of Kentucky and the West generally. Believing the Federal authority already tottering in Western Pennsylvania, and almost disregarded in Kentucky, he deemed the present juncture highly auspicious to his designs.

Accordingly, having been apprised by Powers of the state of popular feeling in Kentucky, he despatched Don Manuel Gayoso, a brigadier-general in the armies of Spain, and Lieutenant-governor of Natchez and its dependences, to the mouth of the Ohio as a special agent, authorized to negotiate with the leading conspirators of Kentucky relative to the weighty matters in contemplation.

In this mission was associated Thomas Powers, the former emissary to Kentucky, who had been successful in his former mission, and had made arrangements with the four most prominent conspirators, Sebastian, Innis, Murray, and Nicholas, to meet the Baron's commissioner at some point near the mouth of the Ohio. By appointment, they were to meet Powers at the Red Banks on the Ohio, the site of the present town of Hendersonville in Kentucky.

To conceal the real object of the lieutenant-governor's visit to Upper Louisiana, he conducted a detachment of troops for re-enforcing the different posts, for completing the stockade fort at the fourth Chickasâ Bluff, and commencing one just below the mouth of the Ohio. While engaged in these duties, Powers was dispatched in a fine Spanish row-barge to meet his engagement at the Red Banks. But the mission failed in its object. The increasing danger, from public indignation against those who had been suspected of conspiring for an alliance with Spain, consequent upon a separation from the Federal Union, had now become imminent and alarming; the Federal army under General Wayne was now victorious over the savages; the people were relieved from Indian hostilities on every frontier; the authority of the Federal government in Western Pennsylvania had been restored, and the people of Kentucky relied upon their victorious troops to vindicate their rights on the Mississippi, under the authority of the United States; and Kentucky had now been an independent state for nearly two years. An alliance with Louisiana under the Spanish crown had now become preposterous in the extreme, and the conspirators of Kentucky prudently declined appearing at the Red Banks.

Judge Sebastian was the only Kentuckian who attended on the part of the conspirators to meet the Spanish emissary; but he, as if deluded to his own ruin, consented to descend the river to hold an interview with the Spanish commissioner, Gayoso, at the mouth of the Ohio. But as an unexpected change in the face of affairs had taken place, Gayoso declined to negotiate definitely with Sebastian, and induced him to continue his voyage to New Orleans, and there confer with the baron in person. After a sojourn of several weeks at Natchez, and some time in New Orleans, Sebastian took passage by sea for Philadelphia, on his return to Kentucky.*

In the mean time, Spain had become embarrassed in the European wars, and, fearing hostilities on the part of the United States against Louisiana, had intimated, through the Spanish minister at Philadelphia, that negotiations might now be expedited on the great points in controversy, provided a regular envoy of high grade were sent to the court of Madrid. President Washington lost no time in delay; in November, 1794, he

* *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 126.

had nominated Mr. Thomas Pinckney as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the court of Madrid. His nomination had been confirmed by the Senate, and the following summer he repaired to Spain. Negotiations were soon opened with the Spanish court, and in due time a treaty was prepared, which was signed on the 20th day of October, 1795, covering the whole ground of controversy which had engaged the attention of both countries for nearly ten years.†

The principal stipulations of the treaty on this subject were as follows, viz.:

1. The *second* article stipulates that the future boundary between the United States and the Floridas shall be the thirty-first parallel of north latitude, from the Mississippi eastward to the Chattahoochy River; thence along a line running due east, from the mouth of Flint River to the head of the St. Mary's River, and thence down the middle of that river to the Atlantic Ocean; and that, within six months after the ratification of the treaty, the troops and garrisons of each power shall be withdrawn to its own side of this boundary, and the people shall be at liberty to retire with all their effects, if they desire so to do.

2. The *third* article stipulates that each party, respectively, shall appoint one commissioner and one surveyor, with a suitable military guard of equal numbers, well provided with instruments and assistants, who shall meet at Natchez within six months after the mutual ratification of the treaty, and proceed thence to *run and mark* the said southern boundary of the United States.

3. The *fourth* article stipulates that the middle of the Mississippi River shall be the western boundary of the United States, from its source to the intersection of the said "line of demarkation." The King of Spain also stipulates that the whole width of said river, from its source to the sea, shall be free to the people of the United States.

4. The *fifth* article stipulates that each party shall require and enforce peace and neutrality among the Indian tribes inhabiting their territories respectively.

5. The King of Spain stipulates and agrees to permit the people of the United States, *for the term of three years*, to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for their produce and merchandise, and to export the same free from all duty or

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. v., p. 641, first edition.

charge, except a reasonable consideration to be paid for storage and other incidental expenses; that the term of three years may, by subsequent negotiation, be extended; or, instead, some other point in the island of New Orleans shall be designated as a place of deposit for the American trade. Other commercial advantages were likewise held out as within the reach of negotiation.*

This treaty was duly ratified by the Senate in March following, and the Federal executive proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for the fulfillment of all the stipulations on the part of the United States.

In the mean time, the whole state of Georgia had been in a state of excitement to expel the Spaniards from the western and southern limits of that state, as defined by the treaty of 1783. According to the royal charter and the treaty of 1783, Georgia laid claim to all the territory on her western frontier, extending to the Mississippi River on the west, and southward to the thirty-first degree of north latitude. This claim embraced all the Natchez District upon the Mississippi, from the sources of the Yazoo and Tombigby Rivers to their mouths. This whole region, however, was held and claimed by Spain as a part of West Florida. The fine lands, watered by these large rivers and their tributaries, had been represented as the paradise of the South. Popular excitement to enjoy and possess the delightful regions which properly belonged to the State of Georgia had been fanned into a flame of enthusiasm, which resulted in the wildest schemes of avarice and speculation. The contagion spread through the whole state, and even to North Carolina and Virginia; it pervaded the halls of legislation, and polluted the integrity of the legislative body. Authority by the Georgia Legislature was given to visionary men, to enthusiasts, and to speculators, to inundate the country with scores of adventurers and emigrants. The state had sent commissioners to the Spanish governor with a formal demand for the surrender and evacuation of the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the proper limit of Florida. The de-

* See American State Papers, folio ed., Foreign Affairs, vol. i., p. 547-549. See, also, Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 129, 130. Martin, however, errs in his term for which Spain stipulated the use of the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit. The treaty itself, in the American State Papers, specifies "*three years*" as the term of deposit, which may be extended. Martin gives the term stipulated erroneously at "*ten years*."

mand had been disregarded by the Spanish authorities, and the Legislature had proceeded to provide for its occupation, by organizing that portion near the Mississippi into the "county of Bourbon," under the jurisdiction of the State of Georgia. "The Yazoo speculation" was set on foot, in which more than seven millions of acres of the finest lands in the world were thrown into a second "Mississippi scheme," to be obtained for a mere trifle, and to serve as fountains of future riches. The "Mississippi Company" was chartered with the control of more than three millions of acres, at the rate of two and a half cents per acre, to be paid into the state treasury. The stock comprised forty shares of seventy-five thousand acres each, controlled by a company of seven men as stockholders.* Besides this company under the authority of the state, seventy-five sub-shares, in the shape of land-script, were issued to about seventy other individuals; each sub-share called for twenty-eight thousand acres, giving an aggregate of more than three millions of acres.

The act of the Georgia Legislature establishing this great scheme of speculation was passed on the 7th day of January, 1795. The next session of the Legislature not only repealed the act, but declared the whole null and void, as having been obtained by fraud and corruption. The act repealing and rescinding all parts of the charter passed on the 13th day of February, 1796, and directed all grants made by the Mississippi Company, all certificates of stock issued by the authority of said act, and all records of the same, to be cancelled and destroyed, and all moneys paid into the state treasury to be refunded.†

The former act of the Georgia Legislature infringed upon the prerogatives of the Federal government in assuming the power to settle a question of national boundary, and to involve the Union in war with a friendly power. Now the treaty of Madrid, on the part of the Federal executive, had amicably ar-

* As it may be interesting to some readers to become more fully acquainted with the whole history of the "Yazoo speculation," as it is called, we refer them to a full account of all the documentary evidence furnished to the Federal government on the subject, and published by order of Congress, among the "American State Papers," folio edition, vol. i., "Public Lands," p. 129-146.

The Mississippi Company, chartered January 7th, 1795, was composed of James Gunn, Matthew M'Allister, George Walker, Zachariah Cox, Jacob Waldburger, William Longstreet, and Wade Hampton.

Among the sub-shareholders were nineteen prominent members of the Legislature, who had voted for the scheme, or, as it has been sometimes called, the "Yazoo Bubble."—See American State Papers, vol. i., Public Lands, p. 128, 129.

† See American State Papers, vol. i., Public Lands, p. 122.

ranged the question of boundary, by which a peaceable surrender had been secured.

Yet this procedure on the part of the Georgia Legislature had greatly tended to embarrass the prospects of the Spanish authorities in their contemplated retention of the country. Hundreds of fiery spirits and enterprising men had sought the Mississippi by way of the Yazoo and Tombigby, and, under the influence of the Yazoo speculation, had reached the settlements known as the Natchez District.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LOUISIANA, FROM THE TREATY OF MADRID TO THE SURRENDER OF THE NATCHEZ DISTRICT.—A.D. 1796 TO 1798.

Argument.—Treaty of Madrid merely a Measure of State Policy with Spain.—Her Intention to evade its Stipulations, if possible.—Intrigue with the western People.—The United States prepare in good Faith to carry out the Stipulations.—Colonel Ellicott, as Commissioner of the United States, arrives at Natchez.—His Military Escort left at Bayou Pierre.—Gayoso designates the 19th of March to begin the Line of Demarkation.—Ellicott encamps in Natchez.—Proceedings delayed by Baron Carondelet.—Ellicott orders down his Military Escort.—Gayoso suddenly ceases Preparations to evacuate the Fort Panmure.—Fortifies this Post.—Pretext for Change of Conduct.—Lieutenant M'Leary, with his Escort, arrives from Bayou Pierre.—Gayoso continues to strengthen his Defenses.—Indian Hostilities alleged as the Cause.—Next, a British Invasion from Canada apprehended.—Blount's Conspiracy, and its Explosion.—The People become excited.—Correspondence between the American Commissioner and Gayoso.—Advanced Guard under Lieutenant Pope arrives at Natchez.—Gayoso objects to the Presence of United States Troops at Natchez.—Other Reasons for Delay urged by Gayoso.—His Agents tamper with the Indians.—Popular Excitement increases.—The Governor-general issues his Proclamation, 24th of May.—Effects of this Proclamation.—Efforts of Gayoso to calm the popular Excitement.—Arrest and Imprisonment of Hannah.—This excites the People to Resistance.—Colonel Ellicott and Lieutenant Pope sustain the popular Commotion.—Gayoso's Proclamation of June 14th.—A public Meeting called.—Gayoso and his Family retire to the Fort.—Seeks an Interview with the American Commissioner.—"Committee of Public Safety" appointed.—This Committee recognized by Gayoso.—A "Permanent Committee" elected.—Opposition of Colonel Hutchens and others, who sustain Gayoso.—Ellicott retires to Washington.—Gayoso appointed Governor-general.—Retires to New Orleans.—Captain Guion arrives with United States Troops.—His Attempt to restore Harmony and Tranquillity.—The Policy of his Course.—The Posts of Nogales and Panmure evacuated in March, 1798.—The Line of Demarkation commenced in May, 1798, and completed next Year.—First organization of the Mississippi Territory.—Arrival of the Territorial Governor and Judges.—General Wilkinson arrives with United States Troops.—Retrospect of the Spanish Policy.—Pretexts for Delay, and the Intrigue with General Wilkinson again unsuccessful.—Return of Emissary Powers.

[A.D. 1796.] As has been already observed, the difficulties which had sprung up between the United States and Spain,

relative to the navigation of the Mississippi and the southern boundary of Georgia, appeared to have been settled by the treaty of Madrid. But, although Spain suspended her restrictions upon the river trade after this treaty had been duly ratified, it was quite apparent that the king never intended to surrender the territory east of the Mississippi and north of latitude 31°, provided any contingency would enable him to hold possession.* The King of Spain had been compelled, by the pressure of political embarrassments, both in Europe and in the United States, to yield a reluctant assent to the treaty, as the only means by which he could preserve the province of Louisiana from invasion, and conciliate the hostile feelings of the western people of the United States. The provincial authorities in Louisiana seemed to view the late treaty on the part of Spain as a mere measure of policy and court finesse, to propitiate the neutrality of the Federal government and satisfy the American people until her European embarrassments should have been surmounted.

Spain, incited by France, had been upon the verge of a war with Great Britain; and already the British authorities in Canada had planned an invasion of Upper Louisiana, by way of the lakes and the Illinois River, whenever hostilities should be formally proclaimed. To prevent this invasion was one object to be gained by acceding to the treaty of Madrid, which would place the neutral territory of a friendly power in the way of military invasion. In the mean time, the Baron de Carondelet, regardless of the treaty stipulations which had been made on the part of his government, again dispatched his emissary, Powers, to Kentucky and the Northwestern Territory, with a large amount of money, to foment disaffection in the West, and to encourage those who still desired a separation from the Union.

As has been observed in the preceding chapter, the treaty stipulated that each government should appoint one commissioner and one principal surveyor, who should meet at Natchez within six months after the ratification of the treaty, or about the first of October, 1796.†

The commissioners and surveyors, duly appointed, were to

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 138, 139.

† For a full account of this treaty and the accompanying documents, see "The American State Papers," "Foreign Relations," folio edition. vol. i., p. 533-551.

proceed from Natchez to ascertain the point on the east bank of the Mississippi which is intersected by the thirty-first parallel of north latitude. From that point on the said parallel they should cause to be run, opened, and marked "a proper line of demarkation," eastward to the Chattahoochy River. After this line should have been thus established, the troops of Spain were to be withdrawn from the forts and territory north of this line, and the country formally surrendered to the commissioner of the United States.

In the mean time, the President of the United States had appointed Colonel Andrew Ellicott, as commissioner on the part of the Federal government, to meet the Spanish commissioner at the place and time designated in the treaty, to be accompanied by a small detachment of troops from the western army. Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, commandant of Fort Panmure, and governor of the Natchez dependences, was appointed commissioner on the part of Spain, under the orders of the Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of Louisiana and the Floridas.*

About the middle of September, Colonel Ellicott departed from Philadelphia for the West, on his way to meet the Spanish commissioner at Natchez. At Pittsburgh he obtained his corps of thirty woodsmen, armed with rifles, and descended the Ohio in a barge conveying his instruments, baggage, and stores, to be followed soon afterward by a military escort of thirty men, to be furnished by Colonel Butler, commanding at Pittsburgh. Delayed on the Ohio by extreme low water, and other unavoidable circumstances, he did not reach the Mississippi until the 22d of December, where he was again detained by ice, which had now closed both rivers. On the 31st of January, 1797, having received his military escort and supplies, he descended the Mississippi, and on the 24th of February arrived at Natchez, having touched at each of the Spanish posts on the way, and having left his military escort at the Bayou Pierre, at the special request of Governor Gayoso.

[A.D. 1797.] In the mean time, the governor-general, as well as Lieutenant-governor Gayoso, had been duly notified of the approach of the American commissioner. The several commandants on the river had been instructed to use every effort short of compulsion, under one pretext or another, to retard his advance.

* Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 89. Ellicott's *Journal*, p. 26-38.

After a polite and formal reception from Governor Gayoso, Colonel Ellicott announced the object of his mission, and desired the co-operation of the Spanish commissioner in ascertaining the point on the Mississippi at which the line of demarkation should commence. At an interview next day, upon the urgent solicitation of Colonel Ellicott, Gayoso reluctantly appointed the 19th day of March as the time for commencing the line of demarkation, at which time both commissioners should repair to Clarksville, on the Mississippi, near Bayou Tunica. This point had been ascertained, by astronomical observation, to be near the intersection of the thirty-first parallel of north latitude.

Three days after Colonel Ellicott's arrival he had pitched his tent, and located his camp upon an eminence within the limits of the present city of Natchez, and about five hundred yards north of Fort Panmure, which was strongly fortified, and occupied by a garrison of Spanish troops. At this point, not far from the present intersection of Wall and Jefferson streets, he hoisted the flag of the United States, and having commenced his astronomical observations, he found the latitude of his markee to be $31^{\circ} 33' 48''$ north, or about thirty-nine miles north of the intersection of the thirty-first parallel of latitude, and the proper point for commencing the line of demarkation.*

In the mean time, the governor-general had been apprised of the arrival of the commissioner of the United States, duly authorized to co-operate in establishing the line of demarkation. But it was soon apparent that he declined any immediate action in the matter, alleging important business in New Orleans, which would prevent his presence at the time designated by Gayoso. At the same time, he held out various inducements to draw the American commissioner to New Orleans. Colonel Ellicott, however, declined to leave the point designated in the treaty, and remained at Natchez. The military escort under Lieutenant M'Leary was ordered from the Bayou Pierre, and reached Natchez on the 15th of March. The commandant encamped upon the eminence contiguous to Colonel Ellicott's flag, and soon afterward he appeared at the head of his men before Panmure, and formally demanded the surrender of the post to the troops of the United States.

Gayoso, until this time, had been apparently making preparations for evacuating the post; the artillery and stores were

* See Ellicott's Journal, p. 41-50.

removed from the fort, and other preparations indicated the speedy withdrawal of the troops. But suddenly the artillery and stores were returned to the fort *by night*, the cannon were remounted, and the fort was again placed in a state of defense.* This movement, and others subsequently made, were doubtless the result of secret orders from Governor Carondelet at New Orleans.

Gayoso soon afterward proceeded to strengthen the defenses at Natchez and Walnut Hills, and to re-enforce the garrisons from New Orleans; but Colonel Ellicott formally protested against his proceedings, as a violation of good faith toward the United States, and calculated to embarrass and procrastinate the object of his mission. In reply, Gayoso alleged that his defensive measures were prompted by apprehensions of Indian hostilities. At a subsequent period, he alleged a threatened invasion of Louisiana from Canada as the cause of his defensive preparations. Under the latter pretext, for several months Gayoso continued to fortify the different posts on the Mississippi above Natchez, and to re-enforce their garrisons. Thus the meeting of the commissioners for establishing the line of demarkation was indefinitely postponed.

The American commissioner became highly exasperated at the various pretexts for procrastination advanced by the Spanish governor, and the artifices employed to induce him to retire from the point designated in the treaty.† An angry correspondence had already commenced between the commissioners, and Lieutenant M'Leary had begun to fortify his camp. Great excitement began to prevail among the people of the district, under the apprehension that the Spaniards did not intend to surrender the country to the United States. Colonel Ellicott and Lieutenant M'Leary maintained their position, anxiously awaiting the arrival of an advanced guard of United States troops, which were known to be on their way from Fort Massac.

In the mean time, General Wayne had advanced the army of occupation to Fort Massac, there to await further orders. From this point, near the last of March, Lieutenant Piercy Smith Pope, with a detachment of forty men, was ordered to descend the Mississippi and to keep within supporting distance of Colonel Ellicott. This detachment arrived at the Walnut Hills early in April, when Lieutenant Pope reported himself to

* Ellicott's Journal, p. 54-58.

† Idem, 50-58.

Colonel Ellicott, and encamped near the Spanish fort, in compliance with a request from Gayoso, through the commandant of that post.

On the 17th of April Colonel Ellicott was first apprised of the arrival of Lieutenant Pope at the Walnut Hills, and he immediately dispatched a messenger requesting him to advance to his relief without delay. On the 24th of April Lieutenant Pope, with his detachment, arrived at Natchez, and was escorted from the upper landing to the camp of the American commissioner by Lieutenant M'Leary's company.*

But the Spanish governor strongly remonstrated against the presence of the United States troops, intrenched within sight of the Spanish fort, and immediately under the eye of the Spanish authorities. He therefore desired that Colonel Ellicott, with the detachments of troops and his woodsmen, would remove to Clarksville, near the point for their future operations; but the American commissioner declined leaving the point designated in the treaty. Gayoso at length desired him to accept comfortable buildings for himself and the troops at "Villa Gayoso," a Spanish church and village near the bluff, about fifteen miles above Natchez; but the American commissioner preferred the more appropriate shelter of the tent, in the open air; and Lieutenant Pope proceeded to complete the intrenchments of their camp. Soon afterward, he deemed it expedient to augment his force by voluntary enlistment, and by the apprehension of some deserters from the northern army, who had found an asylum among the Spaniards. This, again, was a new cause of remonstrance from the Spanish governor.

But the American commissioner, from various sources of information, and from the general tenor of the lieutenant-governor's correspondence, believed that the governor-general did not intend to evacuate the posts and surrender the country, in compliance with the terms of the treaty. The correspondence between the commissioners continued, and while the Spaniard was fruitful in pretexts and expedients for delay and equivocation, the American was no less ready to expose the fallacy of every pretext, and to urge the futility of his reasons for further delays.

It was the last of May when the proclamation of the Baron Carondelet announced that the delivery of the country, and the

* See Ellicott's Journal, p. 79, 80.

evacuation of the posts on the Mississippi, were delayed on account of a threatened invasion by British troops from Canada by way of the Illinois River. This apprehension on the part of the Spanish governor was not without foundation. Although Colonel Ellicott was inclined to disbelieve the rumor, and ascribe it to the fears and credulity of the Spaniards, yet the actual state of facts, unknown to the American commissioner, were sufficient to excite apprehension in the mind of the governor.

On the 6th of October preceding, Spain, having entered into an alliance with the French Republic, had declared war against Great Britain, and that power had entered into treaty with the United States the preceding year, by which the latter conceded the free navigation of the Mississippi. Might not the United States make common cause with the English of Canada to expel the Spaniards from the Mississippi? To the Spanish governor the enterprise did not appear impossible.*

* At this time there was a strong military force in Canada, and there were persons in the United States who would gladly have joined even a British invasion of Louisiana; and although the British cabinet disavowed any such intentions, the provincial authorities of Canada no doubt seriously contemplated such an event, as did men of influence in the United States. At the very time that Gayoso was deferring the fulfillment of the treaty, his allusion to a British invasion was not without foundation. As was subsequently ascertained, Senator William Blount, from Tennessee, who had enjoyed the confidence of the Federal government as "Governor of the Southwestern Territory and Indian agent," and was intimately acquainted with the southern country, people, and Indian tribes, where he had great influence, conceived the design of a conspiracy to aid the British forces of Canada by way of Lake Michigan, Chicago, and the Illinois River, to invade Louisiana and capture New Orleans. The troops of Great Britain in Canada had actually embarked from Quebec for the lakes. Blount's plan of operations contemplated a strong re-enforcement from the Ohio, the Tennessee, and Cumberland Rivers, with supplies of military stores and provisions, to meet the invading forces at the mouth of the Ohio. Blount, having disclosed his plans to Mr. Liston, the British minister, was referred by him directly to the British cabinet. The cautious mystery of the American senator led to his detection, and, having been found guilty of entertaining the treasonable plot, he was unanimously expelled from the United States Senate.—See Marbois's *Louisiana*, p. 163-166. See, also, Blount's letter to a confederate named Carey, *American State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 335, Boston edition. *Martin's Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 139.

Subjects of Great Britain residing in Florida and in the Natchez District, and whose names were on the British pension list, were doubtless privy to this contemplated enterprise. Colonel Hutchens had proposed to Lieutenant Pope, early in 1797, to engage in the enterprise of capturing Governor Gayoso, and conveying him secretly to the Chickasaw nation, and to capture Fort Panmure with volunteers who were ready to engage in the undertaking. Mr. Rapelje, a British subject, supposed to be connected in Blount's conspiracy, and in the English interest, came to Colonel Hutchens and spent several days with him about this time, after which he proceeded to Mobile and Pensacola. At the latter place, he remained in confidential intercourse with the British house of Panton, Lealie, & Co., Indian traders, until the explosion of Blount's schemes.—See Ellicott's *Journal*, p. 64, 65, and 73.

At one time Gayoso alleged that, as the treaty of Madrid did not specify the "condition" in which the posts were to be delivered, it became necessary to wait until instructions on that point should be received from the king. If the king directed them to be delivered with all the ordnance and stores, or if he required them to be dismantled before delivery, he only waited to execute his pleasure; and in the mean time, it would be necessary to dispatch an envoy to General Wayne, commander-in-chief, with a request that he would not urge the delivery until instructions should arrive from the king.

At another time he alleged that, as the treaty contained no guarantee of property to those who desired to retire beyond the American jurisdiction, it would be necessary to settle that point by a new treaty. At another time it was seriously urged that a scrupulous observance of the treaty of Madrid could not be demanded, because the United States had not acted in good faith toward Spain in conceding to Great Britain, by the treaty of London, November 19th, 1794, the free navigation of the Mississippi, although nearly a year previously.*

In the early period of the correspondence, before the arrival of Lieutenant Pope, the Spanish governor had endeavored to alarm the American commissioner by apprehensions of Indian hostility, alleged to have been excited by the presence of American troops. To give a plausibility to the rumor, and to excite apprehension of danger to be encountered from that quarter, swarms of drunken Indians were made to parade the town with every demonstration of displeasure at the presence of the American troops. Several times the savages paraded before the American intrenchments with drawn knives, and with the most threatening demonstrations. To quiet them into neutrality until the arrival of the re-enforcement under Lieutenant Pope, Colonel Ellicott was obliged to conciliate their hostility by distributing rations among them, together with such presents as their cupidity might fancy.

Only a few weeks elapsed before it was ascertained beyond doubt that emissaries had been sent to the neighboring tribes to rouse their vengeance against the extension of the Federal jurisdiction and the introduction of troops.†

The object of the Spanish governor was delay, in the vain

* Ellicott's Journal, p. 94-96. Also, American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, folio edition.

† See Ellicott.

hope that some fortunate event might yet avert the necessity of surrendering the country. It was with regret the Spanish authorities beheld this presage of the entire loss of Louisiana in the surrender of this important portion of its territory. Believing that all hope in the West had not yet fled, the governor-general had caused these vexatious delays, until his emissary should return from Detroit and report the state of feeling upon the Ohio and its tributaries. Moreover, new hope had sprung up since the arrival of the American commissioner; for General Wayne had died, and General Wilkinson had succeeded as commander-in-chief in the Northwest. Some event might yet transpire to defeat the obligations of the treaty, and secure to Spain the integrity of Louisiana.

At length the people became highly excited at the delays and perfidy of the Spaniards for deferring the fulfillment of the treaty stipulations. The district north of the line of demarkation contained at this time about four thousand inhabitants, the greater portion of whom were emigrants from the United States, or the remains of former British colonies from the Atlantic provinces. Many had emigrated from Kentucky and Tennessee, for the express purpose of becoming citizens under the American government. Most of them became impatient for the departure of the Spanish authorities, and the establishment of the free government of the United States. Settlements extended from the Bayou Pierre south to the line of demarkation, and eastward to the sources of the Bayou Pierre, Cole's Creek, St. Catharine, Homochitto, and Buffalo. Many of them had taken an active part in evincing their opposition to the continuance of the Spanish authorities, and had thus rendered themselves highly obnoxious to their resentment. Some had evinced a willingness to attempt their expulsion by force, and to capture Fort Panmure itself.

The governor-general's proclamation of the 24th of May was intended to quiet public excitement and to allay fears of future vengeance from the Spanish authorities, by assuring the people that the terms of the treaty would be faithfully performed so soon as the danger of the threatened British invasion should have passed. But the proclamation failed to produce the desired effect; instead of calming the excitement, Colonel Ellicott observes, after the proclamation, "the public mind might be compared to inflammable gas, which required only a spark to produce an explosion."

Colonel Ellicott, and those attached to his commission, continued to use every prudent means for tranquilizing the people, and for inducing them quietly and peaceably to await the regular action of the Spanish authorities.

Yet the people perceived no movement for the speedy evacuation of the military posts, or the surrender of the country. Many despaired of seeing the American authority established in the district; and others, having, by their zeal and activity in favor of the Federal jurisdiction, rendered themselves obnoxious to the resentment of the Spanish authorities, contemplated a removal back to the Western States. To calm these apprehensions, Gayoso gave notice that he had received from the Baron de Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, instructions for the removal of the artillery and military stores from the forts which were north of the line of demarkation.

Although the popular excitement and dissatisfaction were extreme, and the inclination to resist was strong, yet there was no open resistance until the 9th day of June. On this day Mr. Hannah, a preacher of the Baptist denomination, and an American citizen, was seized by the Spanish authorities, and, under some pretext, was confined in a small guard-house within the Spanish fort, with his feet in the stocks. This was like fire to an explosive train. The people considered this act an infringement of the liberty of the people of the United States. If not so, it certainly evinced a determination to enforce vigorously the authority of Spain in the country. Under this impression they flew to arms, and the commandant and his principal officers, with their families, were compelled to take refuge in the Spanish fort. The people organized themselves into military companies, and chose officers to command them. An instantaneous change had taken place, and "in the short space of less than ten hours the authority of the governor was confined to the small compass of the fort."*

The excitement spread into the surrounding country: public meetings were held; and violent measures contemplated. At this time Governor Gayoso, through his fort major, Stephen Minor, requested a private interview with the American com-

* Gayoso, in most of the correspondence and transactions relative to the delivery of the forts and the surrender of the Natchez District, is called "governor" by way of eminence; yet up to August, 1797, he was lieutenant-governor of the Natchez dependencies. After August, 1797, he succeeded the Baron de Carondelet as governor of Louisiana and the Floridas.

missioner. The latter determined to have no communication with the Spanish governor except such as was strictly official. Lieutenant Pope further informed him that he should "repel by force any attempt made to imprison those who claim the privileges of citizens of the United States." He also notified the people of his intentions, and assured them of his "protection and support against any arbitrary military force which might be brought to operate against them, or in any wise to infringe their rights as American citizens."

At this time it was supposed Gayoso might order re-enforcements from other posts on the river to aid in maintaining his authority. Lieutenant Pope had resolved to permit no such re-enforcement, and he called on the people to sustain him in repelling any attempt to re-enforce the garrison in Fort Panmure.*

On the 14th of June, Governor Gayoso issued his proclamation, exhorting the people to a quiet and peaceable submission to the authority of his Catholic majesty until the difficulties between the two governments could be properly arranged. At the same time, he promised the utmost lenity, and a pardon to all who repented of their misdeeds, and, as an evidence of repentance, abstained from all acts calculated to disturb the public peace.

The people, already highly irritated by delays and disap-

* Letter of Lieutenant Pope, transmitted by Colonel Hutchens to the Department of State.—American State Papers, Boston edition, vol. iii., p. 350.

"Natchez Camp, June 12th, 1797.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT OF NATCHEZ,—

"Having received information that a number of you will be collected at my friend Bealk's, in conformity to an indirect invitation sent to you for that purpose, I have now positively to make the declaration to you that I have made this evening to Governor Gayoso, that I will, at all hazards, protect the citizens of the United States from every act of hostility; I mean such as reside north of the thirty-first degree of north latitude, or within thirty-nine miles due south of Natchez. I now, therefore, call on you in the most solemn manner to *come forward, assert your rights*, and you may rely on my sincere co-operation to accomplish that desirable object.

"I shall expect your assistance to repel any troops or hostile parties that may make an attempt to land for the purpose of re-enforcing this garrison, or for other purposes detrimental to the inhabitants of this country.

PIERCY S. POPE,

Commanding United States Troops, Natchez."

"From the present alarming situation of this country, I fully approve of Lieutenant Pope's letter of this date to his fellow-citizens assembled at Mr. Bealk's.

"ANDREW ELLICOTT,

Commissioner of United States."

"June 12th, 1797."

"A true copy. Examined per THOMAS M. GREEN."

—See American State Papers, "Foreign Affairs." Also, Ellicott's Journal p. 96, 97.

pointed hopes, took great exceptions to the word "repentance," as highly offensive to free citizens of the United States. Things now assumed a serious aspect, and the opposition to Spanish authority had taken a regular form of rebellion. A number of respectable militia companies were organized, and ready to take the field at the first notice, and open hostilities seemed inevitable. Both parties were in a continual state of preparation to repel force by force. Gayoso made great exertions to re-enforce his garrison, but without success, while the militia were drilling throughout the settlements. Confined to the walls of his fortress, and too weak for offensive operations, he interceded with the American commissioner to use his influence in calming the popular excitement.* But Colonel Ellicott felt little sympathy for the unpleasant position which he had brought upon himself.

In the mean time a public meeting had been announced, to be held at Benjamin Bealk's, on the Nashville road, eight miles from Natchez. This meeting was assembled on the 20th of June, and was attended by many of the inhabitants. The subject of the existing difficulties was discussed, and the meeting dispersed after appointing a "committee of public safety," consisting of seven prominent men, to represent the people thereafter in any negotiation with the Spanish authorities. No measures adopted by the Spanish governor should have the force of law until the concurrence of this committee should render it obligatory.†

Up to this time, the Spanish commandant, as well as the American, kept each an active patrol continually on duty; and during the greater portion of the time, since the first of May, a heavy piece of ordnance in the Spanish fort had been brought to bear upon the American commissioner's tent, which was in full view.

On the 18th of June, while all was excitement and apprehension, the governor, confined within the narrow limits of the fort, desired an interview with the American commissioner at the house of Captain Minor. To meet this appointment, Gayoso, in great trepidation, "having left the fort by a circuitous

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 146, 147. Also, see Ellicott's Journal, p. 85-116.

† The Committee of Public Safety was composed of the following persons, viz.: Anthony Hutchens, Bernard Lintot, Isaac Galliard, Cato West, William Ratliff, Gabriel Benoist, and Joseph Bernard, to which Colonel Ellicott and Lieutenant Pope were unanimously added.—Ellicott's Journal, p. 114.

route, made his way through thickets and cane-brakes to the rear or north side of Minor's plantation, and thence through a corn-field to the back of the house, and entered the parlor undiscovered." Such were the visible marks of anxiety in his person, that Colonel Ellicott says his feelings never were more affected than when he beheld the governor. "The humiliating state to which he was reduced by a people whose affections he had courted, and whose gratitude he expected, had made a strong and visible impression upon his mind and countenance. Having been educated with high ideas of command and prerogative, served only to render his present situation more poignant and distressing.*"

The "Committee of Public Safety," agreeably to their instructions, presented themselves before Gayoso in their official capacity, for his recognition and approbation. He did not hesitate to recognize them as representatives of the people, and cheerfully acceded to their demand that none of the people should be injured or prosecuted for the part they had taken in the late movements against the Spanish authority; also, that they should be exempt from serving in the Spanish militia, unless in case of riots or Indian hostilities. The proceedings of the public meeting, the recognition of the "committee" by the governor, and his acquiescence in their demands, had all tended greatly to quiet public apprehension and to allay the popular excitement.

Yet there were persons in the committee whose fidelity to the United States was suspected by Colonel Ellicott; and one of them was particularly objectionable to him and Lieutenant Pope. In order to insure harmony, he prevailed upon the governor to dissolve the committee, and to authorize the election of another, by proclamation, which should be permanent. A new committee, consisting of nine members, was accordingly elected about the first of July, "permanent" in its character, and created by virtue of the Spanish authority. The organization of this committee was highly gratifying to Colonel Ellicott, who declared that "this committee was the finishing-stroke to the Spanish authority and jurisdiction."†

* Ellicott, p. 109-113.

† The permanent committee was composed of Joseph Bernard, Judge Peter B. Bruin, Daniel Clarke, Gabriel Benoist, Philander Smith, Isaac Gailliard, Roger Dixon, William Ratliff, and Frederic Kimball, all firm Republicans, and strongly attached to the United States, except F. Kimball, who was deemed doubtful. Joseph Bernard presided

One of the most active opposers of the measures and policy of the American commissioner was Colonel Anthony Hutchens, who sustained the general policy of Gayoso and highly censured the course of Lieutenant Pope.

Colonel Hutchens had been a loyal subject of the crown of Great Britain during the British dominion in West Florida, had enjoyed the post of confidential correspondent to the British minister, and was enrolled on the pension list as a reduced half-pay British officer, up to the period of the establishment of the Federal jurisdiction, when he acquiesced and became a valuable citizen.

The efforts of Colonel Hutchens, during the early periods of the popular excitements in 1797, no doubt had a salutary influence in checking the outbreak of popular indignation in acts of open violence. Without some such modifying influence, the people, irritated by delays and apprehension of personal danger from Spanish perfidy, would scarcely have been restrained.*

During the autumn, for the health and comfort of his men, Colonel Ellicott removed his corps and escort to the banks of the St. Catharine, about seven miles northeast of Natchez, where he erected huts for his men near a beautiful spring which gushes out from a dell in the northern limits of the present town of Washington, and which, for many years afterward, was known as "Ellicott's Spring." He remained at this encampment until the 27th of September, and during his stay he made the survey and plat of the present town of Washington for the proprietor, John Foster.†

On the 20th day of July, Gayoso received his commission as Governor-general of Louisiana and Florida, and successor of the Baron Carondelet, who was promoted to the government of the Mexican provinces. Four days afterward he departed for New Orleans, having appointed Captain Stephen Minor temporary commandant of the fort.

with great ability and general satisfaction, until the 20th of September, when he died, and was succeeded by Gabriel Benoist, who discharged the duties of president with singular ability, assiduity, and integrity. For the character of those who opposed the Federal jurisdiction, see Ellicott's Journal, p. 116, 117, 152. Also, Stoddart, p. 94-96.

* Colonel Hutchens was very active in opposing the movements of Colonel Ellicott and Lieutenant Pope. These public officers, irritated by delays, and well apprised of the secret motives which prompted the official conduct of the Spanish governor, were sometimes induced to transcend the bounds of a prudent, dignified intercourse; and as such they received the censure of some American authorities, who were not fully acquainted with all the causes of excitement and delay on the part of the Spanish authorities.

† See Ellicott's Journal, Appendix, p. 17, 18.

Soon afterward, Colonel Grandpre was appointed to the office of lieutenant-governor at Natchez; but his presence being unacceptable to the majority of the people, and at the request of the permanent committee, the governor permitting Captain Minor to continue in the exercise of his duties as civil and military commandant, Colonel Grandpre did not make his appearance at Natchez. The powers of the permanent committee were duly recognized by Captain Minor; and harmony being again restored in the district, Lieutenant Pope, with his command, retired a few miles into the country.*

Most of those who had been opposed to the extension of the Federal jurisdiction, finding their wishes and opposition unavailing, quietly submitted to the established change.

In the mean time, the commander-in-chief, General Wilkinson, having been apprised of the delay in regard to the evacuation of the forts, determined to re-enforce the advanced guard at Natchez. For this purpose, early in the winter, he dispatched Captain Isaac Guion, a veteran of the Revolutionary war, with a re-enforcement from Fort Massac, with orders to descend the Mississippi to Natchez, and there to assume the command in that quarter. Before the close of December, Captain Guion, with his detachment, arrived at Natchez, and assumed the command. His first efforts were directed toward the suppression of any public manifestation of disrespect to the Spanish authorities, and to allay any remains of popular ill-will which might exist toward the Spanish troops. He proceeded, also, to disconcert what he considered the improper measures of the permanent committee, which he rudely threatened to disperse by military force.

Captain Guion, no doubt incredulous of the Spanish perfidy, and ignorant of their many pretexts for delay, deemed it proper to exalt the Spanish authorities to a decent respect in the eyes of the people. Yet, having resumed their former consequence, and having no further pretext for delay, they still deferred the final evacuation of the forts and the survey for the line of demarkation,† until Captain Guion himself became impatient.

* Colonel Grandpre, a Spanish officer, was appointed to the government of the Natchez District in November, 1797, as successor of Gayoso; but the permanent committee unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that his presence would not be acceptable, and notified the governor-general accordingly, and Colonel Grandpre never made his appearance at Natchez. He was afterward appointed to the government of Baton Rouge by the Spanish authorities.—See Ellicott, p. 161.

† Captain Guion was a great admirer of General Wilkinson, and no friend of Gen-

[A.D. 1798.] Finally, on the 10th of January, 1798, nearly eleven months after his arrival, Colonel Ellicott received notice from the governor-general at New Orleans that official instructions from his Catholic majesty had been received directing the surrender of the territory north of the line of demarkation, and the evacuation of the forts north of the thirty-first parallel of latitude, agreeably to the treaty stipulations. The post at the mouth of Wolf River, near the present site of Memphis, had been dismantled and evacuated during the preceding autumn, and the only forts now to be evacuated were those of Nogales and Natchez.

This order, it will be perceived, had not been issued until the last ray of hope had vanished, and Thomas Powers had made his final report against the practicability of a separation of the Western States, and all prospect of success had been abandoned.

Yet delays were not terminated. Since instructions had been received, January, February, and the greater portion of March had elapsed, and the Spanish garrisons still occupied the forts. At length, on the 23d of March, when Captain Guion had almost determined to take the forts by assault, the Fort Nogales was evacuated, and the garrison descended the river to Natchez. Here it retired into Fort Panmure, and remained for six days longer, previous to its final evacuation. During this time, the commander studiously concealed the time of his intended departure, while Captain Guion looked with impatience to the near approach of the first day of April, which he declared should not witness the Spanish garrison in the fort.

At length, on the 29th of March, about midnight, the Spanish drums began to sound the note of preparation; and at four o'clock next morning, having previously sent the artillery, stores, and baggage on board their boats and galleys, the troops marched out of the fort to the river bank. Before the morning light they had embarked, and were several miles below Natchez, on their voyage to New Orleans. The fort

eral Wayne. The dispatch borne by him to Governor Gayoso from General Wilkinson contained the following sentence, which Gayoso quoted to Colonel Ellicott, in his efforts to associate Captain Guion in the commission for running the boundary line, viz.: "This officer's experience and good sense, and the powers with which he is elevated by the President of the United States, conspire to promise a happy result to his command, in which I flatter myself I shall not be disappointed."—See Ellicott's Journal, p. 165-175. Also, Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 434.

was stripped of its terrors, and the gate was thrown open. Thus, instead of retiring amid the salutes of the American troops in open day, they retired by night, as if cautiously retreating from a powerful enemy.*

Soon after the evacuation of the fort at Natchez, Governor Gayoso issued his orders from New Orleans, directing the commissiuners on the part of Spain, Stephen Minor and Sir William Dunbar, to repair to the Bayou Tunica and join the American commissioner in opening the line of demarkation. Colonel Ellicott, with his woodsmen and escort, in the mean time, repaired to Tunica Bayou, six miles below Fort Adams, and having located his camp, commenced his astronomical observations on the 6th of May. He proceeded to run and mark the line; and on the 21st of May he was joined by Captain Minor, with a party of woodsmen; and on the 26th, by Mr. Dunbar, astronomical commissioner for his Catholic majesty. On the 21st of June, Governor Gayoso, with his secretary and several Spanish officers, joined the commission at their camp, twelve miles east of the river.† The principal surveyor on the part of his Catholic majesty was Thomas Powers, late emissary to the Ohio; on the part of the United States was Major Thomas Freeman, subsequently United States surveyor-general south of Tennessee. Gayoso approved the manner in which the work had progressed, and directed its continuation. It progressed regularly until the last of August, when Sir William Dunbar resigned his commission and returned home.‡ On account of Indian disturbances, the line across East Florida was not completed until the following year. After the resignation of his colleague, Captain Minor continued to discharge the duties of principal commissioner on the part of his Catholic majesty.§

In the mean time, by an act of Congress approved April 7th, 1798, the territory surrendered had been erected into a

* The Spaniards studiously concealed the time of their intended departure. On the 29th of March, late in the evening, Colonel Ellicott, through a confidential channel, learned that the evacuation was to take place that night, or next morning before day. In consequence of which information he rose very early next morning, and at four o'clock A.M. walked toward the fort, which he approached just as the rear-guard was passing the gates. The gate being left open, he entered the fort, and from the parapet he had the pleasure of witnessing the boats and galleys leave the shore and get under way. Before daylight the whole fleet was out of sight.—Ellicott's Journal, p. 176. Also, Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 156.

† Ellicott, Appendix, p. 49.

‡ Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 158. Also, Ellicott, Appendix, p. 56, 57.

§ Ellicott, p. 180.

territorial government, to be known and designated as the "Mississippi Territory." Its boundaries were the Mississippi on the west, the thirty-first parallel of latitude on the south, and on the north a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Chattahoochy River.

By an act of Congress approved May 10th, the Mississippi Territory was organized into a territorial government of the "first grade." The first territorial governor, Winthrop Sargent, former secretary of the Northwestern Territory, and the territorial judges, arrived at Natchez on the 6th day of August, 1798, and on the 26th day of the same month General Wilkinson arrived with the Federal army, and established his headquarters at Natchez. Soon afterward he established the post of "Fort Adams," six miles above the line of demarkation.*

Governor Sargent made his residence near Natchez, and proceeded to establish the Federal government in the country, as he had heretofore done under Governor St. Clair in the Northwestern Territory.†

Thus terminated the train of vexatious difficulties and embarrassments from the Spanish authorities, originating from the treaty of 1783, and thus began the "Mississippi Territory," which was not admitted into the Federal Union until December, 1817,‡ after a tedious probation of nearly twenty years under the territorial grades.

It may be well to take a brief retrospect of the court intrigues and official manœuvres on the part of Spain in executing the stipulations of this treaty. Never were Spanish duplicity and perfidy more flagrant than in the transactions of the years 1796 and 1797, in relation to the surrender of the Natchez District and the evacuation of the military posts, preparatory to the establishment of the line of demarkation. All the delays in the accomplishment of these objects were preconcerted and studiously conducted, in the vain hope that future events would so transpire that Spain would still retain possession of this portion of Louisiana. The Spanish court still believed "that the western people might yet be induced to separate from their Atlantic brethren," and hence the surrender was delayed to the last moment.

The treaty of Madrid had been signed and ratified as a last

* Elliot, p. 186. Martin, vol. ii., p. 156, 157. See, also, Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 434.

† See book v., chap. ix., of this work.

‡ Idem, chap. xii.

resort, the only means of avoiding an open rupture with the United States, and the consequent invasion of Louisiana. The Spanish king never intended to fulfill the stipulations of the treaty, if compliance were avoidable. At the very time that his minister was negotiating the treaty, his pensioned emissaries were busily employed in sowing the seeds of revolt in the western country, and were endeavoring, by secret intrigue, to produce a separation of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee from the Federal Union.* On this errand Thomas Powers had been sent repeatedly to Kentucky and the Ohio region, with authority to contract, on the part of the Spanish king, for the liberal distribution of money to any amount not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, to be appropriated *as he might see proper*. He was also authorized to promise an equal amount to procure arms and military stores, besides twenty pieces of artillery, with powder and ball, to enable them to resist the Federal power, provided they would form a "government wholly unconnected with the Atlantic States."†

All this the king would cheerfully have done to aid the western people to absolve themselves from their dependence upon the Atlantic States, and to unite themselves with the provinces of Spain. The only consideration required by the King of Spain was the extension of the northern limit of West Florida as far as the mouth of the Yazoo, to its old British boundary,‡ leaving the whole territory north of that latitude wholly to the people of the contemplated republic. As a further inducement, the king had authorized the promise that all the restrictions heretofore imposed upon the river trade should be removed, and other important advantages and privileges would be granted, which would give them a decided advantage over the Atlantic States. Thus, they were reminded that, as an independent government, in alliance with Spain, "they would find themselves in a situation infinitely more advantageous for their commercial relations than they could be, were the treaty of Madrid carried into effect."§

Such were a few of the specimens of Spanish faith and Spanish diplomacy with the United States during this tedious and vexed negotiation, which began soon after the close of the Rev-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 150-152.

† Idem, p. 144, 145.

‡ Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 144. Also, Butler's Kentucky, p. 243-247.

§ Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 247, first edition.

olutionary war, and continued, with but little interruption, until the spring of 1798.

The western people, even those who had favored the overtures held out by the Spanish emissaries, had become satisfied with the treaty of Madrid, by which they had acquired all they had claimed or desired, the free navigation of the Mississippi; they preferred to enjoy these advantages under their own free government, rather than, by receiving them in a separate condition, become the vassals of Spain. Satisfied with the Federal Union, they desired no other alliance.*

It was not until the 4th of September, 1797, that Powers finally failed in his negotiation with Benjamin Sebastian and others of Kentucky. During the summer of 1797, he had penetrated through Kentucky on the line of the northwestern posts as far as Detroit, the headquarters of General Wilkinson, then commander-in-chief of the northwestern army. His ostensible business, on this occasion, was to bear to General Wilkinson a remonstrance against pressing the delivery of the forts on the Mississippi until it should be clearly ascertained "whether they were to be dismantled before delivery;" but his real object was to press General Wilkinson into the Spanish conspiracy, with the whole weight of his power and authority as commander-in-chief of the army, in sustaining the separation.†

In his journey to Detroit, Powers passed by way of Fort Greenville, and reached the vicinity of Detroit on the 16th day of August; but, being informed that General Wilkinson was absent at Michillimackinac, he did not enter the fort. A few days afterward Wilkinson returned, and having heard of Powers's arrival, caused him to be arrested and brought to the fort, and thus secured the Baron de Carondelet's dispatches; after which he hurried him off, under an escort commanded by Captain Shaumburg, by way of the Wabash, to Fort Massac, in order to avoid interception by the Federal authorities.‡

In the mean time, the Federal government had been apprised of the embassy of Powers, and instructions had been issued to the governor of the Northwestern Territory to cause him to be arrested and sent a prisoner to Philadelphia.§

* See Burnet's Letters, p. 67-69, Cincinnati edition of 1839.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 143.

‡ Martin, vol. ii., p. 151.

§ On the 5th of June, at Natchez, during the time of the greatest excitement, it was ascertained that the Englishman Powers, a subject of his Catholic majesty, had been

The temerity of this last intrigue, put in operation by the Governor of Louisiana, astonishes every reflecting mind. But General Wilkinson was a talented and ambitious man; he had received many favors from the Spanish governors nearly ten years before; he had received exclusive privileges in the commerce with Louisiana; a long and confidential intercourse had existed between him and Governor Miro; he was known to have indulged a predilection for the Spanish authority, and was ambitious of power and distinction; he was now at the head of the western armies, and, with the power and influence of his station, he might effectually bring about a separation of the West, the formation of a new republic, of which he himself might be the supreme ruler, and conduct the alliance with Spain. Such may have been the reasoning of Baron de Carondelet at this late period.

But General Wilkinson had already proceeded too far in his treasonable intrigues and correspondence with the Spanish governor, and the suspicions of his own government rested upon him. The brilliant prospects, and the bright hopes of becoming the head of a new confederation, had vanished from his imagination, and he was now anxious to retain his command, and with it his standing as a patriotic citizen of the United States. Hence, in the summer of 1797, he had given to Mr. Powers a cold reception; he had informed him that the time for a separation had passed by; that now the project of the Baron would be chimerical in the extreme; that the western people, by the late treaty, had obtained all they had desired, and that now they entertained no desire for an alliance with either Spain or France; that the political ferment which existed four years previously had entirely subsided; and that,

secretly dispatched to Kentucky by the governor-general. Colonel Ellicott and others were active in their efforts to circumvent his movements, by dispatching letters to prominent persons in Kentucky and the Northwestern Territory, and giving them notice of his character and designs. Colonel Ellicott also wrote to the executive department of the Federal government, conveying the suspicions which were entertained against Powers, and the object of his mission. Before he left Kentucky his danger became imminent, and with difficulty he escaped arrest by a sudden departure in the night. A plan was laid to honor him with a coat of "tar and feathers" by the patriotic people of Kentucky. Early in September he set out from Detroit, and reached New Orleans in October following. After his arrival at New Orleans he reported his own views and those of Judge Sebastian as decidedly favorable to the success of the enterprise of separating the Western States, and also the opinion of General Wilkinson, that it was impracticable. Compare Ellicott, p. 98, &c. Also, Burnet's Letters, ed. of 1839, p. 68. Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 151, 152.

so far from desiring an alliance with Louisiana under the Spanish crown, the people of Kentucky, prior to the treaty of Madrid, had proposed to invade Louisiana with an army of ten thousand men, to be put in motion upon the first open rupture between the two governments; and that now they were highly exasperated at the spoliation committed upon the American commerce by French privateers, who brought their prizes into the port of New Orleans for condemnation and confiscation. He gave it as his opinion that the governor-general would therefore consult his own interest, and the interest of his Catholic majesty, by an immediate compliance with the terms of the treaty.*

General Wilkinson also complained that his connection and his correspondence with the Spanish governor had been divulged; that all his plans had been defeated, and the labor of ten years had been lost; that he had now burned all his correspondence and destroyed his ciphers, and that duty and honor forbid a continuance of the intercourse. Yet he still indulged the hope of being able to manifest his confidence in the Baron; for it was probable that he would receive from the Federal government the appointment of governor over the Natchez District when surrendered agreeably to treaty, when he should not want an opportunity of promoting his political projects.†

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 151.

† Idem, p. 152.

CHAPTER V.

CLOSE OF THE SPANISH DOMINION IN LOUISIANA, AND THE FINAL TRANSFER OF THE PROVINCE TO THE UNITED STATES.—A.D. 1797 TO 1804.

Argument.—Prosperity of Louisiana unaffected by Hostilities in Europe.—Gayoso succeeds as Governor-general of Louisiana in 1797.—The King's Orders relative to Land Grants.—The Intendant alone empowered to make Grants.—French Privateers.—Daniel Clarke, Jr., recognized as Consul.—Harmony on the Spanish and American Borders.—Concordia.—Vidalia in 1799.—Death of Gayoso in 1799.—His Successors.—Colonel Ellicott's Eulogy of Gayoso.—Population of Upper Louisiana.—Its Trade and Commerce.—Harmony with the western People again disturbed by Morales.—Policy of Spain in restricting her Grants of Land.—Jealous of Military Adventurers.—Restrictions enforced by Morales.—His first Interdict of Deposit at New Orleans.—Western Indignation.—Capture of New Orleans contemplated.—American Troops in the Northwest.—Invasion of Louisiana abandoned by John Adams.—Filbiol and Fejeiro at Fort Miro, on the Washita.—Right of Deposit restored in 1801.—Again suspended in 1802.—Restored in 1803.—Approaching Change of Dominion in Louisiana.—The First Consul of the French Republic acquires the Province of Louisiana.—The French Occupation deferred one Year by European Wars.—Napoleon determines to sell the Province to the United States.—Negotiation for Sale commenced.—Mr. Jefferson's Instructions.—Treaty of Cession signed April 30th, 1803.—Amount of Purchase-money.—Terms of Payment.—Preparations for French Occupation.—The Form of Government prepared by French Prefect.—Arrival of Laussat, the Colonial Prefect.—His Proclamation.—Response of the People.—Proclamation of Governor Salcedo.—Rumor of Cession to United States.—Laussat appointed Commissioner of the French Republic.—Conditions of the Treaty of April 30th, 1803.—Preparations for Occupation by the United States.—Protest of the Spanish King.—Congress ratifies the Treaty.—Commissioners of the United States.—Preparations of French Commissioner.—Ceremony of Spanish Delivery.—Proclamation of the French Prefect.—Spanish Rule abolished and French Government instituted.—Volunteer Battalion for the Preservation of Order.—Preparations for Delivery to the United States.—Governor Claiborne and General Wilkinson arrive in New Orleans.—Ceremony of French Delivery to the United States, December 20th, 1803.—Remote Posts formally delivered subsequently to Agents of the French Prefect.—Major Stoddart takes Possession of Upper Louisiana, March 9th, 1804.—Condition and Boundaries of Louisiana.—Population of the Province.—Commerce.—Agricultural Products.—Trade and Manufactures of New Orleans.

[A.D. 1797.] ALTHOUGH Spain had become deeply involved in the continental wars of Europe, the contest was confined chiefly to interior and maritime parts of that continent and the adjacent coasts of Africa, Syria, and the Grecian Isles of the Mediterranean Sea.* Louisiana continued to enjoy peace and prosperity, interrupted only by the jealous fears excited at the rapid extension of the American settlements upon the great eastern tributaries of the Mississippi.

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 139.

Nor was this jealous apprehension in any wise diminished by the compulsory relinquishment of the Natchez District, which was now open to the unrestrained tide of emigration from the whole West.

The new governor-general, Gayoso de Lemos, entered upon the duties of his office on the first of August, and devoted himself assiduously to the promotion of good government and tranquillity within the limits of his jurisdiction. Among the first objects requiring his attention was the restoration of harmony and good feeling between the American and Spanish authorities preparatory to the establishment of the *line of demarkation*.

[A.D. 1798.] It was not until January following that he issued his *bando de buen gobierno*. It contained no new regulations of importance except his determination to enforce a strict observance of the commands of the king respecting the future appropriation of lands to the use of Spanish subjects exclusively, and the prohibition of foreign immigration to the province.

Next day he issued his instructions to the different commandants, comprised in seventeen articles, defining all the provisions and regulations to be observed in future grants.* Here-tofore, the authority for granting lands to settlers and emigrants had, by the king's order, dated August, 1770, been vested in the civil and military commandants, with the concurrent approbation of the governor-general. But this authority was now to be revoked, and confided exclusively to the intendant. Thus an entire change in the general policy of the land system was introduced.

About this time, the first regular commercial agent or American consul was recognized in the city of New Orleans.

"The French privateers had now become very troublesome to the trade of the United States in the West Indies and about the Gulf of Mexico. A number of our captured vessels were taken into the port of New Orleans, condemned and confiscated, with their cargoes, at a trifling price, our seamen treated in a most shameful manner, and our trade otherwise brought into great jeopardy."†

"This subject became a matter of serious consideration, and the United States having neither consul nor vice-consul at that

* See Martin, vol. ii., p. 153-155, where these regulations are given in full.

† Elliott's Journal, p. 173.

port," Colonel Ellicott, the American commissioner, interested himself with the authorities of Louisiana in procuring from them the privilege of recognizing Daniel Clarke, Jr., a respectable merchant of that place, as consul for the United States, until the president should make a regular appointment. Whereupon, by the order of Governor Gayoso, Daniel Clarke was received as "Consul for the United States," and regarded as such by the merchants and officers of his Catholic majesty.*

"The firm and manly conduct of Mr. Clarke in a short time put a new face upon our commerce in that quarter, and obtained from the Spanish authorities some privileges not before enjoyed." In effecting this desirable object, Colonel Ellicott and Mr. Clarke had opened a voluminous correspondence with Governor Gayoso upon the various subjects which invited discussion, in all of which the governor evinced a sincere desire to promote the commerce of the city.

The agency of Mr. Clarke was so acceptable that the thanks of the President of the United States was tendered him through Colonel Ellicott, and he was requested to continue his good offices in favor of the American citizens until a regular consul and vice-consul should be duly appointed. Mr. Clarke accordingly continued to exercise the duties of the office until the regular appointment of Evan Jones consul, and Mr. Huling vice-consul the spring following. Upon the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, he appointed Daniel Clarke consul, highly approving his former services in that capacity.†

The line of demarkation having been established near the Mississippi, such of the inhabitants of the Natchez District as were so inclined quietly retired within the jurisdiction of the Spanish authorities. To insure a proper observance of a friendly neutrality, General Wilkinson, early in the autumn, established a military post on the east bank of the river, at Loftus's Heights, a few miles above the line of demarkation, subsequently known as Fort Adams. Other posts, with a small garrison in each, were distributed upon the line eastward. The headquarters of the American commander were at Natchez; and a new Spanish post was erected on the west bank of the river, opposite Fort Panmure. A convention was entered into between the American commander, General Wilkinson, and the Governor-general of Louisiana, for the mutual surrender of

* See Ellicott's Journal, p. 174.

† Idem. Also, Martin, vol. II., p. 158.

deserters. Also, a similar convention was concluded between the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, at Natchez, and Don Jose Vidal, on the west side of the river, for the mutual surrender of fugitive slaves. A spirit of mutual good feeling and amicable intercourse seemed to prevail between the civil and military authorities of both governments, which was suitably commemorated by the Spanish commandant opposite Fort Panmure in designating his post as "Fort Concord." The name has since been perpetuated in the rich parish of Concordia, while its excellent commandant is commemorated in the village of Vidalia, which occupies the site of the post.

During this state of things, the intercourse of American citizens in Louisiana was free and amicable, and the increase of western emigration and trade greatly augmented the commercial importance of the city of New Orleans.

Such was the state of things in Louisiana until the close of the year 1798, after which an important change ensued. Consequent upon the orders from the king revoking the authority of commandants to grant lands, the royal schedule was received, bearing date 21st of October, 1798, requiring the most rigid observance of all restrictions heretofore decreed. This was only a prelude to other movements more materially affecting the interests of the western people, and the ultimate object of which was to prevent the emigration of American citizens to the Spanish dominions.

[A.D. 1799.] The Spanish authorities were extremely jealous of the approach of the American population, and many new restrictions were imposed upon those who desired to establish themselves within the Spanish jurisdiction. All former privileges permitted to citizens of the United States were discontinued, and many of the restrictions relative to grants of land were deemed peculiarly oppressive, and framed to operate specially upon the western people.

Under the new system of distributing the royal domain, the regulations provided that no grant of land should be made to a trader, or any one who was not engaged in some regular employment, or in some agricultural or mechanical business. All persons without this qualification were excluded from all residence in Louisiana, which embraced also the settlements on the west side of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Arkansas to that of the Missouri. No minister of the Gospel,

nor preacher of any Protestant denomination whatever, was permitted to settle within the bounds of the province. The Catholic religion was supported by law, and, being a part of the regal government, was tolerated to the exclusion of all others.

Every immigrant for settlement was required, immediately after his arrival, to take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown, and to locate himself near some old Spanish settlement, under the eye of a Spanish commandant. No foreigner should receive a grant of land unless he possessed money, slaves, or valuable property, until he had been in the country four years, engaged in some useful and honest employment.

The prejudices of the Spanish authorities ran high against Americans of a certain class. Military adventurers who had served in the war of the Revolution, or in the western campaigns against the Indians, were highly obnoxious to the Spanish authorities. Hundreds of these, both soldiers and officers, had spread over the new settlements on the waters of the Ohio, and too often made their appearance in New Orleans and other portions of Louisiana. Those were particularly obnoxious as immigrants whose profession or avocation gave them influence over their fellow-men; hence lawyers and ministers of the Gospel were excluded. Those who were closely employed in laborious trades, or who had large families to support, or who had large possessions, were not likely to be engaged in any plans for subverting the king's authority; but military officers, disbanded soldiers, politicians, and men of that cast, could not be too carefully excluded from the province. Such were the sagacious inferences which prompted the Spanish policy after the final surrender of the Natchez District.

In carrying out the requisitions of the royal schedule relative to appropriations of land, persons who had received grants previously to the new regulations were prohibited from selling or in any wise transferring their claims until they had resided thereon three years; and no sale should be valid without the consent and approbation of the intendant. In no case should the quantity of land to any one family exceed eight hundred arpens; and petitions for grants must be written in the Spanish language. No title was to be considered complete, after the order of survey and occupancy, until, by a formal application, the claimant should receive a *regular title*, or final confirma-

tion of the claim, known to the Spaniards as *titulo in formo*. These and other regulations for enforcing the views of the king had not been published until they were made known by the proclamation of the intendant, Don Morales, issued on the 17th day of July, 1799. They were comprised in thirty-eight articles.*

But the most ominous act of the intendant for the peace and security of Louisiana was an ill-advised and arbitrary *interdict* of the right of deposit at New Orleans, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of Madrid. The effect on the western people of the United States was embarrassing in the extreme; and being a direct violation of their rights, as secured by treaty, it excited the highest degree of indignation throughout the whole western country, the consequences of which might have been the military invasion of Louisiana by the Federal troops, had not fate already decreed another mode by which Louisiana should submit to the Federal power.

The treaty of Madrid secured to the people of the United States the right of deposit in New Orleans for their commodities for *three years* from the ratification; and the King of Spain therein obligated himself, at the expiration of three years, to extend the time, or to designate some *other suitable point* within the Island of New Orleans, as a place of deposit.†

Such were the excitement and indignation of the western people, and specially of Kentucky and Tennessee, that it was with difficulty the Federal authorities could restrain them from an unlawful expedition against Louisiana for the capture of New Orleans. President Adams, swayed by the popular will in the West, had fully determined to take such measures as would coerce the Spanish authorities to open a dépôt for the American trade.

With an eye to this object, President Adams caused three regiments of the regular army to be concentrated upon the Lower Ohio, with orders to be held in readiness for any emergency. Congress soon afterward, for the ostensible purpose of avenging the French spoliations upon the American commerce, authorized the army to be increased by the enlistment of twelve regiments, to serve "during the continuance of difficulties with the French Republic." The troops concentrated

* See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 159-170, where these regulations may be seen in detail.

† Idem, p. 158.

near the mouth of the Ohio were required to keep their boats in repair, ready for any service required of them.* At the same time, the commander-in-chief, General Wilkinson, was summoned to the seat of the Federal government, in order to hold an interview with the cabinet, with the design of arranging the plan of operations for a campaign against Louisiana. General Washington had been appointed provisional commander-in-chief of the new establishment, and General Knox, the former secretary of war, was appointed a major-general, and Generals Hamilton and Pinckney were appointed lieutenant-generals under General Washington.† Every thing was urged with great energy during much excitement in the West, and the whole object was first to redress the wrongs upon American rights and commerce on the Mississippi, which were more pressing than those from France on the ocean.

The success of the contemplated enterprise required the utmost secrecy, lest, by rousing the suspicions of Spain, Louisiana should be placed in a state of complete defense.‡

Such was the state of things on the Ohio during the year 1799, and such was the danger which secretly menaced Louisiana and the city of New Orleans. Political changes, and the strong indications of popular preference for Mr. Jefferson, induced Mr. Adams to abandon the enterprise, and leave the whole to the direction of his successor. At his recommendation, Congress directed the abandonment of the expedition, and the recruits were disbanded.

In the mean time, Louisiana was scarcely conscious of the danger which menaced her. The amiable Gayoso had died on the 18th of July, and was succeeded by Don Maria Vidal as civil governor, the Marquis de Casa Calvo as commandant-general, and Don Ramon de Lopez y' Angullo, a knight of the order of Charles III., as intendant of the provinces.§

The death of Governor Gayoso was deemed a great loss to the interests of the western people of the United States. Many of them who were engaged in the trade of the Mississippi had received from him particular attention, frequently partaking of that hospitality for which he was so remarkable. "As the governor of an arbitrary monarch, he was certainly entitled to great merit. It appeared, in an eminent degree, to be his pride to ren-

* Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 100, 101.

† Martin's *Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 173.

‡ Idem, p. 174.

§ Idem, p. 172.

der the situation of those over whom he was appointed to preside as easy and comfortable as possible ; and in a particular manner he directed his attention to the improvement of the country by opening roads, which he considered the arteries of commerce. He was educated in Great Britain, and retained to a considerable degree, until his death, the manners and customs of that nation, especially in his style of living. In his conversation he was easy and affable, and his politeness was of that superior cast which showed it to be the effect of early habit, rather than an accomplishment merely intended to render him agreeable. His passions were naturally so strong, and his temper so remarkably quick, that they sometimes hurried him into difficulties from which he was not easily extricated. It was frequently remarked of him, as a singularity, that he was neither concerned in traffick, nor in the habit of taking douceurs, which was too frequently the case with other officers of his Catholic majesty in Louisiana. He was fond of show and parade, in which he indulged to the great injury of his fortune, and not a little to his reputation as a good paymaster. He was a tender husband, an affectionate parent, and a good master." Such is the character given him by Colonel Ellicott, who ascribes all his difficulties with him to his instructions from his superiors, and who declares him to have been an accomplished gentleman.*

Meantime difficulties with the United States fortunately were averted by the timely disavowal of the intendant's interdict by his Catholic majesty, and the right of deposit was promptly restored by his successor, Don Ramon de Lopez, until otherwise ordered by the king.†

The population of Louisiana continued to increase ; that portion known as Upper Louisiana had augmented its population in a ratio far exceeding the remainder of the province. The settlements upon the Upper Mississippi, including the post at New Madrid, were now attached to the government of Upper Louisiana. The census of this portion of the province, taken by order of the lieutenant-governor and commandant-general of Upper Louisiana, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, at the close of the year 1799, presents the entire population at more than six thousand souls, including eight hundred and eighty slaves and

* Ellicott's Journal, p. 215, 216.

† Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 176. Also, Marbois's Louisiana, p. 219.

one hundred and ninety-seven free persons of color.* During this year, there were in Upper Louisiana thirty-four marriages, one hundred and ninety one births, and fifty-two deaths.

The commerce of Upper Louisiana had also increased in a similar ratio, and a brisk trade had been established between St. Louis and New Orleans, as well as with the American settlements on the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers. The annual crops yielded about eighty-eight thousand minots of wheat, eighty-four thousand minots of Indian corn, and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and twenty-seven pounds of tobacco. About seventeen hundred quintals of lead were produced from the mines, and about one thousand barrels of salt were made from the salines. The fur-trade yielded an annual value of about seventy thousand dollars.† The greater portion of the lead exported was for the Ohio settlements, including those on the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers.

[A.D. 1800.] The right of deposit having been restored by the new intendant, trade and free intercourse had again taken place, and general harmony prevailed between the western people and the Spanish settlements on the Upper Mississippi, as well as in the rich and productive regions of the Delta. The bitter animosities and the spirit of revenge which had filled the western people, in consequence of former duties and restrictions, as well as the late interdict, had now subsided into a laudable desire for the peaceable acquisition of property, through the channels of lawful trade and enterprise. This state of mutual prosperity and friendly intercourse between the people of the United States and those of Louisiana continued, with but little interruption, for nearly two years, until the second interdict in the autumn of 1802.

* This population was distributed through the settlements as follows:

1. St. Louis	925 souls.	8. St. Geneviève	949 souls.
2. Carondelet	184 "	9. New Bourbon	560 "
3. St. Charles	875 "	10. Cape Girardeau	521 "
4. St. Fernando	276 "	11. New Madrid	782 "
5. Marias des Liards	376 "	12. Little Prairie	49 "
6. Maramee	115 "		
7. St. Andrew	393 "		
		Total,	6,028

—See Martin, vol. ii., p. 172.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 173. The principal items in the fur-trade were as follows, with their relative value, viz.:

1754 bundles deer-skins, at \$40	\$70,160
8 " bear-skins, at 32	256
18 " buffalo robes, at 30	540
Total,	\$70,956

During this year, among the changes of officers in Louisiana, may be noted that of commandant at the post of Miro, on the Washita. John Filhiol, who had held the command since 1783, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Don Vincente Fernandez Fejeiro, a man of intriguing and avaricious disposition. During the time he held this post, subsequently, and until the close of the Spanish dominion, he lost no opportunity of enriching himself and his friends by a fraudulent abuse of his official station, in fabricating grants of land and the final titles to the same.* From such causes large bodies of land for more than forty years have been withheld from sale and settlement, to the great detriment of the state, if not a fraud upon the Federal government.

[A.D. 1801.] About the middle of June, 1801, the government of Louisiana was committed to other hands by the appointment of the king. The Marquis de Casa Calvo returned to Havana, and was succeeded by Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, a brigadier-general in the armies of Spain, as Governor of Louisiana. Ramon de Lopez, the intendant, also returned to Havana, leaving the duties of his office to be discharged by Morales, the contador.†

[A.D. 1802.] It did not require the spirit of prophecy to predict the speedy termination of Spanish power on the Mississippi. The rapid extension of the American settlements, the increasing trade from the Western States, and the restless character of the people were such, that the king could not fail to perceive that, unless the flood of immigration could be arrested, Louisiana would ultimately be inundated and lost. To prevent such a result, he required of the provincial authorities a rigid enforcement of former regulations relative to land-grants, from which he required every American citizen to be utterly excluded. To enforce this principle, he signified his displeasure that the Baron de Bastrop had relinquished a moiety of his interest in the grant east of the Washita, by associating himself in the claim with Morehouse, an American citizen, which was a virtual violation of one of the conditions in the grant, which vitiated the grant from its inception.

On the 18th of July, 1802, another schedule of the king com-

* See Report of Case No. 99, District Court of Louisiana, carried to United States Supreme Court, "United States, plaintiffs in error, *vs.* Richard King and Daniel Cox." *passim*.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 178.

prised a positive prohibition against any grant of land, under any circumstances, to any citizen of the United States.*

In the mean time, rumors had reached Louisiana that the province had been ceded to France, and that the dominion of Spain was soon to give place to that of France.

Morales was again intendant, and suspecting the approaching termination of the Spanish authority on the Mississippi, resolved once more to evince his inveterate repugnance to the American people by again issuing *his interdict* suspending the right of deposit at New Orleans. His proclamation to this effect was dated October 16th, 1802,† and published in the city.

This act of arbitrary power again roused the indignation of the western people, and again suspended the commerce with New Orleans. The embarrassments and losses of those engaged in the river trade were extensive, and spread consternation through the Western States. The restrained indignation of the people vented itself in appeals, petitions, and even curses, upon the Federal government, for the protracted embarrassments of the West. It was a subject in which the whole United States now began to take a deep interest, and Congress was prepared to sustain the wishes of the people and vindicate their rights.

The subject was early brought before that body, and on the 7th of January, 1803, the House of Representatives, with great unanimity, passed the following resolution, viz. :

“*Resolved*, that this House receive with great sensibility the information of a disposition in certain officers of the Spanish government at New Orleans to obstruct the navigation of the Mississippi River, as secured to the United States by the most solemn stipulations.”

The resolution proceeds to declare the firm determination of Congress to sustain the executive of the United States in such measures as he shall adopt for asserting the rights, and vindicating the injuries of the American citizens; at the same time declaring their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries, and the rights of navigation and commerce through the River Mississippi, as established by existing treaties.

It was not long before the suspension of the western trade began to embarrass the city of New Orleans itself, as well as

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 180.

† See American State Papers, vol. iv., p. 493, Boston edition.

its dependences in remote parts of the province. The sudden diminution of the supplies of flour, and other western productions necessary for the daily sustenance of the population, had produced great scarcity and exorbitant prices, almost approaching famine. To counteract the effect of his own indiscretion, Morales was induced, on the 5th of February, to issue his proclamation granting to the western people the privilege of importing flour and provisions into Louisiana, subject to a duty of only *six per cent. ad valorem*, and exportable only in Spanish bottoms. But the Americans were not solicitous to embrace such advantages.

This interdict of Morales, near the close of the year 1802, was among the last acts of arbitrary power exercised by the Spanish authorities against the American people and the western commerce. This interdict, also, was disapproved by the king, and by his command the right of deposit was restored March 3d, 1803.*

[A.D. 1803.] But the power and dominion of Spain were about to cease upon the Mississippi. The French nation had never approved the transfer to Spain in 1762. The loss of Louisiana had been viewed as the greatest calamity to the French nation, the result of an ignominious war, and a dishonorable peace under a weak and corrupt government. Since the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, the sympathies of Republican France had never lost sight of their estranged countrymen, subject, as they conceived, to foreign bondage on the Mississippi. The exertions of the French minister and his agents, in the years 1793 and 1794, for their disenthralment, had been defeated only by the vigilance of the Baron de Carondelet, and the active co-operation of the authorities of the United States. Now the colossal power of France, under the guiding genius of Napoleon, had made the crowned heads of Europe tremble, and his edicts were supreme law to Southern Europe. Spain became involved in the wars in Europe, and her monarch had been compelled to yield to the dictation of Napoleon, who had resolved to restore to the French empire the ancient province of Louisiana, and thus to extend the dominion of France again upon the Mississippi.

By the third article of the treaty of Ildefonso, concluded on the first of October, 1800, between the King of Spain and the

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 181. Also, Marbois's Louisiana, p. 219, 220, and 245.

First Consul of the French Republic, and which was subsequently confirmed and ratified by treaty at Madrid on the 21st of March, 1801, the King of Spain had ceded, and had obligated himself to deliver to the first consul, within six months after the full and entire execution of certain stipulations therein specified in relation to the Duke of Parma, the colony and province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it had in the former possession of France, and which it then had in the possession of Spain after the fulfillment of all existing treaties by them.* Napoleon had complied with his obligations, and waited only a favorable opportunity to take possession of the great province on the Mississippi. Elated by the acquisition of a country so extensive and valuable, and which was to reinstate France in the best portion of her American possessions, he had made great preparations formally to extend over it the dominion of France in a manner commensurate with the power of the Republic. A large fleet had been assembled in the ports of Holland, and a land force of twenty-five thousand men had been advanced to the north of France, ready to sail for the Mississippi. But various embarrassments delayed the contemplated departure of the fleet and troops. The English, suspecting the destination of the armament, or fearing an invasion of their own coast, had concentrated a powerful fleet in the British Channel, for the purpose of observing the movements, and to prevent the sailing of the French armament, or to capture it whenever it should enter upon its voyage. Thus nearly twelve months had passed in delays and embarrassments, while Louisiana continued in the possession of Spain.

At length Napoleon, hard pressed by continual wars in Europe, intercepted by the English fleets in the British Channel, cut off from regular intercourse with remote provinces and dependences, determined to abandon the enterprise of transporting a large land and naval force to the Mississippi. Believing that England, with her immense navy, would infest the coast of Louisiana and blockade her ports, so soon as it was recognized as a province of France, and that all attempts to occupy and

* Napoleon had stipulated to settle upon the Duke of Parma, the son-in-law of his Catholic majesty, the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Tuscany, with the title of "King of Etruria," in consideration of the retrocession of Louisiana to France. The Kingdom of Tuscany, with its rich revenues, was estimated at one hundred millions of francs, which was the consideration for the retrocession of Louisiana.—See Martin, vol. ii., p. 175. Marbois's Louisiana, p. 170, 171.

defend it against invasion would only be the withdrawal of his troops and resources from his capital, without adding strength to the Republic, he determined to abandon Louisiana, and concentrate his resources for the defense of France in his contest with the powers of Europe on the Continent.

Louisiana was a vast province, sparsely inhabited, and utterly unable to defend herself against the formidable power of the British navy, by which it might be devastated, if known to be a province of France. Humanity, no less than policy, dictated the propriety of an effort to shield it from the horrors of an English invasion.

Under these circumstances, Napoleon determined to sacrifice his ambition and his glory in the acquisition of Louisiana to the necessity of the times, and to throw the whole province into the hands of the United States before its alienation from the Spanish crown should have been known to the enemies of France. The United States were the friends of the French people, the inveterate enemies of British power, and the rivals of British manufactures and commerce; the possession of Louisiana by the United States would therefore tend to raise up a barrier to the extension of British power in America. The United States, in possession of Louisiana, which they were well able to defend, would indirectly weaken the power of Great Britain, by raising up a powerful rival on the ocean, and an enemy to the extension of British power in the Gulf of Mexico. The amount of available resources which might be derived from the United States in consideration of the transfer of Louisiana, would enable him to prosecute his European wars with vigor and effect. Such was the reasoning of Napoleon.

Accordingly, near the close of the year 1802, he instructed M. Talleyrand and M. Marbois, minister of finance, to propose to Mr. Robert R. Livingston, resident minister of the United States in Paris, a strictly confidential negotiation for this purpose. Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, highly pleased with so favorable an opportunity of terminating forever all the difficulties growing out of the Spanish occupancy of Louisiana, determined to spare no means for securing the prize. The negotiation was urged with prudent promptitude, and in March following James Monroe was associated with Mr. Livingston to press the negotiation to a speedy consummation.

At an interview with the American minister, Napoleon frankly "confessed his inability to retain Louisiana; he declared that, were it possible by any means to retain it, he certainly never would consent to alienate a province so extensive and valuable; but he knew it could not be retained without immense treasure and blood expended in its defense. He declared that he was compelled to provide for the safety of Louisiana before it should come into his hands, and that he was desirous of giving the United States a magnificent bargain, an empire for a mere trifle."*

The American minister seized upon the opportunity of securing for the United States so valuable an acquisition. Dispatches were transmitted to the American government, and the negotiation was formally commenced in anticipation of instructions upon the important subject.

The first consul demanded one hundred millions of francs, but his minister might consider fifty millions of francs as the extreme minimum price demanded for the province of Louisiana. The minister demanded eighty millions of francs as his price, and the American ministers evinced but little disposition to reduce the amount. The negotiation for several months, under Mr. Jefferson's instructions, had been conducted with great secrecy, until the treaty was fully consummated, and all the terms and stipulations had been fully arranged. The purchase was finally effected for sixty millions of francs, to be paid by the United States in stocks, bearing six per cent. interest, and redeemable in three annual instalments, after the expiration of fifteen years, besides the assumption, on the part of the United States, of the payment of certain indemnities claimed by their citizens for French spoliations, to an amount not exceeding twenty millions of francs.† The dollar of the United States

* Marbois's History of Louisiana. This is an excellent disquisition or historical essay upon the early history of Louisiana as a province of France, its political changes, and the negotiations preceding its sale and transfer to the United States. It contains, however, but little historical narrative touching its internal history, its trade, boundaries, or natural resources, either under the French or Spanish regime. It is the work of M. Barbé Marbois, American edition, 1830, Philadelphia.

† The terms of sale, as finally agreed on, were, that the United States should pay sixty millions of francs in stocks bearing six per cent. interest, irredeemable for fifteen years, afterward to be discharged in three equal annual instalments, the interest to be paid in Europe. The principal, if France thought proper to sell the stock, to be disposed of as should conduce most to the credit of the American funds.

The United States also assumed to pay to their citizens a sum not exceeding twenty millions of francs, in discharge of claims due to them from France under the conven-

was receivable and negotiable at a value equal to five livres and eight sous.

The treaty was at length concluded, and signed by the ministers of each power on the 30th day of April, 1803. By this treaty the first consul, in consideration of the foregoing sums to be paid by the United States, and certain commercial privileges to French and Spanish commerce, ceded to them forever, in full sovereignty, the province of Louisiana, with all its rights and appurtenances in full, and in the same manner as they had been acquired by the Republic from his Catholic majesty.* The first consul obligated himself to give possession by formal delivery of the province within six months from the date of the treaty. Such had been the negotiations in Europe to settle the political destiny of Louisiana.

In the mean time, the Spanish authorities of Louisiana, ignorant of the transfer of the province to the United States, had been making every preparation for the reception of the French commissioner, and for the delivery of the province to him in the name of the French Republic. General Victor had been appointed commissioner on the part of the French Republic for receiving possession of Louisiana, and was daily expected, with the French troops under his command; but on the 24th of March a vessel arrived from Havre de Grace, having on board the baggage of M. Laussat, the colonial prefect, who was to precede the captain-general and commissioner, with a special mission for providing supplies for the troops, and making arrangements for the organization of the new government under the authority of the Republic. The same vessel brought intelligence of the form of government which had been provided for the province under its new master. The principal executive officers were to be a captain-general, a colonial prefect, and a commissary of justice.

The captain-general was to be invested with all the powers heretofore exercised by governors-general under the Spanish dominion. In his absence, the duties of his office were to devolve upon the colonial prefect, or upon the highest military officer.†

The colonial prefect was invested with authority to control
tion of the year 1800, and also to exempt the productions, manufactures, and vessels of France and Spain, in the direct trade from those countries respectively, to all the ports of the ceded territory, for a term of twelve years.—Martin, vol. ii., p. 192.

* See Martin, vol. ii., 190-192.

† Idem, p. 182, 183.

and administer the finances, and to supervise the acts of all the officers of the administration ; powers similar, and more extensive than those heretofore exercised by the Spanish intendant, including those exercised, also, by the former French commissaries-general and ordonnateurs.

The commissary of justice was to be clothed with authority to superintend all the courts of justice, and the ministerial duties of all officers of the law ; to preside and vote in any court ; to regulate the conduct of all clerks and officers of the courts ; to superintend the preparation of a civil and criminal code ; to make monthly reports upon all these matters to the captain-general, or to the minister.*

Such was the outline of the government designed for Louisiana under the authority of the first consul ; a form of government which had not gone fully into operation when it was superseded by the jurisdiction of the United States.

About the same time a French national vessel had arrived at the Balize, with M. Laussat, the colonial prefect, on board. Upon intelligence of this arrival, Governor Salcedo dispatched the government barge under Morales, with a captain and lieutenant of infantry, to congratulate and welcome the representative of the French Republic, and to escort him to the city. He arrived on the 26th of March, and was conducted to the government-house, where he met a cordial reception from Salcedo and Morales, surrounded by the staff of the regular army and of the militia, and by the heads of the clergy. At this interview, M. Laussat announced the determination of the French Republic to use every effort to promote the prosperity of the province ; to preserve order ; to maintain the laws ; to respect the treaties with the Indian tribes ; and to protect public worship without any change of religion. He also informed those present that the land and naval forces under General Victor had sailed from Holland, as he supposed, about the last of January, and would, in all probability, reach New Orleans before the middle of April.† Great joy was evinced by the French population at the prospect of a speedy reunion with France.

A few days afterward, the colonial prefect issued a proclamation in the name of the French Republic. In this, after alluding to the weak and corrupt government which, nearly forty years before, after an ignominious war, had yielded to a

* See Martin, vol. ii., p. 185.

† Idem, p. 185, 186.

dishonorable peace, with the separation of Louisiana from France, he informed the people that France was again triumphant, and that, amid the prodigious victories and triumphs of the late Revolution, France and all Frenchmen had cast an affectionate eye to estranged Louisiana, and that the fond mother was again about to embrace her long-lost offspring, and wipe out the disgrace of the former separation; that he who now controlled the destinies of France was no less remarkable for the love and confidence inspired by his wisdom, and the happiness of his people, than for the terror infused into his enemies by the rapidity and irresistible glory of his victories; and that the whole energies of his great mind would be devoted to the happiness and prosperity of the people of Louisiana, and to the development of the unbounded natural resources peculiar to the province. He concluded by a flattering encomium upon the fidelity, courage, and patriotism of the people of Louisiana, to whom he recommended the worthy and highly honorable magistrates with whom he was associated in the government.*

A few days afterward, M. Laussat received an address, signed by a number of the most respectable citizens of the city and province, expressing in very flattering terms, in behalf of the people, the joy inspired by his arrival, as the harbinger of their deliverance and reunion with France.†

On the 10th of April, the Marquis de Casa Calvo, having been associated with Salcedo as commissioner on the part of Spain for the delivery of Louisiana, returned from a visit to Havana, and entered upon the duties of his office.

On the 18th of May Salcedo issued his proclamation announcing the intention of his Catholic majesty to surrender the province to the French Republic; but that his paternal regard would accompany the people, as he had made ample arrangements with the latter for their protection and future prosperity.

In this proclamation the governor recited the limits of Louisiana, as embraced in the contemplated surrender, to include all Louisiana west of the Mississippi and the Island of New Orleans on the east side, it being the same ceded to Spain by France at the peace of 1763. The settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, between the Bayou Manchac and the thirty-first parallel of latitude, would still pertain to the government of West Florida.‡ This was the Spanish construction of the

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 187, 188.

† Idem.

‡ Idem, p. 189.

limits of Louisiana ; but the United States subsequently claimed other territory east of the Mississippi.

Every thing now seemed ready for the formal delivery of the province, awaiting only the arrival of General Victor with the troops. The tri-colored cockade was already in the hands of hundreds, ready to be attached to every hat as soon as the French flag should supersede that of Spain, and each Frenchman considered himself a member of the French Republic.

The first of June arrived, and no tidings were received of the approach of General Victor. At length a vessel from Bordeaux brought intelligence that the province had been sold by the first consul, Bonaparte, to the United States.*

In the mean time, Bonaparte, having declined sending General Victor and his troops to Louisiana, had made other provision for the delivery of the province. On the sixth day of June, he had appointed M. Laussat as commissioner on the part of France for receiving the formal delivery of Louisiana. To him, also, were sent instructions for the transfer of the same into the hands of the American commissioners, agreeably to the treaty of April 30th, 1803.†

The government of the United States, in the mean time, had taken measures to secure the prompt delivery of the province, and the extension of the Federal jurisdiction over the country. Large bodies of troops had been concentrating in the southern

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 190.

† 1. The treaty of Paris included in the cession of Louisiana all the islands adjacent to Louisiana ; all public lots, squares, vacant lands ; all public buildings, barracks, forts, and fortifications ; all archives, public papers, and documents relating to the domain and sovereignty of the province.

2. It is also provided that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Federal Union, and as soon as possible they shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights and immunities of citizens of the United States, under the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

3. France is to appoint a commissioner, and send him to Louisiana for the purpose of receiving possession of the province from Spain, and to deliver it over, in the name of the French Republic, to the commissioners, or agents of the United States.

4. Immediately after the formal transfer and delivery to the United States, the commissioner of France is to deliver up all military posts in New Orleans and throughout the province, and withdraw the troops of France.

5. Commercial privileges were to be extended by the United States to French and Spanish ships entering the ports of Louisiana for twelve years, during which they were to pay no higher duties than citizens of the United States coming directly from the same countries.

6. By two separate articles of convention, of the same date with the treaty, the conditions for the payments severally to be made to the French Republic and to the American citizens are fully set forth.—See Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 191, 192. Also, Marbois's Louisiana, p. 403—412.

portion of the Mississippi Territory, north of the West Florida line, in the vicinity of Natchez and Fort Adams.

- Only a few months had elapsed when the unwelcome intelligence of the cession to the United States reached the King of Spain. Indignant at the contemplated transfer, he instructed his minister at Washington City, the Marquis de Casa Yrujo; to remonstrate with the government, and to file with the Department of State his formal protest against the transfer; representing the conditions on which it had been transferred to the first consul, which would now impair the claim of the United States; for the first consul had stipulated with his Catholic majesty that Louisiana never should be alienated from France.

The Federal government disregarded the remonstrance and protest of the Spanish court; yet the first consul, as well as the President of the United States, upon this ground entertained serious apprehensions lest the King of Spain should carry out his opposition by instructing the governor and captain-general of Louisiana to refuse the formal transfer and delivery of the province.*

Anticipating such opposition from the King of Spain, and for the purpose of meeting any contingency on this ground, Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States, convened Congress about the middle of October, and laid the whole matter of the treaty relative to the purchase of Louisiana before the Senate. The treaty was ratified on the 21st of October, and after due deliberation, Congress resolved to sustain the president in his views of urging the transfer and delivery, agreeably to the stipulations of treaty with the French Republic. By an act passed October 30th, the president was authorized to take possession of the ceded territory, and to maintain over the same the authority of the United States, under such persons as he might au-

* The American minister had been instructed to ascertain from the Spanish court whether any such order was likely to be given: the possibility of a refusal on the part of the Spanish authorities to surrender to the United States had been suggested to the first consul; but he declared that no refusal on their part need be apprehended; that he would permit no such thing, and that he guaranteed the delivery. No indication of the kind was evinced at any subsequent period of the transactions; and early in January following, several weeks after the final transfer and delivery to the United States, the Spanish minister at Washington gave assurance to the Department of State that his sovereign had given no order whatever for opposing the delivery of Louisiana, and the rumor to that effect of the preceding year was entirely groundless. The minister added, that he was commanded to make it known that his majesty had since thought it proper to renounce his protest, although made justly and upon proper grounds; thus affording "a new proof of his benevolence and friendship for the United States."—See Martin, vol. ii, p. 239.

thorize to exercise a provisional civil and military jurisdiction in the province. To this end he was empowered to employ such portion of the navy and army of the United States, and of the militia of the neighboring states and territories, as he might deem requisite.*

The president proceeded to complete his arrangements for the delivery, final transfer, and occupation of the province by the United States. On the part of the United States, the commissioners appointed by him were Governor William C. C. Claiborne, of the Mississippi Territory, and General James Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the army. Governor Claiborne was also authorized to exercise provisionally all the civil authority pertaining to the former Spanish governor and intendant, for the preservation of order and the protection of persons and property.†

The colonial prefect, and commissioner on the part of the French Republic, M. Laussat, had remained in Louisiana from the period of his arrival in March, engaged in the duties of his commission, preparing the minds of the people for the approaching change of government, first as a province of France, and finally as a dependence of the American Republic.

At length, further delay being unnecessary, the ceremonies and formality of delivery from the crown of Spain to the French Republic were, by appointment, to take place in the city of New Orleans on the 30th day of November. On the morning of that day the Spanish flag was displayed from a lofty flag-staff in the center of the public square. At noon the Spanish regiment of Louisiana and a company of Mexican dragoons were drawn up before the City Hall, on the right, and the militia of the city on the left. The commissioners of Spain, Governor Salcedo and the Marquis de Casa Calvo, proceeded to the front of the City Hall, where they were soon afterward joined by the French commissioner, M. Laussat. The latter produced an order from his Catholic majesty directing the delivery of the province of Louisiana to the authorized agent of the first consul. Salcedo, in exchange, immediately presented him with the keys of the city. The Marquis de Casa Calvo then proclaimed that those of his majesty's subjects who preferred to

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 193. See, also, Marbois, p. 322-324.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 193. See, also, *American State Papers*, folio edition, vol. on Foreign Affairs, p. 61, 62. Also, Stoddart's *Sketches*, p. 103.

remain under the authority of the French Republic were henceforth absolved from their allegiance to the crown of Spain. The three commissioners then advanced to the main balcony in front of the City Hall, when the Spanish flag gradually descended during the salute of a discharge of artillery. The flag of France soon afterward ascended to the head of the flag-staff, saluted by another discharge of artillery. Thus terminated the Spanish dominion in Louisiana, after a lapse of more than thirty-four years.*

The dominion of France had again resumed its sway, and M. Laussat immediately issued his proclamation to the people. It informed them that the mission on which he came to Louisiana had given rise to many fond hopes and honorable expectations in his mind relative to their reunion with the mother country; but the face of things had changed, and he now was commissioned shortly to perform a duty which, although less pleasing to him, was far more advantageous to them; that although the flag of the French Republic was displayed, and the sound of her cannon had announced the return of the French dominion, it was comparatively for a moment, for he was shortly to deliver the province into the hands of the commissioners of the United States.†

In reference to this change, he remarked, that circumstances of great moment had given a new direction to the benevolent views and intentions of France toward Louisiana; that the province had been ceded to the United States, as the surest pledge of increasing friendship between the two Republics, and of the future aggrandizement of Louisiana. He drew their attention to that provision in the treaty of cession which secured to them the rank of an independent member of the Federal Union, and congratulated them upon the happy result of becoming an important part of a nation which had already become powerful, and distinguished for their industry, patriotism, and intelligence. He alluded to that feature in the new arrangement which would place the government in their own hands, secure from the cupidity and malversation in office of those sent to govern them from a remote parent-country, surrounded by facilities of concealment operating as a temptation, which too often corrupts the most virtuous rulers. They were about to pass under a government which made all its rulers

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 195.

† Idem, p. 195, 196.

dependent upon the will of the people, expressed through their suffrages at the ballot-box. He adverted to the many advantages of a free and independent form of government, affording to them the immense facilities of the trade which their location near the outlet of the Mississippi would throw into their hands; the trade of the great river of the United States, bearing upon its surface the wealth of rich and populous states, and conferring upon them commercial advantages and privileges which they could not possibly enjoy under the colonial government of France.*

The same day M. Laussat, as colonial prefect, issued a number of proclamations and orders in relation to the government of the province, abolishing the old regnancy, and substituting the jurisdiction of France and the forms of the French jurisprudence. The Cabildo was abolished, and a municipality was organized in its stead. The municipality consisted of a mayor and two adjuncts, with ten members. The office of mayor was conferred upon M. Boré, and that of adjuncts upon M. Destrehan and M. Sauvé. The members appointed were, Messieurs Livaudais, Petit Cavelier, Villière, Jones, Fortier, Donaldson, Faurie, Allard, Tuveaud, and Watkins. M. Derbigny was appointed secretary, and M. Labatut was treasurer.†

The Black Code, except such portions as were incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the United States, was declared to be still in force.

Soon afterward, the Spanish troops were withdrawn, and the military posts were evacuated. In the city and suburbs of New Orleans there were four military posts, or forts, relinquished by the Spanish troops, which might be exposed to the depredations, and equally so to the unlawful occupancy of disaffected persons and nocturnal disturbers of the peace. The troops of the United States designed for the occupation of these forts not having arrived within the limits of the ceded province, many were apprehensive of outrage and violence from the numbers of lawless and disaffected populace. These were composed of the lowest class of Spaniards, Mexicans, and free persons of color which infested the city, and other disorderly persons, and desperadoes of all nations, who, released from the restraint of a standing army, might be prompted, by the hope of pillage, to fire the city, or to commit other violence.

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 196.

† *Idem*, p. 197.

To guard against any such attempt, and to preserve order in the city, a number of enterprising young Americans associated themselves into a volunteer battalion, to be placed under the command of Daniel Clarke, junior, the American consul. Their first muster was at Davis's rope-walk, on Canal-street, where they were joined by a number of patriotic young Creole Frenchmen, who continued to serve until the battalion was finally discharged. Having organized, they placed themselves under their commander, and proceeded to the headquarters of the colonial prefect, and made a formal tender of their services for the purpose of preserving order in the city, and for the occupancy of the forts until the arrival of the American commissioners and troops. The battalion continued to increase, by the voluntary enrollment of Americans and French Creoles, until the entire number exceeded three hundred men. The Americans were chiefly captains and mates of vessels, supercargoes, merchants, clerks, and seamen belonging to vessels in port. The French, by their zeal, vigilance, and patriotism during their term of service, proved themselves worthy of American citizenship.*

Their services were gladly accepted, and detachments from their number were detailed upon regular tours of duty in patrolling the city by day and by night, and in maintaining guard in the forts, until the 17th of December, when the American troops had arrived in the vicinity of the city.†

In the mean time, Governor Claiborne had been preparing to advance down to New Orleans to consummate the delivery of

* This volunteer battalion was formed at the instance of the following gentlemen, then resident in New Orleans, viz.: George Martin, since parish judge of St. Landry, Colonel Reuben Kemper, George King, George Newman, Benjamin Morgan, Daniel Clarke, American consul, Dr. William Flood, since a distinguished physician of New Orleans, Maunsel White, and Woodson Wren, present postmaster in Natchez. But few of the original members of the battalion are living at this time, which is now forty-one years since the delivery of Louisiana to the United States commissioners. There were two of the survivors still living in Adams county, Mississippi, in February, 1845. These are Woodson Wren and George Newman. Martin states this battalion to have been composed of only one hundred and twenty Americans; but Dr. Wren and George Newman, Esq., both members of the battalion, sustain the authority of the text.

† The city was defended by four strong forts, situated at each corner, and nearly half a mile apart. Forts St. Charles and St. Louis were regular fortresses, above and below the city, near the bank of the river. Each was built of brick, surrounded by a ditch and glacis; the ditch was deep and filled with water, over which were draw-bridges. Those in the rear of the city were regular stockades, securely fortified. These forts were thrown open and evacuated by the Spanish garrisons upon the surrender of the province to the French prefect.

Louisiana to the Federal government. Five hundred Tennessee militia, under Colonel Dougherty, had advanced as far as Natchez, where they were awaiting further orders. The volunteer troop of the Mississippi Territory had received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march on the 10th of December, in company with the volunteers from Tennessee.

At Fort Adams, Governor Claiborne met with his colleague, General Wilkinson, who had just returned from a tour in the Choctâ nation. The troops at this post were put in motion, and pursued their march with the volunteers toward New Orleans. On the 17th of December, they encamped within two miles of the city. On the following day the commissioners, Claiborne and Wilkinson, presented themselves to the French prefect in a formal introductory visit, which was returned at the American camp next day by the colonial prefect, attended by the municipality and a number of militia officers. The following Monday, December 20th, was fixed as the day for the formal delivery of the province to the United States.*

On Monday morning, at sunrise, the tri-colored flag was elevated to the summit of the flag-staff in the public square. At eleven o'clock A.M. the militia paraded near it, and precisely at noon the commissioners of the United States, at the head of the American troops, entered the city. The regular troops formed on the opposite side of the square, facing the militia. At this time the colonial prefect, attended by his secretary and a number of French citizens, advanced from his quarters to the City Hall, saluted as he approached by a discharge of artillery. At the City Hall a large concourse of the most respectable citizens awaited his approach. Here, in the presence of the assembled multitude, the prefect delivered to the American commissioners the keys of the city, emblematic of the formal delivery of the province.†

He then declared that such of the inhabitants as desired to pass under the government of the United States were absolved from their allegiance to the French Republic.

Governor Claiborne then arose and offered to the people of Louisiana his congratulations on the auspicious event which had placed them beyond the reach of chance. He assured them that the people of the United States received them as brothers, and would hasten to extend to them the benefits of the free in-

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 198.

† Idem, p. 199.

stitutions which had formed the basis of our unexampled prosperity, and that, in the mean time, they should be protected in their liberty, their property, and their religion; their agriculture should be encouraged, and their commerce favored.

The tri-colored flag of France slowly descended, meeting the rising flag of the United States at half-mast. After the pause of a few minutes, the flag of France descended to the ground, and the star-spangled banner rose to the summit of the flag-staff, saluted by the roar of artillery and the joyful response of the American people, accompanied by a full band of martial music to the air of "Hail Columbia."* The windows, balconies, and corridors of the vicinity were crowded with "ladies, brilliant beyond comparison," each with the American flag in miniature proudly waving over their heads.

The same day Governor Claiborne issued his proclamation announcing the supremacy of the Federal jurisdiction over the province, and the termination of all foreign dominion. He exhorted the people to be firm in their allegiance to the government of the United States, and obedient to the laws which were to be extended over them; he assured them that their liberty, their rights, and their property should be protected against all violence from any quarter, and that in due time they should be entitled to all the rights and privileges of an independent state government.

[A.D. 1804.] The formal delivery of the remote posts and their dependencies took place during the following spring. On the 12th of January the post of Concord was delivered, with great ceremony and form, by the Spanish commandant, Stephen Minor, into the hands of Major Ferdinand L. Claiborne, special agent of the French colonial prefect, and agent of Governor Claiborne, in behalf of the United States. Having been duly authorized for this purpose, Major Claiborne, accompanied by a detachment of Tennessee volunteers under Captain Russel, and the volunteer company of Captain Nicholls from Natchez, and a procession of the citizens of Natchez, headed by the mayor of the city, presented himself before the fort, which was formally delivered by the exchange of flags, with the usual interchange of ceremonies by the respective commandants.†

A few days afterward, the post of Washita was delivered in

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 199. Also, Natchez Herald, January 3d, 1804.

† See Natchez Herald, January 14th, 1804.

like manner by the Spanish commandant, Don Vincente Francisco Fejeiro, to Captain Bomar, agent of the United States. On the 9th of March the post of St. Louis, with the province of Upper Louisiana, was formally delivered by the Spanish lieutenant-governor to Major Amos Stoddart, commissioned as representative of the French Republic, in which capacity, on the following day, he formally delivered the post and district to the agent of the United States. Major Stoddart having been appointed also civil and military commandant of Upper Louisiana, with the authority and prerogatives of the former Spanish lieutenant-governor, immediately entered upon the duties of his office.* In his proclamation he adverted to the auspicious events which had made them a portion of the American Republic, and had elevated them from the rank of colonial subjects to free and independent citizens, the rights and privileges of which would be soon extended to them. He expressed his confidence in their patriotism and submission to the laws; the prejudices and resentments of former times had been buried in oblivion, and they were now united to the great Republican family by a bond of mutual interest, for the advancement of the common happiness, and a generous rivalry for commercial prosperity and national independence.

Thus the authority of the United States was peaceably extended over the whole province of Louisiana, comprising one of the most fertile and magnificent regions on earth, whose limits had never been definitively established. It was the interest of Spain to restrict its limits as much as practicable, and it was the interest of the United States to construe its boundaries with the utmost latitude.

The West Florida district lying south of the line of demarcation, and west of the Perdido River and Bay, was retained by Spain as a portion of Florida. The western portion of this district, lying between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, was erected into the "Government of Baton Rouge," which was administered by the lieutenant-governor, Don Carlos de Grandpré, comprising the posts of Manchac, Thompson's Creek, and Bayou Sara, until the 7th of December, 1810, when the people renounced the dominion of Spain, and claimed the protection of the United States.†

* Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 106, 107.

† See book v., chapter xv., "Territory of Orleans," &c.

Hence the difficulties relative to boundaries between Spain and the United States were again opened. Spain still held dominion over the Mexican provinces west of Louisiana, and over the Floridas on the east. The western limits of Florida, previous to the peace of 1763, were the *Perdido* River and Bay; the territory west of the *Perdido*, and north of the Bayou Iberville and lakes, previous to 1763, had been a portion of Louisiana under the dominion of France, and was never attached to Spanish Florida. By the dismemberment of 1763, Great Britain became possessed of this portion of Louisiana; and by the king's order in council in the following year, it was annexed to the government of West Florida, and as such it was subsequently ceded to Spain by the treaty of 1783. This was the origin of the Spanish claim to the territory west of Mobile.

The United States purchased Louisiana with the boundaries acknowledged while in possession of France originally, before the dismemberment, and with such boundaries as properly pertained to it, after the due observance of all subsequent treaties. Hence the United States claimed Louisiana as extending to the *Perdido* on the east, and north to the southern limit of the United States, as established by the treaty of 1783. On the west side of the Mississippi they claimed to the Rio del Norte, the western boundary claimed by France previous to the treaty of 1762 with Spain. Thus the United States claimed Louisiana as comprising the whole country on the Gulf of Mexico, from the Bay of Mobile inclusive to the western limit of Texas.*

The population of the province of Louisiana, near the close of the year 1803, according to a report made to the Secretary of State by the American consul at New Orleans, gives a grand total of about forty-nine thousand and five hundred souls, including the West Florida district and the ports of Mobile and Pensacola. Of this amount, the city of New Orleans contained about eight thousand souls; Mobile and its dependencies eight hundred and ten souls; Pensacola four hundred and four souls; Baton Rouge and Galveston one thousand seven hundred and sixty souls; Upper Louisiana six thousand and twenty-eight souls, the same as it contained in 1799.† These estimates, of course, exclude the numerous tribes and remnants of native Indians remaining in different portions of the province.

The commerce and trade of New Orleans had become extens-

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 201, 202. Stoddard, p. 112-114.

† Martin, vol. ii., p. 205.

ive, not only with foreign countries and European colonies, but especially with the Atlantic ports of the United States, and the Western States upon the waters of the Ohio. During the year 1802, two hundred and fifty vessels of all kinds entered the Mississippi all of which were merchantmen, except eighteen public armed vessels. Of the former, one hundred and seventy were American, and ninety-seven were Spanish.* The river trade from the Western States and Upper Louisiana was conveyed in not less than five hundred flat-boats and barges annually.

The annual products of agriculture in Louisiana had already become extensive and valuable, consisting chiefly of sugar and cotton. Both these products had increased greatly within the last few years. The cotton crop of 1802 yielded twenty thousand bales, each weighing about three hundred pounds; the sugar crop of the same year yielded five thousand hogsheads of sugar, weighing each about one thousand pounds, and five thousand casks of molasses, each containing about fifty gallons. The indigo crop had diminished gradually to about three thousand pounds.†

Manufactures, connected with the agricultural products of the province, had begun to assume a permanent footing near the city of New Orleans. About one dozen distilleries for the manufacture of taffia from molasses were in operation, producing about two hundred thousand gallons of this liquor annually. One sugar-refinery in the city likewise produced annually nearly two hundred thousand pounds of loaf-sugar. But few manufactures of importance existed in other branches of business.

The trade of New Orleans comprised not only the products of Louisiana, but also of the Western States and territories. The exports of 1802, including the western products, amounted to forty thousand tons. It consisted chiefly of flour, pork, salt beef, tobacco, cotton, sugar, molasses, peltries, naval stores, and lumber. The principal articles were as follows: fifty thousand barrels of flour, three thousand barrels of salt beef and pork, two thousand hogsheads of tobacco, thirty-four thousand bales of cotton, four thousand hogsheads of sugar, and eight hundred casks of molasses.‡

The whole province of Louisiana was now a dependency of the United States, under the government of the Federal au-

* Martin, vol. ii., p. 234.

† Idem, p. 234.

‡ Idem, p. 236.

thorities, until provision should be made for organizing the population into a regular system of Republican government, agreeably to the Constitution and laws of the United States. The first legislation of Congress on this subject was an act for the organization of a territorial government within the "Territory of Orleans."*

* See vol. ii., book v., chap. xv., for the continuation of the history of Louisiana under the United States, the organization of the "*Territory of Orleans*," and the admission of the "*State of Louisiana*" into the Union.

END OF VOL. I.







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